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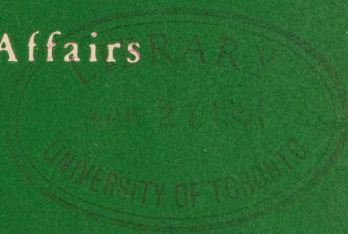
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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Department of External Affairs

Ottawa, Canada

THE KOREAN CRISIS

The patent intervention of Communist Chinese forces in the Korean war nullified the military and diplomatic efforts of the United Nations in December. For United Nations forces the month meant retreat before numerically superior forces. The retreat took the Eighth Army 120 miles south to points below the Thirty-eighth Parallel where, relieved of the immediate pressure of Chinese and North Korean units, its consolidation along a 140 mile defence line was accomplished. The evacuation of the Tenth Corps from the Hungnam sector on Christmas Eve considerably relieved the gloomy picture. An army of 105,000 men and complete equipment was moved in an amphibious operation to the Pusan-Pohang concentration area.

In a war summary issued late on Christmas Eve, General MacArthur said that Communist troops were "deploying into attack positions" at several points and generally building up their strength along a line facing the United Nations forces. Movements of Communist troops were reported from the front to have crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel, a line which the Chinese Communist Foreign Minister declared on December 22 had been "obliterated forever". Seoul, the capital of the Republic of Korea was once again being evacuated and thousands of refugees poured into Pusan.

United Nations forces suffered a further blow in the accidental death of Lt. Gen. Walton Walker on December 24. Lt. Gen. Matthew Ridgway flew immediately from the United States and assumed command of the Eighth Army on December 26. At the same time the Tenth Corps, which had operated independently in the north-eastern campaign, became part of the United States Eighth Army.

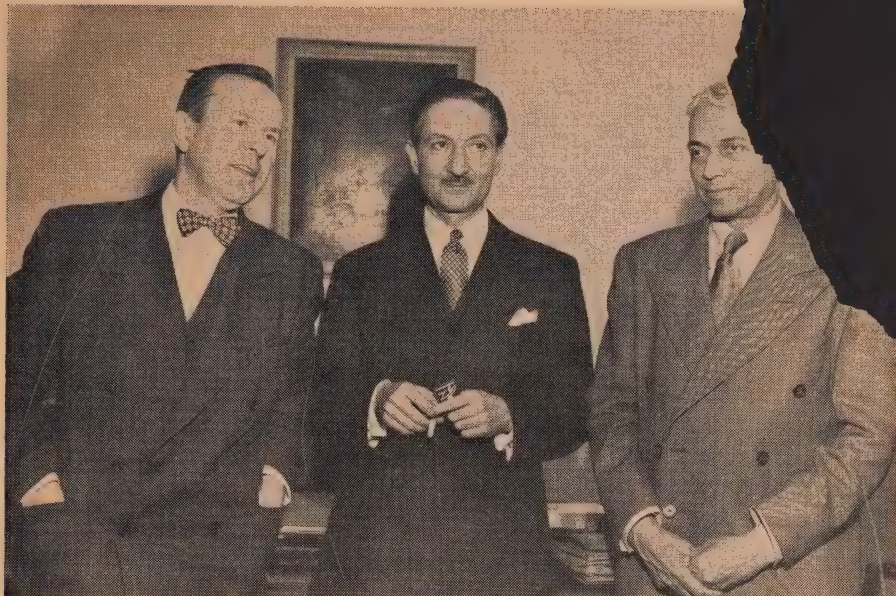
Communists Attack

The New Year was inaugurated with attacks by Communist forces all along the United Nations line. These attacks were launched on New Year's Eve and unofficial estimates set the attackers' numbers at 200,000 Chinese and 85,000 North Koreans. Holes were punched in the United Nations line, one wedge extending to within twenty miles of Seoul. Many competent observers saw in these attacks a co-ordinated offensive by Chinese and North Korean forces with its objective the destruction or expulsion of United Nations forces. A tightening up of security regulations in the last few weeks of the year, reduced the flow of newspaper coverage of troop movements and battle progress. It will be sometime, therefore, before the details of the year-end offensive are complete.

Canadians in the New Year are likely to have an even greater interest in the Korean war than heretofore. In mid-December the Second Battalion of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry arrived in Korea. The Battalion immediately got down to a schedule of intensive training. Nothing concerning future activities of the force had been made public at the year's end.

Throughout the month of December, diplomats of the free nations grappled with the problems raised by Chinese intervention in Korea—problems which were global in their implication. At their Washington conference, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee discussed fully the international issues presented by the Communist menace throughout the world, and major policy decisions were taken to meet the threat of more general war. At Lake Success, consideration was being given to the possibility of arranging a cease-fire in Korea and eventual negotiation of the crisis.

During their important Washington talks, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee laid the groundwork for the policy they would pursue in the critical days ahead. Following their final meeting on December 8, they issued a communiqué which did not deal with Korea in isolation, but set the Korean war in the framework of the world crisis. In that communiqué President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee



—United Nations

UNITED NATIONS CEASE-FIRE GROUP ON KOREA

The United Nations Cease-Fire Group is made up of, left to right, Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; His Excellency Nasrollah Entezam, President of the Fifth Session of the General Assembly; and Sir Benegal N. Rau, Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations.

affirmed their determination to build up the defences of the West and to strengthen the Atlantic community. At the same time, however, the communiqué expressed the will to hold on in Korea, reaffirming that United Nations forces were in the field to halt aggression, and that they were there on the recommendation of the United Nations. There could be "no thought of appeasement or of rewarding aggression", they emphasized, but they were ready, they pointed out, "to seek an end to the hostilities by means of negotiation". The communiqué did not specify whether negotiations should be limited to Korea or cover Far Eastern problems as well.

With reference to Formosa, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee said "we agreed that the issues should be settled by peaceful means and in such a way as to safeguard the interests of the people of Formosa and the maintenance of peace and security in the Pacific and that consideration of this question by the United Nations will contribute to these ends". Differences were noted, however. The communiqué stated: "on the question of the Chinese seat in the United Nations, the two governments differ. The United Kingdom has recognized the Central People's Government, and considers that its representatives should occupy China's seat in the United Nations. The United States has opposed and continues to oppose the seating of the Chinese Communist representatives in the United Nations".

The communiqué also treated the question of the atomic bomb. It declared that "the President stated that it was his hope that world conditions would never call for the use of the atomic bomb. The President told the Prime Minister that it was also his desire to keep the Prime Minister at all times informed of developments which might bring about a change in the situation".

Most important, the communiqué indicated what general course would be followed should negotiations with the Peking government fail. In such event, the communiqué stated "it will be for the peoples of the world acting through the United Nations, to decide how the principles of the charter can best be maintained".

Further action, either economic or military, should be taken against China, will have to be determined in and by the United Nations.

Following the Washington conference, Prime Minister Attlee paid a visit to Ottawa, where he conferred with Canadian government leaders. Both Mr. Pearson and Mr. Attlee expressed great satisfaction with their meetings. In a broadcast Mr. Attlee declared that he was "comforted and inspired once more by the knowledge that the desires of (Canada) are identical with our own".

Cease-Fire in Korea Proposed

While President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee were meeting in Washington, thirteen Asian and Middle Eastern countries, led by India, were attempting to pave the way for a cease-fire and a negotiated settlement in Korea. As was pointed out in the December issue of *External Affairs*, these nations, at the same time that Mr. Pearson was suggesting a cease-fire agreement, appealed to the Peking government and North Korean authorities to declare that their forces would not cross the 38th parallel. On December 12, these countries, pursuing the same initiative, submitted two resolutions to the Political Committee. The first resolution requested "the President of the General Assembly to constitute a group of three persons, including himself, to determine the basis on which a satisfactory cease-fire in Korea could be arranged and to make recommendations to the General Assembly as soon as possible". The second resolution, which was sponsored by twelve nations, (the Philippines only co-sponsoring the first resolution), recommended the appointment of a committee to meet as soon as possible and "make recommendations for a peaceful settlement of existing issues in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations". The cease-fire resolution was immediately given priority by the Political Committee, and was approved on December 14, by a vote of 52-5, the Soviet bloc opposing and China abstaining. In accordance with this resolution, President Entezam named Sir Benegal Rau and Mr. L. B. Pearson as the two other members of the cease-fire committee.

In introducing the cease-fire resolution, Sir Benegal said General Wu had assured him that the Peking government did not wish a war with the United Nations or the United States. Sir Benegal Rau added that Peking "seemed to be moving toward a kind of Monroe Doctrine for China", considering any foreign intervention in territory adjoining China as an unfriendly act. Mr. Malik, however, made clear that the proposal was not acceptable to the Soviet Union. He stated that the Anglo-American bloc only wanted a cease-fire to gain time to re-attack and had no serious intention of going through with the negotiations. He reiterated that the only solution to the Korean crisis was to be found in the Soviet draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the peninsula. This draft resolution, introduced on December 9, did not however, make it clear whether "foreign forces" would include the Chinese Communists, and if so, whether Chinese Communist troops would be withdrawn at the same time as United Nations forces. Mr. Malik in a later statement ambiguously declared that the withdrawal of the Anglo-American forces would dispose of the need for the Chinese "volunteers".

A few days later, following Moscow's lead General Wu held a press conference to announce Peking's answer to the cease-fire proposal. He rejected it flatly as "a trap", and endorsed instead the Soviet suggestion for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. General Wu also demanded that United States troops be withdrawn from Formosa, and that the Peking government be given its seat in the United Nations. Then he added ambiguously, "we are willing to try to advise the Chinese volunteers to bring to an early conclusion the military operations which they have been forced to undertake together with the Korean People's Army in their resistance against the United States armed forces of aggression". General Wu then announced that he intended to fly home on December 19, with the rest of his delegation.

Despite General Wu's statement, the Cease-Fire Group continued its efforts to end hostilities in Korea. On December 18, it cabled Premier Chou En-lai a message offering to discuss cease-fire arrangements with the Chinese Communists either at Lake Success or any other place that would be mutually convenient. The telegram said:

The purpose of this cease-fire in Korea will be to prevent the conflict from spreading to other areas, to put an end to the fighting in Korea, and to provide an opportunity for considering what further steps should be taken for a peaceful settlement of existing issues, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The above committee has now met representatives of the Unified Command in Korea and has discussed with them, in an exploratory manner, possible conditions upon which a cease-fire might be established. Since the Government of the Communist People's Republic of China has expressed strong views on the future of Korea, and about the present state of warfare in that country, and since Chinese are participating in that warfare, the committee wishes also to discuss with your Government or its representatives, and with the military authorities in command of the forces operating in North Korea possible conditions upon which a cease-fire might be established.

Proposal Rejected

Despite the Cease-Fire Group's telegram the Chinese Communist delegation left New York on December 19. On December 22, Premier Chou En-lai notified the United Nations of his government's rejection of the cease-fire proposal. Premier Chou's telegram was addressed to Mr. Entezam as President of the Assembly and not as head of the Cease-Fire Group, which he refused to recognize. The telegram stated that the Chinese Communist representative had not participated in the discussion setting-up the Cease-Fire Group, and that the Chinese Communist Government regarded as "illegal, null and void", all major resolutions concerning Asia which were adopted by the United Nations without the participation of the Peking representative. It also stated that United States forces in crossing the 38th parallel had "obliterated forever this demarcation line of political geography". Finally the telegram reiterated the conditions which had been laid down by General Wu for negotiating a possible settlement—withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, withdrawal of United States forces from Taiwan, and the seating of the Peking Government representative in the United Nations. "To put aside these points" the reply concluded "would make it impossible to settle peacefully the Korean problem and the important problem of Asia".

As the year ended the United Nations awaited the report of the Cease-Fire Group which it was expected would be made early in the New Year. According to published reports, Mr. Gross of the United States delegation at the United Nations informed Sir Benegal Rau on January 1 that the United States would not take part in any "cease-fire" negotiations with the Chinese Communist government if its forces continued their reported drive below the Thirty-eighth Parallel. It was expected that, following the report of the Cease-Fire Group, the Political Committee would reconvene to consider the Far Eastern problems still outstanding on its agenda.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION AT THE END OF 1950

On December 18 and 19 historic joint meetings of the North Atlantic Treaty Defence Committee and Council were held at Brussels. Three important decisions emerged: establishment of an integrated force for Western Europe and the appointment of General Eisenhower as Supreme Commander; an agreement as to the manner in which the German Federal Republic might participate in the integrated force; and the re-organization of the production and supply structure of NATO. These decisions are the latest steps in the effort of North Atlantic countries to build up sufficient collective forces in the North Atlantic area to deter aggression.

The appointment of General Eisenhower is the latest in a series of important decisions in the military field. At the Council meeting in London in May 1950, it was agreed in principle that the forces of NATO countries should be developed and expanded on the basis of a collective balance of forces for the whole area rather than balanced forces for each nation. Only thus did it appear possible for North Atlantic countries to afford the armaments essential for their security without impairing severely the living standards of their people and thus sowing the seeds of discontent behind their military lines. In the September meeting of the Council in New York, the principle was agreed to of an integrated force under a single command for Western Europe. Even more important was the offer of the United States at this meeting to strengthen substantially its forces stationed in Western Europe on the condition, among others, of effective defence efforts by European members and of the participation of Western Germany. Implicit in the offer was acceptance of the thesis of certain European members that the first line of defence for Europe should not be the line of the Rhine, but the eastern frontiers of Western Germany.

Significant Appointment

The appointment of General Eisenhower precedes the organization of a unitary command structure. It is anticipated that he will establish his headquarters in Europe early in the new year. He will be supported by a staff drawn from the nations contributing to the integrated force. The appointment is highly important psychologically and practically. To European members it is an earnest of United States intentions to participate in the defence of Western Europe and not merely in its liberation. From a practical standpoint, if aggression comes in the near future it is of enormous advantage that the Commander-in-Chief who will be responsible for fighting the initial battle should be able to build his own organization, should be in a position to take an effective hand in planning, and should have over-all direction of training forces which must be prepared to operate effectively together if collective defence is to be a reality. On personal grounds, no one could be more acceptable for the post of Commander-in-Chief than General Eisenhower.

The decision on the re-armament of West Germans was reached with great reluctance and much misgiving, especially on the part of France and Belgium, where memories of German militarism are still particularly vivid. But there appeared to be no alternative. Immediately beyond the Iron Curtain are vast forces in being; the re-armament of Eastern Germany and other satellites proceeds apace. Faced with this threat, there has arisen the military necessity of denying to the Soviets the use of West German industry and manpower, and of securing, to this end, the assistance of the Germans themselves. Moreover, if Western Germany had to be included in the area of defence it was only fair that the Germans should share the common burden. The decision is also in line with the policy announced in September by the three Occupying Powers of Western Germany of a "progressive return of Germany to partnership in Western Europe".

From the outset there was full agreement that there should be no re-creation of a German General Staff or of a German national army, and no revival of heavy war industry in Germany. The original plan proposed by the United States in September was that German units on a divisional scale should be incorporated in a Western European integrated force. This plan was unacceptable to the French, and although they were prepared to recognize, in principle, the importance of incorporation of Germans in Western defence, deadlock developed over the form, timing, and scale. The French proposed instead that Germans should be organized in units no larger than battalions, and that no Germans should be re-armed ahead of the European members of NATO; and as an additional safeguard, that they should be included only in a European army which would form part of the integrated force. The European army would be under European political control. Further, no steps should be taken to re-arm Germans until further progress had been made towards the integration of German coal and steel industries with those of Western Europe, and hence towards European rather than German control of these industries, as proposed in the Schuman Plan.

Agreement Reached

Under the stress of events unanimous agreement was reached at the Brussels meeting to a compromise plan by which Germans would be incorporated into the integrated European force in units smaller than divisional strength. The French in turn were to be free to call a meeting early in the year of the governments concerned with the establishment of a European army.

In the meantime, the Occupying Powers are authorized to begin negotiations with the West German Government. Effective co-operation by Western Germany in the common defence will require the willing support of the West German people. To date there has been little indication that this will be forthcoming. Indeed, the evidence is that rearmament has little appeal for most West Germans, except possibly on terms of full equality. The Germans are likely to seek the best bargain possible; and German units, even for training purposes, cannot be expected for several months.

It generally takes much less time to turn raw recruits into soldiers than to produce modern military equipment from scratch. There is urgent need for production to keep pace with expanding forces. Under the best of circumstances we could scarcely have expected much more equipment to be available by the end of 1950 than is actually the case. In addition to the inevitable delay normally involved in producing new equipment, or in converting peacetime industries to wartime production, certain problems arose out of the nature of the collective enterprise on which North Atlantic Treaty countries are engaged. Some of these questions could only be answered after preliminary planning for the defence of the whole area. For example: What items of equipment were most urgently needed and in what quantities? What types of equipment were militarily most suitable for national forces who would have to operate together? Among other questions involving economic and financial considerations are: Where could the items required be most economically produced? How could equipment, or raw materials for production, from dollar areas, be paid for by European members short of dollar exchange?

In December 1949, a Military Production and Supply Board, on which all NATO Countries were represented by senior officials, was established. This Board, with its Permanent Working Staff, did useful service in estimating needs, in deciding what items should have high priority and in surveying possible sources of production. To co-ordinate production more effectively, the meeting in Brussels decided to replace the Military Production and Supply Board by a new organization with wider powers: the Defence Production Board. Its functions will be to expand and accelerate production and to further the mutual use of the industrial capacities of all member

CONSEIL DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD
Sixième Session

Bruxelles, 19 décembre 1950.

Le Conseil de l'Atlantique Nord ayant pris conformément à la recommandation du Comité de Défense, les dispositions nécessaires pour l'établissement sous un Commandant Suprême de la force unifiée pour la défense de l'Europe, et ayant demandé au Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique de désigner un officier américain pour remplir les fonctions de Commandant Suprême, le Président des Etats-Unis d'Amérique ayant désigné le Général Dwight D. Eisenhower, le Conseil déclare en conséquence que le Général Dwight D. Eisenhower est nommé Commandant Suprême avec toutes les fonctions et pouvoirs spécifiés au document sur les forces qui seront affectées à ce commandement.

BELGIQUE
BELGIUM

Paul van Zeeland
Ernest Bevin

CANADA
CANADA

Arthur M. Brown

DANEMARK
DENMARK

W. P. M. J. J. J.

ETATS-UNIS
UNITED STATES

Frank Pace
Ernest Bevin

FRANCE
FRANCE

Jules Moch
Ernest Bevin

ISLANDE
ICELAND

Pjetur Benediktsson

ITALIE
ITALY

Giuseppe De Martino

LUXEMBOURG
LUXEMBOURG

Joseph Bevan
Ernest Bevin

NOUVEGE.
NORWAY

Richard M. Karpis
Ernest Bevin

PAYS-BAS
NETHERLANDS

W. P. M. J. J.
Ernest Bevin

PORTUGAL
PORTUGAL

Paulo Teixeira
Ernest Bevin

ROYAUME-UNI
UNITED KINGDOM

Ernest Bevin
Ernest Bevin

The signatures on the North Atlantic Council resolution reproduced above are those of the Foreign and Defence Ministers of the various countries, as follows: Mr. Paul van Zeeland and Colonel E. V. G. A. De Greef (Belgium); Mr. Brooke Claxton (Canada); Mr. Bjorn Kraft (Denmark); Mr. Dean Acheson and Mr. Frank Pace (United States); Mr. Jules Moch and Mr. Robert Schuman (France); Mr. B. Benediktsson (Iceland); Count Carlo Sforza and Mr. Rinaldo Ossola (Italy); Mr. J. Bech and Mr. Pierre Dupong (Luxembourg); Mr. H. M. Lange and Mr. Jens Chr. Hauge (Norway); Mr. D. U. Sikker and Mr. H. L. Jacob (the Netherlands); Mr. P. Cunha and Lt. Col. Fernando dos Santos Costa (Portugal); Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. Emanuel Shinwell (United Kingdom).

NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL
Sixth Session

Brussels, 19th December, 1950.

The North Atlantic Council having made provision, in accordance with the recommendation of the Defence Committee, for the Integrated Force for the defence of Europe under a Supreme Commander, and having requested the President of the United States to designate an officer of the United States to fill the position of Supreme Commander, and the President of the United States having designated General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Council therefore declares that Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower is appointed the Supreme Commander, with the powers and functions specified in over the forces to be assigned to his command.

nations. The Board will have a full-time director who, it is understood, will be an outstanding American industrialist.

The production of modern military equipment and the maintenance of modern fighting forces are very costly. Some countries are better placed than others to provide men and supplies quickly. Different countries have different standards of equipment and maintenance for their armed forces. Under the North Atlantic Treaty, the signatories are committed to "continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid" in order to be able to resist attack. The question of "mutual aid" naturally leads to a consideration of the abilities of the several countries to support the economic and financial loads of common defence. In some countries the whole foundation of post-war recovery might be shaken by too heavy a load. Political as well as economic factors have to be considered. No country can be expected to shoulder new and heavy burdens if others are hanging back. Thus co-operation in defence implies co-operation in wider fields.

Simplification of Structure Needed

A further problem under discussion in NATO is that of simplification of its committee structure, particularly at the political level. The organization was originally set up with three Ministerial committees: the Council, which was the over-all directing authority, consisting of Foreign Ministers; the Defence Committee, consisting of Defence Ministers; the Defence Finance and Economic Committee, consisting of Finance Ministers. This arrangement undoubtedly had the advantage that it directly interested various Ministers in every government and the officials of their departments in NATO problems, but it was not designed for speedy action. At the meeting in May 1950 it was decided to set up a standing body of Deputies of Council members in order to give continuous direction to the activities of the organization. However, it is still felt in many quarters that the political structure is unduly cumbersome. The Canadian Government has accordingly suggested that the three Ministerial Committees should be consolidated in one body, which would be in effect a Council of Governments, and that at any meeting governments should be entitled to be represented by whatever Ministers they deem appropriate. This proposal was favourably discussed at the Brussels meeting and was referred back to the Council Deputies for study and report.

Progress in strengthening the North Atlantic community depends, however, more directly on actions taken by governments and parliaments than on agreement on principles or plans reached at NATO meetings. In this connection the enormously enhanced defence programme of the United States adopted since aggression in Korea is perhaps the most significant event of the year in NATO circles. Under the leadership of the United States, virtually every member of NATO raised its defence sights. The United States programme included quadrupling appropriations for the year under the Mutual Defence Assistance Act, and a considerable volume of military equipment and supplies has begun to flow across the Atlantic.

To this volume Canada is contributing. The special appropriation for assisting the re-armament of NATO countries passed by Parliament in September made it possible for Canada to offer to transfer from its reserve military stocks, armament, ancillary equipment and ammunition of United Kingdom type for two divisions, the Canadian Army to be re-equipped by the purchase of United States types. This equipment for one division has already been transferred to the Netherlands, in accordance with the recommendations of NATO Council Deputies; that for the second division, it is expected, will be made available shortly.

Large orders for new equipment have been placed by the United States and the United Kingdom, mainly with their own producers, for their own needs and those of their allies. Canadian productive capacity, as well as that of other NATO countries,

is beginning to be used. But there is still a long way to go before existing facilities in the whole North Atlantic area will be fully employed or potential capacity converted to the extent required. It will be longer still before finished equipment in sufficient volume will be coming off assembly lines.

The first stage in the effective development of the North Atlantic Alliance was one of setting up a working organization, and of preliminary military planning. The second resulted in decision, in principle, to establish an integrated European force. The next stage must be one of action: to build up national forces; to establish an integrated force in Europe adequate to deter aggression and, if aggression comes, to resist it effectively; to produce modern equipment in quantity. The realization of these objectives will demand the efforts of all North Atlantic Treaty countries.



STATEMENT BY THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

(The following statement was made for the newsreels by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, on December 26, 1950, immediately after his return from the Brussels meetings. Mr. Claxton represented the Canadian Government at both the Council and Defence Committee meetings at Brussels. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, who had expected to attend the Council, was unable to do so because he had been appointed a member of the United Nations Cease-Fire Group on Korea.)

This is ordinarily the festive season, but as we are beginning a New Year there is in the minds of all of us the realization of hard work to be done in the months ahead. The increasing threat of aggression continues to give cause for profound anxiety. The free nations everywhere must push on with their preparations to defend themselves and so deter aggression.

Shortly before Christmas I returned from a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Nations in Brussels. At that meeting all twelve of the member nations agreed that we should press forward at a much greater speed to attain the goal of security.

To this end it was my honour to propose the appointment of General Dwight D. Eisenhower as Supreme Commander of the integrated force of Europe. It is his job to organize that force to defend Western Europe against the threat of Communist aggression. At the present time the government is considering how we can best do our part to build up that integrated force. Our decision will be subject to the approval of Parliament when it meets later this month. Strong enough forces will preserve the peace by deterring aggression. What we are spending on defence should be regarded as the premium of insurance for peace, and because the risks are greater we are going to spend much more.

The reverses suffered by the United Nations in Korea, and China's refusal to accept the Cease-Fire proposal of the United Nations emphasize the urgent need for action now.

Canada's future lies in our hands. The Canadian people have never failed in resolution or in effort.

We shall need men and money and materials in increasing quantities. We shall want a good deal more than business as usual.

1951 will be a difficult and challenging year but I am sure we'll meet the challenge, provided each does his part.

THE BRITISH CARIBBEAN COLONIES

During the past ten years, increasing attention has been paid to the political problems of the British Caribbean Colonies. These colonies, some of which were acquired by England as long ago as the early 17th century, now appear to have started on the road leading to a greater measure of political autonomy. This movement, which has made rapid progress since the Second World War, is the outcome of a long political evolution, dating from the era of colonial conquest. In studying this evolution, it may be useful to recall where the British Caribbean Colonies are situated, what elements comprise their population, and what are the main problems, economic and social, confronting their governments.

Some Geographical Notes

It is sometimes assumed, even in Canada, that the British Caribbean Colonies consist of a small group of obscure islands in the Caribbean Sea. Their actual extent is considerable. To the west, in the Greater Antilles, lie the islands of Jamaica and the Caymans; to the east, in the Lesser Antilles, lie the British Virgin Islands, Barbados, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and Dominica*; to the south of them lie the islands of Trinidad and Tobago, near the coast of Venezuela. Also included in the British Caribbean Colonies are the Bahamas, an archipelago consisting of a cluster of small islands situated on the edge of the tropics, north of Cuba and Haiti and close to the coast of Florida; the Turks and Caicos Islands, geographically part of the Bahamas, but politically dependencies of Jamaica; British Honduras, wedged between Mexico and Guatemala, south of the Yucatan Peninsula; and finally, British Guiana, situated on the north coast of South America and bordered by Venezuela, Brazil and Surinam (Dutch Guiana).

It will thus be seen that these colonies are far from constituting a geographical entity and are separated by great distances. Jamaica is a thousand miles from Trinidad and seven hundred miles from British Honduras, while four hundred miles separate Port of Spain (Trinidad) from Georgetown (British Guiana).

Population

The British Caribbean Colonies contain about three million inhabitants, unevenly distributed among the various territories. Some islands are over-populated (Barbados, for example, has a population density of 1,190 per square mile); but other colonies, such as British Guiana with only 5 inhabitants per square mile, are thinly peopled. The population is extremely heterogeneous. The great majority of the inhabitants (over 90% in some colonies) are of the Negro race, but there are also a minority of whites, important Indian communities, (mainly in British Guiana and Trinidad) and a few small groups of Chinese, Syrians, and aborigines. Miscegenation makes the picture even more complex: in Jamaica and Barbados, for instance, it is estimated that groups of mixed races make up about 20% of the population.

In addition to the mixture of races there is a wide diversity of customs and traditions. During the course of their history, most of the colonies were submitted to the influence of different cultures, and this can be seen in the speech and manners of the people. Thus, in Jamaica, Barbados and the Leeward Islands, the social atmosphere is predominantly English, whereas in Dominica, St. Lucia and Grenada the influence of French culture is still apparent. In Trinidad, an island which, before passing into the hands of the British, was first colonized by the Spanish Government

* For purposes of administration, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada and Dominica comprise the Windward Islands. St. Christopher and Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat and the British Virgin Islands constitute the federal colony of the Leeward Islands.



with French settlers, the culture and customs implanted by the latter are still evident in a society whose traditions are fundamentally English. These varied influences, together with ethnic differences, help to explain the divergencies among these various colonies.

Economic and Social Problems

One of the gravest problems confronting the governments of the various British Caribbean Colonies is that of raising the standard of living. Natural resources are not sufficiently developed and public revenue is often inadequate, the main source of revenue of the colonies being the collection of customs duties. Some colonies have to rely on annual subsidies from the United Kingdom.

Further, the trade balance of the colonies is unfavourable*; and as a result of hurricanes, drought and disease affecting agricultural production, the volume of exports varies from year to year. This fluctuation sometimes creates serious problems since even when exports fall in volume, imports of such essential commodities as flour, salt-fish and meat, cannot be correspondingly reduced. In spite of these difficulties, notable progress has been made throughout the whole area in the extension and improvement of social services.

The very existence of the British Caribbean Colonies is closely connected with the prosperity of their agriculture. In the past, the staple and indeed almost the only crop was sugar. Now the colonies grow and export on a large scale other products, such as coffee, cotton, spices, citrus fruit and bananas. The standard of living naturally remains dependent on the prices obtained for agricultural products on the world market; and the whole economy is affected by a poor crop or a reduction in prices.

However, the natural resources of the colonies, although limited, are far from depleted. Thus, Trinidad produces oil and natural asphalt, the exploitation of which is a valuable source of revenue for the colony. British Guiana possesses forests, only now being exploited on a large scale, as well as bauxite, gold and diamonds. British Honduras exports mahogany and chicle. In short, each of the colonies has certain resources, the development of which could be intensified and improved.

* This refers to the visible trade balance and does not include revenue from tourist trade.

Industry and Tourist Trade

Although most of the colonies possess plants for processing their primary products, they have to import almost all the manufactured products they require. Industrialization on a small scale has taken place in Jamaica, Trinidad and British Guiana, and measures are being taken to increase its scope.

The tourist trade plays an important part in the economy of the island colonies, especially the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Barbados, whose favourable climatic conditions attract thousands of visitors each year. Many airlines, including Trans-Canada Air Lines, contribute their share to the development of this trade, although the bulk of the traffic continues to be carried by the various steamship companies, including the Canadian National Steamship Lines, which serve the region.

Political Evolution

The British Caribbean colonies have a lengthy political history, and their legislative assemblies have long maintained the parliamentary tradition of Westminster. Some of these institutions date back a century or more, and Barbados has had representative institutions since the 17th century.

Before the Second World War many statesmen, both in the United Kingdom and in the colonies, believed that the political evolution of the colonies was too slow, and asked for wider constitutional reforms. Slavery had been abolished as long ago as 1838, when the Emancipation Act was enforced; but electoral franchise had been granted only to a minority. Moreover, legislative assemblies were in practice reduced to the role of critics and exerted little real influence on the conduct of public affairs, power being wielded by the governor and his executive council. Protests against the political conditions reached their peak during the years immediately preceding the Second World War. The colonies at this time still felt the effect of the depression of the thirties; the standard of living was too low and wages were inadequate. These factors generated political discontent, which in turn gave rise to a series of strikes, demonstrations, and riots.

The Royal Commission

To meet this emergency and to deal with the various requests of the Colonies for political and social betterment, the United Kingdom, in July 1938, appointed a royal commission to investigate and report on local social and economic conditions of the Colonies.

In December 1939, the Commission submitted a report recommending action to improve social services and economic conditions generally. With regard to constitutional reform, the Commission recommended that representatives elected by the people be admitted to the executive councils, and that a universal franchise be adopted either immediately or gradually. While stating that political union was not in itself a solution for the Colonies, the report indicated that it was nevertheless an ultimate goal. As an experiment, the Commission proposed the federation of the Leeward and Windward Islands, in order to find out the advantages of such a union.

Carrying Out Its Recommendations

In order to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission, the Government of the United Kingdom set up, in September 1940, an organization for the development and welfare of the British West Indies, under the direction of a controller responsible for preparing and submitting plans to extend social services. The United Kingdom Parliament, under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act—1940, also voted the credits required to carry out a comprehensive programme of technical and financial aid to the Colonies. (Later, in 1945 and 1949, Parliament voted supplementary estimates to cover increased requirements.) While all the

British Colonies took advantage of these credits, the British Caribbean Colonies had a large share of them, and plans for development have already been approved for Jamaica (including Turks and Caicos Islands), Barbados, St. Vincent, British Guiana, Grenada and other colonies.

The British Government did not limit its action to the economic field. Various measures granting the British Caribbean Colonies a greater degree of self-government have also been put into effect since the end of the Second World War. These measures have varied according to the needs and aspirations of the colony concerned. Jamaica and Trinidad now have universal franchise, while in most of the other colonies the franchise has been enlarged. There has also been a reduction in the number of "official" appointments to the legislative assemblies, and in Jamaica and Barbados members of the assembly are now elected by the people. In certain colonies, members elected by the people are now admitted to the executive council. This has for some time been the practice in Jamaica and Barbados, and was extended this year to the colony of Trinidad and Tobago. Jamaica and Trinidad now have new constitutions, both much advanced in the direction of self-government; Barbados also has a modified form of responsible government.

The Montego Bay Conference

Beginning in 1945, the United Kingdom gave the various colonial legislatures an opportunity to discuss the plan of political union brought up by the Royal Commission, and to express their views. As a result of these discussions, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Creech Jones, convened a meeting of the representatives of all the Colonies at Montego Bay (Jamaica), on September 11, 1947, for the purpose of discussing officially the proposed plan for federation.

The conference, presided over by Mr. Creech-Jones, lasted until September 19. The Bahamas were the only colony not represented. Most of the delegates were in favour of the broad lines of the federal scheme, but claimed more extensive powers for each of the local governments prior to the establishment of a federal government. The conference also proposed the establishment of several committees to study the problems involved in the proposed union, in particular the unification of customs tariffs and of public utilities and shipping services, the establishment of one currency for the whole region and the setting up of a federal constitution.

Standing Closer Association Committee

The most important of all these Committees was the Standing Closer Association Committee, whose members were selected by the legislature of each of the Colonies and whose chairman and secretary were appointed by the Colonial Secretary. This Committee, the first to be organized, held meetings at Barbados in November 1948, at Trinidad in March 1949, again at Barbados in July 1949, and finally at Jamaica, in October 1949. Sir Hubert Rance, present governor of Trinidad and Tobago, was chairman. On March 10, 1950, the Committee published its recommendations in a lengthy report.

The Rance Report

The report first notes that the establishment of the Standing Closer Association Committee was the result of a resolution adopted by the Conference held in Montego Bay, and then outlines the proposed federal structure. After stating that financial stability is essential to achieve real political independence, the Committee concludes that the economic stability and, as a result, the political independence of the British Caribbean Colonies can only be achieved through federation. For even if the financial situation of the region is now relatively good, a closer analysis shows that the economy of the Caribbean Colonies remains highly vulnerable. Some colonies still depend



MONTEGO BAY, JAMAICA, B.W.I.

—*Jamaica Official*

upon the subsidies of the British Treasury to balance their budget, while others, even if more prosperous, do not have sufficient income to improve social conditions, or to maintain the research facilities necessary to increase their agricultural and industrial production.

Allotment of Powers

In a special chapter, the Rance Report deals with the allotment of powers between the proposed federal government and the constituent parties. Taking the Australian constitution as a basis, the Report adopts the principle of "unallotted powers" (according to which certain powers are transferred to the central government, while the unallotted powers remain with the constituent territories), and divides into two categories the problems falling within the scope of the federal government. It recommends an "exclusive" list of matters which may be dealt with only by the central authority, and a second list of matters on which the central authority and the local governments may both legislate. Defence, external affairs, exchange control, and foreign loans, for example, are assigned to the exclusive jurisdiction of the federal authority; while banks, currency, industrial development, immigration, criminal law, marriage and divorce, postal services, transport, communications and labour matters, will fall under the jurisdiction of both the federal and local authorities, with federal legislation prevailing in case of dissent. The other unallotted powers, relating mainly to agriculture, education and the maintenance of peace and order, will remain under the authority of the local governments, but the federal government shall act as adviser in such matters should it wish to do so. The allotment of powers is not final, but is to be subject to revision in the light of experience.

Finance

It is further recommended in the report that the federal government shall have its own sources of revenue. For this purpose, it will take 25% of the customs revenue,

the remainder going to the local governments. Postal matters under the contemplated union will come under the central government, but the colonies which derive benefits from postal services may claim subsidies in compensation for losses sustained through the transfer of administration.

The report also points out that all colonies shall have the right to float loans in their own territory, but that foreign loans shall come under the jurisdiction of the central authorities. The latter shall also distribute any special subsidies granted by the British Treasury to those colonies whose revenues are inadequate. These grants which, it is expected, will be continued, even under the federal system, for a period of at least ten years, will take the form of an annual subsidy equal to the average of all subsidies granted during the five years prior to the federation. Should such subsidies prove inadequate, the central authorities may supplement them by drawing from their own revenue; should the latter be inadequate, the central authority may then apply directly to London. It is expected that this provision may induce the federal government and, therefore, each of the constituent parties, to practice economies and to depend first of all upon themselves. The federal government will, however, continue to receive the assistance provided by the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. According to the Report, the annual cost of the federal plan will be about £ 180,000 for the first years.

Legislature

It is recommended that the federal legislature be composed of two chambers, a legislative assembly and a senate. The legislative assembly, whose members will be elected directly by the people*, shall be composed of fifty deputies, divided as follows: Jamaica, 16; Trinidad, 9; British Guiana, 6; Barbados, 4; other colonies, two each; (except Montserrat which shall have one). The senate shall be composed of twenty-three members (two for each territory, except Montserrat which shall have one), appointed by the head of the state.

The legislative assembly shall legislate on all matters, except those reserved to the governor general. The senate, on the other hand, shall not postpone the adoption of a bill beyond a period of twelve months. The assembly will have priority over the senate, whose main function will be to protect the interests of each of the colonies making up the federation.

The Executive

According to the recommendations of the Report, the executive shall consist of a governor general appointed by the King and of a state council (or executive council) of fourteen members. The members of the legislative assembly shall elect one of their members to the post of "prime minister", who shall then select seven other "ministers" or members of the Council, either from the legislative assembly or the senate. The governor general shall then appoint the six other members of the executive council, but shall, however, select three of them from the members of either chamber. The state council shall formulate the policy of the government and shall be responsible to the legislature for carrying it out. The governor general shall follow the advice of his ministers on any bill previously adopted by both chambers, except for certain matters submitted to his right of veto and dealing with defence, external relations, some financial matters, as well as the maintenance of law and order and of public utilities in case of emergency.

The Report also provides for the establishment of a federal supreme court which shall hear certain cases as determined by the constitution, as well as appeals from local or regional courts.

* Except for the first election which shall be held according to the regulations in effect in each colony.

Finally, the federation shall be known officially as the "British Caribbean Federation" and its seat of government shall be Trinidad.

Pro-federative Action

The Rance Report concludes its recommendations by requesting the different committees established following the Montego Bay conference to carry on their work vigorously, without waiting for the realization of the contemplated political union, since, in some cases, there is great need for common and immediate action. This invitation is not directed to the Commission on the Unification of the Public Services, because the latter, which sat from December 1948 until August 1949, under the chairmanship of Sir Maurice Holmes, issued its report at the same time as the Standing Closer Association Committee, on March 10, 1950. The Committee for the Unification of Customs tariffs have also held several meetings, but has not yet submitted any reports. Progress is also being made in the study of several other problems, including the establishment of a single currency and other economic questions.

In the meantime, the legislatures of the different colonies* have begun to study the recommendations of the Standing Closer Association Committee. So far, the report has, in general, met with a favourable reception. Some colonies have received it with caution, others with enthusiasm. Still others, without being entirely hostile, have rejected some of its recommendations. It will, of course, be necessary to adjust differences and to smooth away many difficulties before an agreement can be reached. The responsibilities of the proposed federation, especially in matters of defence and foreign relations, will be limited, but there is every reason to believe that the plan, if brought into being, will be an outstanding event in the political evolution of the British Caribbean Colonies towards dominion status and, eventually, independence within the Commonwealth.

* The plan of federation does not include the Bahamas.



"EXTERNAL AFFAIRS": TWO YEARS OF PUBLICATION

The issue of *External Affairs* for December 1950 completed the second year of the bulletin's publication in printed form. This issue contained an index for Volume I, January-December 1950, listing by titles, and in some instances, by subject matter the articles carried. "Canadian Representation at International Conferences" and similar reference matter which is listed each month or quarter has not been separately noted in this index.

The increasing gravity of the international situation since June 25, 1950, has been reflected in a corresponding emphasis in *External Affairs* on articles of a topical nature. "The Korean Crisis" has been a feature of each issue since July, and the December issue provided full official texts of the two important statements of policy made by Mr. Pearson on December 4 and 5.

That *External Affairs* is serving a useful purpose is suggested by the fact that its monthly circulation has been maintained at about nine thousand copies for more than a year. It is the hope of the Department that, as the continuing pressure of events stimulates interest among Canadians in international relations, this figure, which includes both the French and English editions, will increase in the months to come.

CANADIAN PARTICIPATION IN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES

Many of the baffling problems with which the Western democracies have been faced since the last war have been met with imagination and determination. Nowhere has this imagination and determination been displayed more appropriately than in the acceptance of the obligation to extend technical assistance to less fortunate under-developed countries in their efforts to better their economic and social conditions.

The newly-won political independence of many economically retarded countries has thrown into harsh relief the misery of their people, who produce too little food and too few goods, because they are undernourished and illiterate and because they lack the technical knowledge and the capital. These peoples are no longer willing to accept the conditions of grinding poverty which have so frequently been their lot in the past. Many of these countries, however, have been hampered in their peaceful development since the War by disruptive forces which have been quick to utilize such conditions as breeding grounds for discontent. Only if their willingness to help themselves by mobilizing their material resources to improve the lot of their peoples is matched by the sympathetic and disinterested concern of the free countries of the West for their welfare can they lessen the risk of their achievement of political independence becoming a chimera. The Canadian Government, along with other western democracies, shares a common concern for the material progress of the peoples of these under-developed areas of the world, both as a humanitarian end and because it is convinced that this progress will further the advance of human freedom and secure the ground for a democratic way of life and the development of international understanding.

This concern was recently underlined by Mr. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, in his review of the current international situation delivered at the Federal-Provincial Conference on December 4, 1950, when he said:

"The forces of Communist aggression in Asia have in the past successfully allied themselves with the forces of national liberation and social reform. The task of the Western democratic powers is to assist the democratic governments in those areas to break that unnatural alliance. For this purpose, it is essential that the Western countries help the Asian democratic countries in their plans for economic development, in order to relieve the distress and poverty there, on which international communism feeds. Within the measure of its resources Canada should, I think, do its part to help in this great effort to promote human welfare and hence to ensure peace."

Canadian Contribution

The extent to which the Canadian Government is already implementing this policy of "enlightened self-interest" by its participation in programmes of technical assistance to under-developed countries has perhaps been overshadowed by the urgency of political and military developments of the past few months. In a previous issue of *External Affairs* (Vol. 2, No. 7, July 1950, pp. 269-271) reference was made to the setting up of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and to the Canadian financial contribution of \$850,000 to the fund for the first eighteen months of its operation. At the same time, the Canadian Government made a contribution of \$400,000 for the first year's operation of a Commonwealth sponsored programme of technical assistance for the countries of South and South-East Asia, which has since been so much broadened in scope as to lose its exclusively Commonwealth character and is now known as the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation in South and South-East Asia. The programme is designed to

supplement the United Nations Programme and to provide immediate assistance to an area where the needs are most urgent. Countries which have participated in the drawing up of the Colombo Report for Co-operative Economic Development of South and South-East Asia have realized that an effective programme to provide expert advice and assistance to these countries both by training and by lending trained manpower is essential if any large scale financial assistance which might be made available to them is to be used to advantage.

Progress has been made during the past six months in putting into practical effect plans for these ambitious programmes. The constitution of the Council, which is made up of representatives of all countries co-operating in the Colombo Programme and designed to supervise this technical assistance programme in South and South-East Asia, had been approved; and the first series of meetings was held during December to deal with specific requests for technical assistance from countries in the area. The actual administration of the programme will be carried out by a Bureau which is being established in Colombo*. The Canadian Government approved the constitution of the Council on November 10, 1950, and has designated Mr. Paul Sykes, Canadian Trade Commissioner in Colombo, as Canadian representative on the Council.

Activities Co-ordinated

Under the United Nations Expanded Programme, much has been accomplished to co-ordinate the technical assistance activities of the specialized agencies and organizations participating in the discharge of their responsibilities under the Programme. The United Nations, which itself is responsible for the more general aspects of the programme, has set up a Technical Assistance Administration to provide technical assistance through comprehensive exploratory surveys, technical advice, research and administrative services and training under Fellowships in Public Administration, Economic and Social Affairs. In September, Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, formerly Canadian Deputy Minister of Resources and Development, who, earlier in the year, had headed a United Nations Technical Assistance Mission to Bolivia, was appointed Director-General of the Administration.

The Canadian Government has recognized the importance of co-ordinating, insofar as practicable, the activities of these technical assistance programmes, both in the administration of the programmes and in the fields where technical assistance is being extended. It has also recognized the desirability of co-ordinating Canadian participation in these programmes in order that this participation might be as effective as possible.

A Technical Assistance Service has therefore been established to co-ordinate all Canadian activities with regard to technical assistance either with the United Nations or its Specialized Agencies, with the Bureau of the Co-operative Plan for Technical Assistance to South and South-East Asia, or in response to direct requests from foreign governments. This Technical Assistance Service, which is situated in the Department of Trade and Commerce, commenced its operation with the New Year. The Director, who reports to an inter-departmental group drawn from interested government departments, the chairman of which is an officer of the Department of External Affairs, is responsible for recruiting Canadian experts and advisers from the Civil Service, industry and universities as well as for making arrangements for the recep-

* During the interval between the approval of the plan in principle by the announcement of financial contributions from co-operating countries and the setting up of the Council, a preliminary survey of availabilities and requirements was undertaken, liaison was established with officials of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, and details of the constitution of the Council and the Bureau were worked out by a standing Committee of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee which met in Colombo.

tion of students, trainees and observers who come to Canada under these programmes to train in our universities or government departments or to become acquainted with our industrial techniques. The Canadian Government is prepared to make provision for federal civil servants who are recruited under these programmes and has drawn to the attention of all federal government departments and agencies that their co-operation both in respect of encouraging employees to accept temporary positions abroad under these programmes and in making available to trainees facilities in their fields of activity is essential for effective Canadian participation in the technical programmes.

Fellowship Holders Placed

Until the Technical Assistance Service was established, requests of the Canadian Government to provide technical assistance were handled by the Department of External Affairs. During the past few months since the United Nations Expanded Programme has come into operation, this Department has handled twenty-five requests from the U.N. for the placement of United Nations Fellowship holders in Canadian Government departments, industry and universities. In only two cases was it found impossible to make suitable facilities available. There are at present studying in Canada under the U.N. Fellowship Programme government officials or senior civil servants from such widely scattered countries as Iraq, Haiti, Pakistan, Mexico, Brazil, Cambodia, India, Malta, Siam and Burma. Their interests lie in such divergent fields as veterinary services, taxation assessment, industrial development, forestry, hydro-electric power development, public administration, geological surveys, census-taking and civil service personnel administration. Some progress has been made in recruiting Canadian experts and technicians to serve abroad. In addition to lending the services of Canadian Government officials and civil servants to FAO, WHO and ILO for special technical assistance projects, assistance has been given to the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration in recruiting experts for a technical assistance mission for Colombia as well as a survey mission to make recommendations with regard to administrative, economic and social problems which will face the new Libyan government of the former Italian colonies.

Canada has already demonstrated her willingness to meet requests for technical assistance from the under-developed countries. The machinery for handling a much greater flow of such requests has been set up. The Canadian Government has accepted this obligation at a time when there are great and urgent demands upon its own skills, techniques and resources of trained manpower in the immediate interests of international security because the events which have brought about this situation have themselves demonstrated both the immediate necessity and the long-range importance of demonstrating, in a practical way, our interest in the welfare of the people of under-developed countries where economic and social conditions create political uneasiness and unrest.

JOINT CANADA-UNITED STATES INDUSTRIAL MOBILIZATION PLANNING COMMITTEE

The Joint Canada-United States Industrial Mobilization Planning Committee was established by an exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States on April 12, 1949, following a series of discussions that began the previous June when international conditions again appeared threatening.

The Joint Committee was founded on the realization of the common interests of the two countries in defence. Their proximity and the complementary characteristics of their resources clearly indicate the advantages of co-ordinating their plans for industrial mobilization. Only in this way can the most effective use be made of their productive facilities.

It was agreed in the Committee to exchange information with a view to co-ordinating plans for industrial mobilization, and to consider what recommendations in the areas of common concern in this field should be made to each government.

The Joint Committee is empowered to organize sub-committees from time to time to facilitate the discharge of its functions and is responsible for co-operation with the Permanent Joint Board on Defence in matters of industrial mobilization. This Board was established in 1940 by President Roosevelt and Mr. Mackenzie King, then Prime Minister of Canada.

The Canadian members of the Joint Committee are the Minister of Trade and Commerce and the Chairman of the Industrial Defence Board; the United States members are the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board and the Chairman of the Munitions Board.

First Meeting Held

The first meeting of the Joint Committee took place in Washington on June 1, 1949, and the discussions were primarily limited to questions of organization. It was at that time recommended that both Governments, bearing in mind the magnitude and scope of subjects for possible consideration and exchange of information, should give careful study to the priority of approach in exploring those problems of mutual interests to Canadian and United States industrial mobilization planning.

There have been meetings of a number of sub-committees set up by the Joint Committee to examine particular production and supply questions of mutual concern to the two countries in their planning. In the course of these meetings the Canadian and United States representatives exchange information and prepare recommendations to be submitted to the Joint Committee.

On August 8, 1950, the Joint Committee held its second meeting in Ottawa. The reports of the sub-committees were reviewed and plans were made for their work during the coming year. The Korean war gave added impetus to consideration of the problems of industrial mobilization. It was recommended that studies should be made of the basic industrial programmes of the two countries and of the steps necessary to meet the production and supply requirements involved. Closely associated with these studies was the question of regulations pertaining to priorities, allocations and export controls. To facilitate this work it was decided to establish a set of principles which would define and motivate the joint use of materials and resources by Canada and the United States.

On October 20, 1950, the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. H. H. Wrong, and the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dean Acheson, signed in Washington an exchange of notes which gave formal effect to the resulting "Statement of Principles for Economic Co-operation" between Canada and the United

States. This Statement, which sets forth general principles for the guidance of the two Governments in achieving a co-ordinated economic programme for their common defence, was reported on pp. 414-415 of the November issue of *External Affairs*.

The "Principles" are very much in the spirit of the Hyde Park Agreement of 1941 under which Canada and the United States co-ordinated for mutual benefit their efforts in such matters as military procurement, economic controls and the use of raw materials. The arrangements worked out under the Agreement proved so satisfactory that it was decided to re-affirm the underlying principles in this Statement of the Joint Committee which now becomes an inter-governmental agreement.

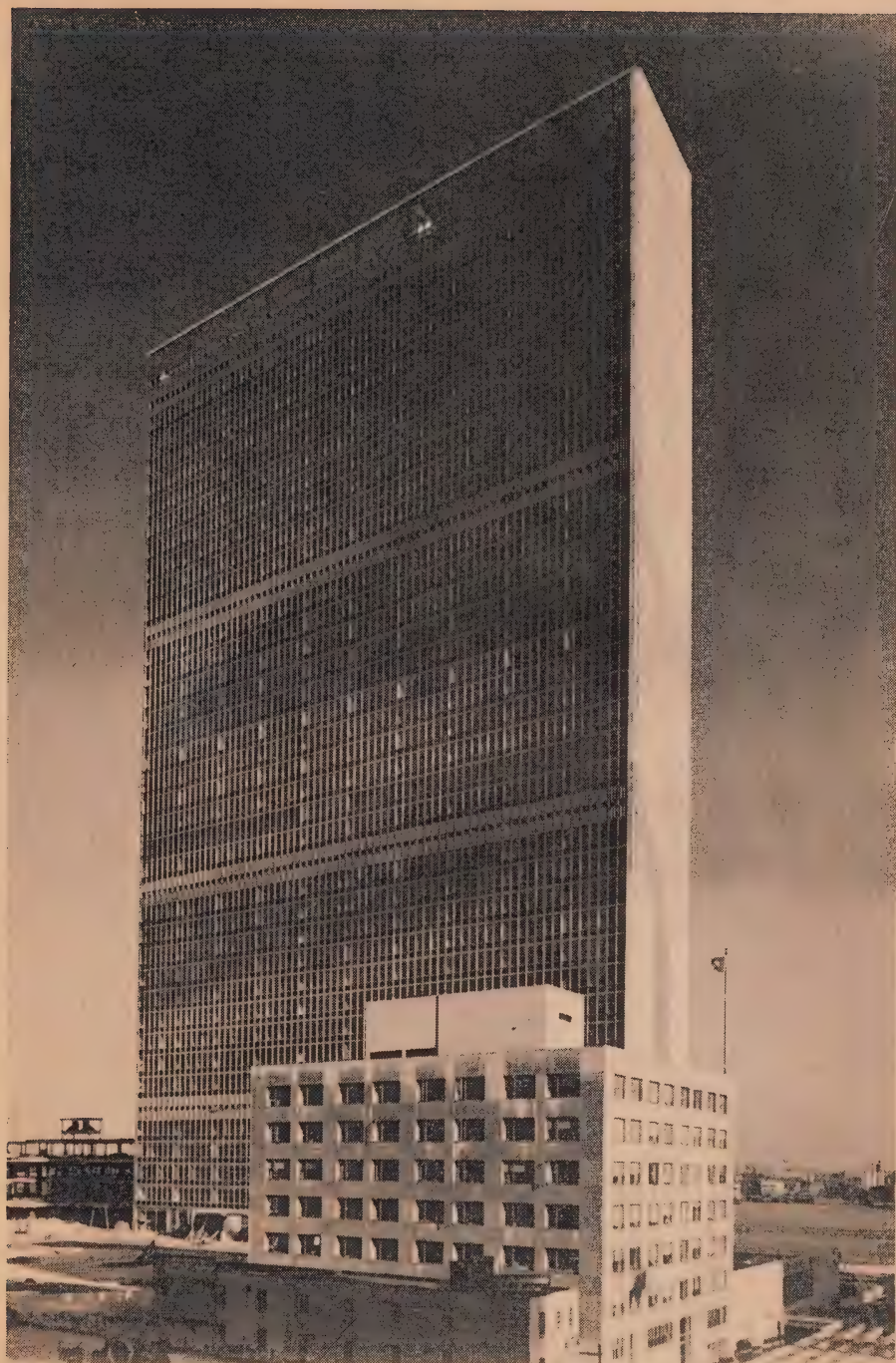
The two governments declare that, in the interests of mutual security and to assist them in the discharge of their obligations under the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty, it is their belief that they should extend their co-operation in the field of industrial mobilization. It is recalled that a high degree of co-operation has been maintained during and since World War II through the co-operation of the concepts embodied in the Hyde Park Agreement and their extension into the post-war period.

It is agreed that, as it becomes necessary, co-ordinated controls will be instituted over the distribution of scarce raw materials and supplies to assure an optimum production of goods essential to the common defence and that there shall be developed a co-ordinated programme of requirements, production and procurement.

The emergency controls brought into effect are to be mutually consistent in their objectives and so designed and administered as to achieve comparable results in both countries. In this connection each country will consult, as far as possible, with the other prior to instituting controls which affect the other country.

Provision is made for the free exchange, where feasible, of the technical knowledge and productive skills involved to facilitate essential production.

It is recognized that the barriers which impede the flow of goods essential for the common defence effort between Canada and the United States should be removed as far as possible and that the two governments will consult concerning any financial or foreign exchange problems which may arise as a result of the implementation of the agreement.



UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK

—United Nations

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

General Progress Report

The General Assembly, on December 15, completed the consideration of the agenda of its Fifth Regular Session, with the exception of four items which still remained on the agenda of the First (Political) Committee. The work of this Committee was suspended, pending the submission of a report by the Cease-Fire Committee on the result of its efforts to bring the fighting in Korea to a halt. It was anticipated that this report would be available in the early part of January, at which time the Political Committee was scheduled to resume its deliberations.

Merging of Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commissions

In recognition of the fact that any effective system of armaments control must comprehend weapons of all kinds, including atomic weapons, the General Assembly approved a resolution aiming at the eventual merging of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. The resolution, which was adopted by a majority of 47 to 5, with 3 abstentions, provides for the establishment of a committee of twelve, consisting of the representatives of the members of the Security Council on January 1, 1951, together with Canada, to consider and report to the next regular session of the General Assembly on ways and means whereby the work of the two existing commissions may be co-ordinated and on the advisability of their functions being merged and placed under a new and consolidated disarmament commission.

A Soviet proposal to instruct the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission to resume its work and to proceed immediately with the preparation of simultaneous draft conventions for the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon and international control of atomic energy, was rejected by the General Assembly by a vote of 32 in favour, 5 against, with 16 abstentions.

Prisoners of War

The General Assembly adopted, by a majority of 43 to 5, with 6 abstentions, a resolution calling upon all governments still having control of prisoners of war to act in conformity with recognized standards of international conduct, which require that these persons be afforded an immediate and unrestricted opportunity of repatriation. Governments concerned are requested to transmit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, before April 30, 1951, information concerning the names of all prisoners of war still held by them, the reason for their continued detainment and the places in which they are being detained.

The original resolution, jointly sponsored by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, was based on a specific complaint of failure on the part of the Soviet Union to repatriate or otherwise account for prisoners of war detained in the Soviet territory. As a result of a series of amendments put forward in the Social Committee, however, the scope of the item under discussion was broadened to comprise measures for the peaceful solution of the problem of prisoners of war in general. The Canadian delegation, like many others, would have preferred to see the resolution adopted in its initial version as more adequately responsive to the realities of the situation in respect of prisoners of war not yet repatriated to their homes. However, inasmuch as the original sponsors were prepared to accept the majority of the amendments submitted, the Canadian delegation supported the resolution in its amended form.

The resolution, as finally adopted by the General Assembly on December 14, further provides for the establishment of an Ad Hoc Commission composed of three

impartial persons chosen by the International Red Cross or the Secretary-General to convene after April 30, 1951, and examine the information furnished by governments still having prisoners of war in their custody, and to assist these governments in arranging for the repatriation of such prisoners. Under the resolution, all the Governments concerned are requested to co-operate fully with the Commission, to supply the required information and to grant the Commission the right of access to their respective countries and any areas in which prisoners of war continue to be detained. The results of the Commission's work are to be submitted to the Secretary-General for transmission to the members of the United Nations.

Jerusalem

In the last week of the session a committee of the Assembly discussed three possible ways of dealing with the stalemate which had resulted from the inability of the Trusteeship Council to enforce its statute providing an international regime for the Jerusalem area.* Sweden suggested that the Assembly should appoint a Commissioner for Jerusalem who might ask Israel or Jordan either to introduce or to suspend particular measures whenever he considered this to be necessary for the protection of the Holy Places or to ensure freedom of access to them or to maintain existing rights of religious denominations. Jordan opposed the Swedish draft resolution but, along with Israel, accepted an amendment offered by the United Kingdom, the United States and Uruguay. This provided that the United Nations should limit itself to sending to Jerusalem a representative who would report on the observance by Jordan and Israel of pledges concerning Holy Places, human rights, rights of religious denominations and reduction of armed forces. Those members of the Assembly, however, who thought a fuller degree of international control was possible supported a Belgian proposal that the Trusteeship Council should name four persons to study, in consultation with the states, authorities and religious bodies concerned, the conditions of a settlement to ensure United Nations supervision of the protection of Holy Places and spiritual and religious interests in the Holy Land. In the Assembly on December 15 this proposal failed to secure the requisite two-thirds majority, the vote being 30 in favour and 18 against. Nine, including Canada, abstained. No other resolution was brought forward, but Jordan and Israel have voluntarily undertaken to protect the Holy Places and to guarantee the recognized rights of religious denominations and freedom of access to Holy Places in areas under their respective control.

Palestine Refugees and a General Peace Settlement

The Conciliation Commission has so far failed to secure the settlement of the refugee problem, chiefly because the Arabs have insisted that the refugees should be repatriated, in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of December 11, 1948, while Israel has maintained that they will have to be resettled in Arab lands. The Assembly defeated a Soviet proposal that the Conciliation Commission should be dissolved, leaving the parties to settle all their differences by direct negotiation. On December 14, after the issues had been warmly debated in committee, it adopted a resolution which was opposed only by the Soviet bloc. This provided (a) that negotiations for a final settlement of outstanding issues should be conducted either with the Conciliation Commission, as the Arabs desired, or directly, as Israel wished, and (b) that the Commission should establish an office to make arrangements for the assessment and payment of compensation to refugees for loss of their property and to work out practicable arrangements for implementing other provisions of an Assembly resolution of December 11, 1948 which had dealt with repatriation, resettlement and rehabilitation of refugees. Five Arab states voted for this resolution, although Israel and Iraq abstained along with two other members.

* See *External Affairs*, January, May and July 1950.

Pending settlement of the refugee problem the refugees themselves are being supported through voluntary contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees. On December 2 the Assembly adopted by 46 votes to 0, with 6 abstentions, a joint resolution initiated by the four states which serve on the Agency's advisory commission. For 1951-52 this provides a fund of \$20,000,000 to be voluntarily subscribed for direct relief and a reintegration fund of at least \$30,000,000 to be similarly subscribed for projects proposed by Near Eastern governments and approved by the Agency with a view to the permanent re-establishment of refugees. Canada was appointed on a negotiating committee of seven to secure firm commitments from member states and others to finance the Agency's current operations and its work from July 1, 1951 to June 3, 1952.

Former Italian Colonies

On December 2 the Assembly approved by 46 votes to 10, with 4 abstentions, the proposal for the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia outlined in the December issue of *External Affairs*. On December 14 it elected Mr. Eduardo Anze Matienzo of Bolivia as United Nations Commissioner for Eritrea to facilitate the process of federation, which is to be completed by September 15, 1952.

On December 2 the Assembly formally approved the trusteeship agreement for Italian Somaliland negotiated with Italy last January by the Trusteeship Council. Ethiopia having decided not to carry out its earlier plan, reported in our December issue, of pressing for advisory opinions from the International Court of Justice on the interpretation of Article 79 of the Charter.

On December 15 an extended draft resolution of a technical nature was accepted providing for the transfer to Libya of various types of Italian state and para-statal property with the assistance of a United Nations tribunal. The Assembly also recommended that the Secretary-General should report at the next regular session on the degree to which the repair of war damages in Libya might be related to technical assistance.

Undelimited portions of the boundaries of Italian Somaliland and Libya are to be fixed by procedures outlined in a further resolution adopted by the Assembly on December 15. After Libya has become independent it will negotiate its own boundary settlement with France, with or without the aid of "a third person". Italy will negotiate boundary settlements for Italian Somaliland with Ethiopia and the United Kingdom administration in British Somaliland. In case of difficulty recourse may be had to a United Nations mediator or to arbitration.

Canada voted in favour of all these resolutions. All except the resolution concerning war damages in Libya were opposed by the Soviet bloc.

South-West Africa

On July 11, 1950, the International Court of Justice handed down its opinion on certain questions relating to the international status of South-West Africa. The Court was unanimous in its opinion that South-West Africa is a territory under international mandate. It also found that South Africa continues to have international obligations to transmit annual reports on its administration of the territory and to forward petitions from local inhabitants there, the supervisory functions in this connection to be exercised by the United Nations. While the International Court was of the opinion that South Africa has no legal obligation to submit a trusteeship agreement in respect of South-West Africa, it was equally satisfied that South Africa, acting alone, has not the competence to modify the international status of that territory. Such competence, the Court found, rests with South Africa acting with the consent of the United Nations.

Two main types of resolution emerged in the debate on South-West Africa at the Fifth Session of the General Assembly: those dealing with the implementation of the Court's opinion and those relating to the submission of a trusteeship agreement.

In the first category a proposal was adopted by a narrow majority in the Fourth Committee, sponsored by a number of Latin American and Asian delegations, headed respectively by Brazil and India. This resolution requested the South African Government to submit reports on its administration of South-West Africa for the years 1947 to 1950 and, in due course, for subsequent years. It also requested the South African Government to transmit all petitions relating to South-West Africa to the Secretary-General, and proposed the establishment of a commission for South-West Africa to assist the General Assembly in the consideration of annual reports, petitions and all other matters relating to the mandated territory.

The Canadian delegation opposed the resolution because the delegation preferred a proposal sponsored by eight powers which endorsed the International Court's opinion and proposed to set up a committee to confer with South Africa concerning the measures necessary to implement that opinion. The eight-power proposal was not voted on in Fourth Committee, however, in view of the adoption of the Latin American-Asian resolution.

The position resulting from the debate in the Fourth Committee was satisfactory neither to the sponsors of the Latin American-Asian resolution nor to the supporters of the eight-power draft. It was accepted that, under Article 18 of the Charter, any resolution on South-West Africa, in implementation of the Court's opinion, would require a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting in plenary session. The Latin American resolution had carried only by the narrowest majority. A compromise proposal was, therefore, worked out between the sponsors of the two resolutions for submission to the plenary session of the Assembly. The new proposal accepted the basic provision of the eight-power draft that the committee to be established by United Nations resolution should be a "negotiating" rather than a "supervisory" committee. At the same time the new resolution contained provisions relating to petitions, reports and "other matters" which had not been dealt with in the eight-power draft.

When the General Assembly considered the question of South-West Africa in plenary session on December 13, it adopted the compromise (six-nation) proposal by a vote of 45 in favour (including Canada), 6 against and 5 abstentions. The Assembly also adopted an additional "trusteeship" resolution supported jointly by India and a number of Latin American delegations. The vote on this resolution was 30 in favour, 10 against (including Canada) and 16 abstentions.

The Canadian delegation supported the compromise resolution as it thought the setting up of a negotiating committee offered best promise of a solution to the difficult South-West African question. Canada opposed the trusteeship resolution in the light of the Court's opinion that the South African Government was not legally obliged to submit such an agreement, and in view of the immediate importance of working out arrangements to give effect to the Court's opinion as a whole.

Admission of New Members

The only state to secure admission to membership in the United Nations in the course of the Fifth Session of the General Assembly was the Republic of Indonesia, which was formally admitted on September 28. Although there is now a marked trend in favour of universal membership, in recognition of the fact that the United Nations should be an organization representative of the widest possible stratum of international opinion, no further progress was made toward the admission of the 14 other outstanding applicants.

The principal reason for the continuing impasse over this question in the Security Council is that a number of the Soviet-sponsored candidates are not generally considered to be in a position to comply with the conditions of membership stipulated in Article 4 of the Charter. For its part, the Soviet Union appears to be unwilling to give favourable consideration to the applications of the remaining candidates, except in the context of a general move by the Security Council to approve the admission of all the states whose applications for membership are still outstanding. On the basis of Paragraph 2 of Article 4 of the Charter and the advisory opinion handed down by the International Court of Justice on March 3, 1950, the admission of those states cannot be effected by the General Assembly on its own initiative unless there has been a specific and prior recommendation for admission by the Security Council.

In the light of these circumstances the General Assembly could do no more than approve, on December 4, a resolution sponsored jointly by Brazil, Canada, Philippines, Sweden and Syria, which requested the Security Council to keep the outstanding applications under consideration in accordance with the terms of the resolutions passed by the General Assembly at its Fourth Session. The joint draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 46 in favour, 5 against, with 2 abstentions. The General Assembly also had before it two further proposals relating to the admission of new members: a draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union recommending that the Security Council review the applications of all candidates for admission to membership with the exception of the Republic of Korea; and a draft resolution introduced by El Salvador which would have conferred observer status upon all the applicants sponsored by the Western Powers pending their eventual admission to full membership. Neither of these proposals commanded the required support in the General Assembly. The Canadian delegation voted against the Soviet proposal on the ground that it excluded the Republic of Korea from the list of outstanding applicants. It was also unable to support the proposal put forward by El Salvador which implied substantial modifications in the structure of the United Nations and could not be regarded as entirely compatible with the provisions of the Charter.

Administrative

Place of Meeting of the Sixth Regular Session of the General Assembly

On December 14 the General Assembly adopted, by a vote of 31 in favour, 16 against, with 11 abstentions, a proposal sponsored jointly by Bolivia, Colombia and Peru, to convene the Sixth Regular Session of the Assembly in Europe. The proposal instructed the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General to select the city most suitable for the purpose and to make the necessary arrangements with the host government.

The Canadian delegation voted against the joint proposal on the ground that adequate facilities existed at Headquarters in New York, while the convening of the next session in Europe would involve not only serious difficulties of a technical nature, but an estimated additional expenditure of \$1,750,000 if the session were held in Paris, and \$1,600,000 if it were held in Geneva. These, moreover, represented minimum estimates based on the assumption that the host government would provide the greater part of the conference facilities required by the General Assembly.

On the other hand, it was contended that there were substantial political advantages in a reasonable decentralization of the work of the principal organs of the United Nations. It would acquaint the Organization with the problems and needs of diverse regions of the world and, conversely, allow local public opinion to gain a fuller understanding of the purposes and goals of the United Nations. More specifically, the decision to convene the 1951 session of the General Assembly in Europe would be interpreted by Europeans as a testimony of solidarity and a message of

faith in the ability of the nations of the world to surmount the crisis with which they are confronted at the present moment.

Budget and Contributions

On December 15 the General Assembly approved the budget estimates for the year 1951 submitted to it in the Report of the Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee. The total appropriation, on the basis of which member states will be assessed, amounts to \$42,829,335. This figure takes into account the expenditures and miscellaneous income envisaged for 1951 as well as certain supplementary appropriations submitted for the previous financial year.

The Working Capital Fund will be maintained at \$20,000,000, and the Secretary-General has been authorized to make advances from the Fund to meet unforeseen expenditures or expenditures whose extent cannot be precisely determined at the present moment, including loans required to finance assistance to Palestine refugees and the programme of relief and rehabilitation in Korea.

The scale of assessment of 23 member states has been slightly revised during the course of the current session of the General Assembly. The revision affects principally the countries of the Soviet bloc, whose contributions have been increased by 10 per cent. Under a working rule previously adopted by the Committee on Contributions, this is the maximum increase which can be made in the assessment of a member state in any single year. A corresponding revision has been effected in the United States contribution which was reduced from 39.78 to 38.92 per cent. The Canadian contribution has been increased from 3.2 to 3.3 per cent. This increase reflects, in part, the substantially higher level of economic activity in Canada in the past year.

Economic and Social

Refugees and Stateless Persons

At its Fifth Session, the General Assembly devoted a great deal of time to the consideration of important questions which probably will affect the lives of refugees and stateless persons for some years to come. The Canadian delegation was very active in these discussions and, in particular, in the moulding of satisfactory compromise definitions of the term "refugee" which will determine the scope of the responsibilities of the new High Commissioner for Refugees and of the proposed convention of refugees.

In brief, the Assembly decided what persons should be the responsibility of the High Commissioner for Refugees who will commence operations on January 1, 1951. It was agreed that certain broad groups of refugees would be entitled to his legal protection and assistance, the definition approved for this purpose being much broader than that stipulated, for example, in the terms of reference of the International Refugee Organization. At the same time, the Assembly approved a detailed statute which outlines the general principles, organization, powers, functions and competence of the High Commissioner's Office. Finally, the Assembly elected Dr. G. J. Van Heuven Goedhart of the Netherlands as its first High Commissioner for Refugees. The only other candidate was Mr. J. Donald Kingsley, the present Director-General of the IRO.

The Assembly also adopted a more restrictive definition of "refugee" which it suggested might be included in the proposed convention on refugees that was drafted in 1950 by the Ad Hoc Committee on Refugees and Stateless Persons. A decision was also taken to convene a special conference of plenipotentiaries for the final establishment and signature of this convention and of the protocol relating to the status of stateless persons. This conference will be held in Geneva during 1951.

The discussion of material aid to refugees was postponed until the next session of the Assembly because of the extension of the life of IRO until the end of September 1951. At the same time, the Assembly urgently appealed to all states to assist the IRO in its efforts to resettle refugees remaining under its care before it ceases operations.

Aid for Korea

On December 1, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which embodied the recommendations submitted by the Economic and Social Council for a long-term programme of relief and rehabilitation in Korea. The resolution includes both organization plans for the programme and a statement of policy to govern its execution. A United Nations Korean Reconstructive Agency (UNKRA) is to be established under the direction of a United Nations Agent-General responsible to the General Assembly. Careful provision is made for co-ordination with the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, with the designated Korean authorities and with appropriate specialized agencies, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. An advisory committee consisting of representatives of five member governments, including Canada, is to advise the Agent-General on major economic problems relating to his planning and operations. Certain categories of priorities of supplies and services are laid down for the initial period of the programme, which was intended to extend from January 1, 1951 until early 1952. First priority is to be given to the provision of the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter, and measures to prevent epidemics. Second highest priority relates to projects, like the reconstruction of transport and power facilities, which will yield early results in the domestic production of basic necessities. As the programme develops emphasis will be shifted to the provision of other materials, supplies and equipment for the reconstruction or replacement of war-damaged facilities.

The statement of policy approved by the General Assembly provides, *inter alia*, that United Nations assistance is to supplement the general recovery effort to be undertaken by the Korean people; that United Nations assistance must not be accompanied by any conditions of a political nature; that the programme, while it should be consistent with the pattern of long-term economic development in Korea, is itself necessarily limited to relief and rehabilitation; and that the supplies provided under the programme shall be equitably distributed to all classes of the population without discrimination as to race, creed or political belief.

In a separate resolution the General Assembly requested the President to appoint a negotiating committee for the purpose of consulting with member and non-member states on the amount which governments might be willing to contribute towards the financing of the Relief and Rehabilitation Programme. The resolution provides that at a later date a meeting of members and non-member states would be called at which governments might commit themselves to their national contributions. Canada was one of the seven members appointed by the President to the Negotiating Committee.

While the exact requirements of relief and reconstruction in Korea are not known, the Economic and Social Council estimated that the costs of the programme for the initial period, that is, from January 1, 1951 until early 1952, would be in the neighbourhood of 250 million dollars. Since these plans were drawn up, the military situation in Korea has changed to such an extent that the commencement of the programme will now have to be delayed until the political and military situation is clarified.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. J. B. Seaborn was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy in the Netherlands, effective December 12, 1950.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

His Excellency Urho Toivola, Minister of Finland, left Ottawa on December 13 for a vacation. During his absence, Mr. Olavi Lahonen, Second Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires a.i.

The Honourable A. A. Roberts returned to Ottawa on December 16 and resumed his duties as High Commissioner for South Africa.

Mr. P. K. Banerjee, Second Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for India, was promoted to the rank of First Secretary, October 30. Pending the appointment of a new head of mission, Mr. Banerjee is Acting High Commissioner.

The address of the Legation of Denmark is now: Suite 115, 56 Sparks Street, telephone: 4-0704.

New Appointments

Mr. Franco Cancellario d'Alena, Secretary,

Embassy of Italy, December 5. He was previously Vice-Consul of Italy at Toronto.

Count Guy Charles Guillaume Marie de Lestrang, Secretary, Embassy of France, December 5.

Mr. Kwei Chung-chun, Attaché, Embassy of China, December 9.

Mr. Ole Mjelde, Agricultural Attaché, Legation of Norway, December 18. Mr. Mjelde is concurrently Agricultural Attaché at the Embassy of Norway in Washington and resides there.

Departures

Mr. Richard W. Byrd, Counsellor of Embassy, Embassy of the United States of America, December 2.

Lieutenant-Colonel C. S. Kotzé, Military and Air Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for South Africa, December 18.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Mr. Joseph René Ascoli, Honorary Consul of Ecuador at Montreal, December 9.

Mr. Roland K. Beyer, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Vancouver, December 9.

Mr. Cabot Coville, Consul General of the United States of America at Halifax, December 9.

Mr. Roberto Korner, Honorary Consul of Uruguay at Toronto, December 9.

Mr. Charles C. Sundell, Consul of the United States of America at Windsor, December 9.

Mr. T. W. Thompson, Honorary Consul of Haiti at Halifax, December 9.

Mr. Sebastian Emilio Valverde, Consul General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa, December 9.

Mr. Casimir T. Zawadzki, Consul of the United States of America at Halifax, December 9.

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. Thomas A. Kelly as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, December 16.

Mr. Raymond J. Swanson as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at St. John, N.B., December 20.

Mr. Paul Fregosi as Vice-Consul of France at Vancouver, December 27.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Dr. Werner Dankwort as Consul General of Germany at Ottawa.

Mr. Juan J. De Soto as Honorary Consul of Venezuela at Toronto, December 8.

Mr. Santiago Hernandez A. as Consul General of El Salvador at Montreal, December 8.

Mr. Eugene L. Padberg as Consul of the United States of America at Calgary, December 15, during the absence of Mr. Augustus C. Owen, Vice-Consul. Mr. Padberg will return to his post at Winnipeg at the end of his temporary assignment in Calgary.

Mr. Eduardo Prado Meyer as Consul of Mexico at Toronto, December 27.

Departures

Dr. Mauricio Martinez Larin, Consul General of El Salvador at Montreal, in November.

Mr. Rudolph Hefti, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Saint John, N.B., December 14.

Mr. James R. Riddle, Consul of the United

States of America at St. John's, Nfld., December 22.

Mr. Emil Skarin, Honorary Vice-Consul of Sweden at Edmonton, December 31. Mr. Olof Sigurd Franzen is Acting Vice-Consul pending the appointment of a successor to Mr. Skarin.

Mr. H. M. El Hakeem, Consul General of Egypt at Ottawa, left on December 5 for a visit to Cairo. During his absence, Mr. Choukry A. Fadel, Vice-Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

VISITS OF OFFICIALS OF OTHER COUNTRIES

The Right Honourable Clement Attlee, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, visited Ottawa, December 9-11. Among those who accompanied Mr. Attlee to Ottawa were: Field Marshal Sir William Slim, Chief of the Imperial General Staff; Sir Edwin Plowden, Chief Planning Officer, United Kingdom Treasury, and Sir Roger Makins, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, United Kingdom Foreign Office.

The following members of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation visited Ottawa, December 17-19: Mr. Robert Marjolin, Secretary General; Sir Edmund Hall-Patch, Chairman of the Executive Committee; Mr. M. H. Schmid, Chairman, Pulp and Paper Committee; Mr. S. J. Gross, Secretary, Non-ferrous Metals Committee; Mr. G. von Giannelia, Secretary, Pulp and Paper Committee.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a List of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during December 1950, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

CONTINUING BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

1. *International Boundary Commission (Canada-United States)*. Place: as required—J. L. Rannie, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
2. *International Joint Commission (Canada-United States)*. Place: as required—Canadian Section: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, Chairman; George Spence; J. L. Dansereau.
3. *Commonwealth Shipping Committee*. London—R. P. Bower, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
4. *International Fisheries Commission (Halibut) (Canada-United States)*. Place: as required—J. W. Nickerson and C. R. Clark, Department of Fisheries.
5. *Commonwealth Economic Committee*. London—F. Hudd, R. P. Bower, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
6. *Executive Council of the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux*. London—Dr. H. J. Atkinson and Dr. M. I. Timonin, Department of Agriculture; J. G. Robertson, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
7. *Permanent Joint Board on Defence (Canada-United States)*. Place: as required. Canadian Section: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, Chairman; Rear-Admiral F. L. Houghton, Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff; Maj. Gen. H. D. Graham, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, and A/V/M A. L. James, Air Member for Air Plans, N.D.H.Q.; C. C. Eberts, Privy Council Office.
8. *Far Eastern Commission*. Washington—H. H. Wrong, Canadian Ambassador to the United States; Cmdr. F. J. D. Pemberton and P. G. R. Campbell, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
9. *Inter-Allied Trade Board for Japan*. Washington—J. H. English, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
10. *Inter-Allied Reparation Agency*. Brussels—A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels; Alternate: R. Chaput, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.
11. *International Whaling Commission*. London—S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries.
12. *Restitution Advisory Committee*. Tokyo—J. C. Britton, Canadian Liaison Mission, Tokyo.

13. *ICAO Council*. Montreal—Brig. G. S. Booth, Council Member for Canada.
14. *Air Navigation Commission of ICAO*. Montreal—S. Graham, Commission Member for Canada.
15. *International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission (Canada - United States)*. New Westminster—Senator T. Reid; O. Hanson and A. G. Whitmore, Department of Fisheries.
16. *Joint United States-Canada Industrial Mobilization Planning Committee*. Washington-Ottawa—Canadian Section: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, Chairman; H. J. Carmichael, Industrial Defence Board.
17. *Commonwealth Telecommunications Board*. London—J. H. Tudhope, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
18. *Canada - United Kingdom Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs*. Ottawa-London—M. W. Mackenzie, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Dr. J. G. Taggart, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; A. F. W. Plumptre, Department of External Affairs.
19. *Permanent Committee of the International Copyright Union*. Berne—Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland.
20. *Surplus Commodity Committee of FAO*. Washington—Dr. G. S. H. Barton, Special Assistant to the Minister of Agriculture.
21. *North Atlantic Council of Ministers*. Place: as required—L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternate: H. H. Wrong, Canadian Ambassador to the United States.
22. *North Atlantic Defence Committee*. Place: as required—B. Claxton, Minister of National Defence.
23. *North Atlantic Defence Financial and Economic Committee*. Place: as required — D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance.
24. *North Atlantic Defence Financial and Economic Committee, Permanent Working Staff*. London—A. E. Ritchie, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
25. *North Atlantic Military Committee*. Place: as required — Lt. Gen. Foulkes, Chief of the General Staff.
26. *North Atlantic Military Production and Supply Board*. Place: as required—S. D. Pierce, Permanent Representative of Canada to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris.
27. *North Atlantic Military Production and Supply Board, Permanent Working Staff*. London — E. W. T. Gill, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
28. *North Atlantic Council Deputies*. London—L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom.
29. *Organization for European Economic Co-operation*. Paris—S. D. Pierce, Permanent Representative of Canada to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris; L. Couillard, Deputy; Advisers: A. R. Kilgour and W. J. van Vliet.
30. *Council of Technical Co-operation*. Colombo—P. Sykes, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Colombo.

CONFERENCES ATTENDED IN DECEMBER, 1950

1. *Fifth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*. New York — September 19-December—Chairman: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Vice-Chairman: H. Lapointe, Minister of Veterans' Affairs; Representatives: Senator J. G. Turgeon; J. Dickey, M.P.; J. Lesage, M.P.; Alternates: A. D. P. Heeney, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; C. F. Elliott, Canadian Ambassador to Chile; R. G. Riddell, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York; C. S. A. Ritchie, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (1st part of Assembly); L. Mayrand, Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs (2nd part of Assembly); Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare; Parliamentary Advisers: M. J. Coldwell, M.P.; J. Décore, M.P.; G. Graydon, M.P.; G. F. Higgins, M.P.; S. Low, M.P.; V. Quelch, M.P.; Advisers: Appropriate Advisers from the Department of External Affairs and other Government Departments will be appointed to the Delegation at such time and for such period as their services are required.
2. *Multilateral Tariff Negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*. Torquay, England — September 28-December — Chairman: L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; Deputy Chairman: H. B. McKimmon, Canadian Tariff Board; Representatives: J. J. Deutsch, W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Permanent Canadian Delegation to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarrett and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade

- and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.
3. *Eleventh Session of ECOSOC. (Special Meeting on Korean Relief)*. New York—October 14–December—Representative: J. Dickey, M.P.; Alternate: R. G. Riddell, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Advisers: J. H. Cleveland, Canadian Consulate, New York; A. R. Crépault, United Nations Permanent Delegation, New York; S. Pollock, Department of Finance.
 4. *Fifth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*. Torquay, England, November 2–December—Chairman: L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London; Deputy Chairman: H. B. McKinnon, Canadian Tariff Board; Representatives: J. J. Deutsch, W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Permanent Canadian Delegation to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarrett and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.
 5. *Commonwealth Parliamentary Association*. Wellington, November 13–December 10; Canberra, December 11–December 13—Federal Parliament Delegates: A. W. Roebuck, K.C.; J. G. Diefenbaker, M.P.; W. Bryce, M.P.; L. R. Beaudoin, M.P.; J. W. McNaught, M.P.; G. T. Fulford, M. P.; L. J. Raymond, Clerk of the House of Commons; Members from Provincial Legislatures.
 6. *Third Session of the Textile Committee of ILO*. Lyon, France, November 28–December 9—Government Delegates: R. Trepanier and H. C. Hudson, Unemployment Insurance Commission; Employers' Delegates: H. F. Irwin, Primary Textile Institute; L. A. Lyons, Montreal Cottons Ltd.; Workers' Delegates: R. Gosselin, Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labour; L. Tessier, Textile Workers' Union of America.
 7. *Seventeenth National Conference on Labour Legislation*. Washington, November 29–December 1—H. Walker and W. Thomson, Department of Labour. (Observers).
 8. *Fifth Session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. (ECOSOC)*. Lake Success, December 1–16—Col. C. H. L. Sharman, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 9. *Fourth Inter-American Agricultural Conference*. Montevideo, December 1—W. B. McCullough, Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires. (Observer).
 10. *Second Regional Meeting on Food and Agricultural Programmes and Outlook in Latin America*. Montevideo, December 1—W. B. McCullough, Embassy, Buenos Aires. (Observer).
 11. *Mid-century White House Conference on Children and Youth*. Washington, December 3–7—Dr. E. Couture, Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, R. B. Cutty, Miss M. Fleming, Miss M. E. Coke and Mr. E. Lee, Department of National Health and Welfare; Representatives from other Governments and various organizations.
 12. *Legal Committee of ICAO*. Paris, December 4—A. B. Rosevear, Air Transport Board.
 13. *North Atlantic Military Committee*. London, December 12–13 — Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chief of the General Staff; Maj. Gen. F. C. Clark, Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff, London; A/V/M H. Campbell, Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff, Washington; G/C C. Annis, Acting Secretary, Chiefs of Staff Committee.
 14. *Committee of Experts on the Exchange of Persons (UNESCO)*. Havana, December 13–15—Dr. J. A. Gibson, Chairman, Executive Committee of C.C.R.U.
 15. *North Atlantic Defence Committee*. Brussels, December 18—B. Claxton, Minister of National Defence; Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chief of the General Staff; Maj. Gen. F. C. Clark, Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff, London; A/V/M H. Campbell, Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff, Washington; G/C C. Annis, Acting Secretary, Chiefs of Staff Committee; P. Paré, Department of National Defence; J. George, Department of External Affairs.
 16. *Conference of Institute of Radio Engineers*. Atlantic City, December 9–15—W. J. Battell, I. L. Fowler and W. D. Howell, National Research Council.
 17. *North Atlantic Council*. Brussels, December 18–19.—B. Claxton, Minister of National Defence; A. D. P. Heeney, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chief of the General Staff; Maj. Gen. F. C. Clark, Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff, London; A/V/M H. Campbell, Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff, Washington; G/C C. Annis, Acting Secretary, Chiefs of Staff Committee; P. Paré, Department of National Defence; J. George, Department of External Affairs.

CONFERENCES TO BE HELD IN JANUARY 1951

1. *Legal Committee of ICAO*. Mexico City, January 2.
2. *Indian Science Congress*. Bangalore, India, January 2.
3. *Pan-Indian Ocean Congress*. Bangalore, India, January 2.
4. *Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers*. London, January 4.
5. *Centenary of Geological Survey of India*, Calcutta, India, January 10.
6. *Twenty-Fourth Session of the Executive Board of UNESCO*. Paris, January 15-28.
7. *First Session of the ILO Committee on Indigenous Labour*. LePaz, Bolivia, January 16-27.
8. *Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Bird-Banding Association*. Boston, January 26.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY CANADA

Multilateral

North American Regional Broadcasting Agreement. Signed at Washington, November 15, 1950.

Costa Rica

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Costa Rica constituting a Commercial *modus vivendi* between the two Countries. Signed at San Jose, November 17 and 18, 1950.

Ecuador

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ecuador constituting a Commercial *modus vivendi* between the two Countries. Signed at Quito, November 10, 1950.

Venezuela

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Venezuela constituting a Commercial *modus vivendi* between the two Countries. Signed at Caracas, October 10, 1950.



—National Defence

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY PILOTS TRAIN IN CANADA

As part of the Canadian contribution towards mutual defence under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, pilots from member nations are being trained in Canada. Above, left to right, are pilots from Norway, Belgium, Canada, Italy, and the Netherlands at Centralia, Ontario.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 1: Agreement between Canada and Norway for air services between the two countries. Signed at Ottawa, February 14, 1950. Price, 15 cents. (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 6: Exchange of notes between Canada and Denmark constituting an agreement concerning settlement of claims arising out of the war. Signed at Copenhagen, March 24 and 25, 1950. Price, 10 cents. (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 8: Exchange of notes between Canada and Norway constituting an agreement concerning settlement of claims arising out of the war. Signed at Ottawa, March 7 and 18, 1950. Price, 10 cents. (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1948, No. 29: Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Yugoslavia regarding compensation for British property, rights and interests affected by Yugoslav measures of nationalisation, expropriation, dispossession and liquidation. Signed at London, December 23, 1948. Price, 10 cents. (Bilingual).

Canadian Representatives Abroad and Representatives of Other Countries in Canada, December 15, 1950. Price, 25 cents.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

Draft First International Covenant on Human Rights and Measures of Implementation (Report of the Third Committee); November 29, 1950; document A/1559; 41 pp.

(b) Printed Documents:

Report of the Commission of Enquiry on

the Coca Leaf (May 1950); April 28, 1950; document E/1666, E/CN.7/AC.2/1; 167 pp.; \$2.00; Economic and Social Council Official Records: Twelfth Session, Special Supplement No. 1.

†*Administrative Tribunal — Statute and Rules*; document A/CN.5/2; July 19, 1950; 12 pp.; (pamphlet); 15 cents. (Document No.: 1950.X.5).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 50/50—*Review of the Current International Situation*, a statement by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, delivered at the Federal-Provincial Conference in Ottawa, on December 4, 1950.

No. 50/51—*Canadian Policy in the Present International Crisis*, the text of a broadcast by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, delivered over the Trans-Canada network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, on December 5, 1950.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 50/49—*The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway*, an address by Mr. Lionel Chevrier, Minister of Transport, delivered over the Trans-Canada network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, on November 21, 1950.

No. 50/52—*The Canadian Economy in 1950*, a statement by Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce, issued in Ottawa on December 29, 1950.

† French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, Lake Success, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September 1950, p. 359.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

BASIS OF CANADIAN FAR EASTERN POLICY

Excerpts from a statement by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, made in the House of Commons on February 2, 1951.

Faith in Freedom

... The first consideration (affecting Canadian policy) seems to me to be absolutely fundamental: Our belief that freedom is valuable and precious in itself, and that the loss of freedom anywhere in the world means an impairment and indeed endangering of our own freedom. We may not always be in a position to defeat attempts to reduce the area in which men can breathe freely, but we should never voluntarily give our consent to that process, because we know that by so doing we would be betraying the principle which is one of the chief inspirations of all free men. Freedom cannot be cloistered in one country, in one continent, or indeed in one hemisphere. To the limit of our resources, therefore, we must try to maintain and even hope to extend the jurisdiction where the writ of freedom runs. Only in that way can we be true to ourselves and to the inheritance we have received.

Realistic Faith in the United Nations

The second general consideration which I should like to mention is our faith in the United Nations. The aggression against the Republic of Korea has tested the United Nations in a searching way and has led to a re-appraisal of its role in maintaining the peace of what it can and cannot do in a divided world of two super-states around which all others tend to group, on the one side willingly and on the other side by compulsion. It has certainly been made clear by recent events that our world organization is not yet in a position where it can safely undertake all the tasks which may be imposed on it by resolutions, and I think it is dishonest to pretend that it can. Whatever may be result of this re-examination, however, it is certain that the United Nations still fulfils a number of functions which are indispensable if peace is to be maintained on any tolerable basis. For one thing, it holds out the promise of freedom to all. Second, it provides a framework in which men of goodwill can work for their collective defence and for the coming of the day when the rule of law will replace the rule of force in international relations. Third, by reason of its universal character it keeps alive the idea of the human community.

Dangers to the Free World

... Moving westward from Korea we must, I think, take into account the danger that overshadows Indo-China. The Chinese guerrillas and volunteers—"volunteers", an ominous word—have long been assisting the Viet Minh in their attacks on the three new associated states of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Such indications as we had before June 25 of the possibility of an attack on the Republic of Korea are now appearing in the case of Indo-China; and a full-scale attack on that country must be regarded as a real possibility. If the valiant efforts now being made by France to defend and complete the independence of Indo-China were to fail, the whole of South-East Asia, including Burma, Malaya and Indonesia, with their important resources of rubber, rice and tin might well come under communist control, and the position of India and Pakistan in that event would in the long run, or in the not so long run, be precarious indeed.

Persia and the Middle East are also vulnerable. At the present time the armed forces of the Soviet Union face this area and those vital oil fields, in strength sufficient, I think, to overrun it without too much difficulty.

Across the Mediterranean another country immediately threatened is Yugoslavia. Marshal Tito's government is facing great economic difficulties, partly as a

result of the serious drought there last year, and partly as the result of the economic blockade imposed on that country by the Cominform. Moreover, Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania are now, contrary to the provisions of the peace treaties, in possession of sufficient military forces to make them collectively powerful, as well as threatening and aggressive, neighbours.

But the danger to the free world is still greatest in Western Europe itself. Recognition of that fact was the reason for the signing of the North Atlantic Pact in the spring of 1949. Since that time progress has been made in increasing the military strength of the countries associated in that pact; but this progress, although it is being accelerated, has not been swift enough to remove anxiety. Western Europe is still relatively weak, and still stands open to Soviet conquest. It is a glittering prize. Its capture would put the Soviet Union in possession not only of the source and centre of western civilization, but also of industrial capacity which would enable them to rival the productive resources of the whole of the western hemisphere. We over here would then be in a desperate position indeed.

It is therefore of the utmost importance that our involvement in other areas of the world should not prevent us from recognizing that Western Europe is the key point for the defence of the whole of the free world—which includes, incidentally India and Pakistan as well as Canada and the United States; and we should co-operate with our allies in the North Atlantic Treaty in building up forces large enough to deter the Soviet Union from launching an attack in that area.

Respect for Asian Opinion

... These western European dangers and developments must, then, never be forgotten in determining our Far Eastern policy. In formulating that policy—and this is another general consideration—I think we should bear in mind also that there is a new and great tidal movement of nationalism sweeping Asia. In some countries, China for example, it is mingled and confused with, and possibly it is at the moment dominated by, the aggressive forces of Soviet communism. But it is operative in other Asian countries besides China, and it has a vitality of its own. It is something which I believe is deeper and more lasting than communism. Indeed, nationalism—allied to a restless and insistent demand for a better life—is the most important political phenomenon in Asia today. Therefore in framing our policies we must try to avoid offending the legitimate national and social aspirations of Asian peoples, or their desire to have a chief part in the determination of Asian affairs.

Improvement of Economic Conditions in Free Asia

We must also do what we can to improve the economic conditions and human welfare in free Asia. We must try to work with rather than against the forces struggling for a better life in that part of the world. Such co-operation may in the long run become as important for the defence of freedom—and therefore for the defence of Canada—as sending an army to Europe, in the present immediate emergency. Economic and technical assistance is one form of such co-operation. Many members in the house will have read the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia. This imaginative, and, I think, well-founded report, which was published last November as the result of the work of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee, points the way to the kind of effective assistance which we in the west can offer to the free peoples of Asia. They stand in very great need of capital for economic development, and of technical assistance. For Canada to supply either the capital or the technical assistance in any substantial volume would mean considerable sacrifice, now that the demands of our defence programme are imposing new strains on our economy.

Solidarity With Our Partners in the Commonwealth and in the North Atlantic Alliance

... In dealing with these Asian problems we sometimes run the risk of differences with tried and dependable allies. And that brings me to another of the cardinal considerations which I think we must keep in mind, the necessity of preserving solidarity with our friends in the west—above all, of preserving unity of purpose and action between the United States and Canada and the Commonwealth of Nations.

During the past few months we have had some differences of opinion with our friends in Washington on Far Eastern questions. While I do not gloss over these differences, I should like to warn against exaggerating their importance, because they have not weakened the basic good understanding between us, resting as it does upon a harmony of abiding interest, and on the recognition of common values and common rights, one of which is the right to disagree as friends with each other and the other the obligation, again as friends, to resolve these disagreements peacefully.

In spite of certain differences there is complete agreement between the Canadian and the United States Governments on, among other things, four fundamentals; we agree that peace is now in jeopardy; we agree that the extension of Soviet imperialism must be opposed; we agree that the principles of collective resistance to aggression must be maintained; and we agree that the main front which must be defended is Western Europe.

Question of Chinese Representation in the United Nations

... Now I come to our policy on certain specific matters concerned with Korea and the Far East.

Almost the first issue which arose in this field after the House adjourned last September concerned the question of Chinese representation in the United Nations. This presented itself in a concrete form at the General Assembly on September 19 last. A draft resolution was presented that day by the Indian Delegation calling upon the Assembly to decide that the Chinese Government in Peking should represent China at the United Nations Assembly. Persuasive arguments could be adduced both for and against such action.

... It may be asked why, if our abstention on the Indian resolution showed that we did not actively object to China being represented in the United Nations by the People's Government in Peking, we had not taken previous action in Canada to recognize that government. We had in fact, as the House knows, given serious consideration to such action. We had been impressed by the argument that recognition by Canada and other countries would facilitate the representation of China within the United Nations, and consequently might make easier the peaceful settlement of certain Far Eastern issues. We had nevertheless also been influenced by what still seem to me to be valid views about making such a change at that time, and by advice which we had received from many quarters, including many quarters in this House, to proceed very cautiously in this matter. Furthermore, a number of countries which had recognized the Chinese Communists had had great difficulty in getting the Chinese Communists to recognize them, at least to the point of entering into effective diplomatic relations with them. For example, the United Kingdom had recognized the regime in Peking but it was far from clear that that regime in any effective sense recognized the United Kingdom. Then came the attack on Korea in June. There was much evidence that that attack had been prepared with the approval, and indeed with the support, of the Chinese Communists, and we did not feel justified in taking any action toward recognition until the circumstances sur-

rounding the aggression in Korea had become clearer. I need hardly add that when late last year the Chinese government in Peking joined in the aggression in Korea, it was inconceivable that countries which had hitherto withheld recognition would at that time decide to change their policies.

I feel, however, that the Far Eastern problems could be more readily solved if diplomatic relations existed with the Government of China, which has the whole of the mainland of China under its control. But the Peking Government can hardly expect recognition now from those member states of the United Nations against whom they are fighting in Korea. The remedy for the situation now lies with the Communists themselves. They should not think that they can bludgeon or blackmail their way into recognition or into the United Nations.

The Crossing of the 38th Parallel

The next specific and controversial issue which arose at Lake Success on Far Eastern questions, and which I want to discuss, was whether or not General MacArthur should be authorized by the United Nations to extend military operations beyond the 38th parallel in Korea. The 38th parallel was not important from the military point of view, but it was obvious that its crossing would have political and symbolic significance, indeed as its re-crossing would have even more significance. At this time I do not need to remind the House that it was never intended by the United Nations that Korea should be cut in two along the parallel. In resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations the objective of a free, independent and united Korea had been clearly laid down. Nevertheless, in spite of those resolutions this line, which had originally been merely a line of military convenience, had become a Rubicon, the line which marked in that part of the world a division between the Soviet world and the free world. The decision to authorize the United Nations forces to cross that line could not be taken lightly, and it was not taken lightly.

There were strong reasons at that time for giving such authorization. Although the North Korean forces had been badly defeated by General MacArthur's skilful campaign, large elements had escaped, and those remnants could not be made harmless unless the United Nations commander had the opportunity of pursuing them into North Korea. If they were not overpowered, the risk would remain that, after they had regrouped and been re-equipped, they might once again fall on Southern Korea after the United Nations had been withdrawn. Moreover, as I have stated already on a number of occasions, the United Nations itself had passed resolutions in favour of a united and independent nation in Korea.

The members of the Canadian Delegation were impressed by these arguments, and by certain military information given to us, and we agreed, along with a great many other delegations, with the resolution proposed in the United Nations Assembly authorizing the United Nations forces to take any action which was necessary to unify the whole of Korea. We, along with others, realized that risks would be involved, and efforts were made in the United Nations to reduce those risks to the minimum. For that purpose we proposed sending a mission which would have been the last appeal to the North Korean Government to give up the fight before the line had been crossed, but we were not successful in establishing communications for that purpose.

After that line had once been crossed, the possibility of an early settlement depended on the campaign in North Korea itself. During the discussions which were held on the crossing of the parallel we had reason to believe that it was not the intention of the Unified Command to pursue the North Korean forces right up to the Manchurian border. We had reason to believe that a defensive line could be established across the narrow waist of North Korea, and that the two northern provinces of Korea

would be left, for the time being at least, as a kind of unoccupied frontier area. That scheme seemed sensible to us, and we hoped it could be carried out.

With many other Delegations, including indeed the Delegation of the United States of America, we felt that very great care should be taken to avoid offering any unnecessary provocation to the Chinese government at Peking. At the same time we realized, on this and on other occasions, that the Unified Command was responsible for the operations of a force which was very largely composed of soldiers of the United States. That command and those soldiers were bearing the brunt of the responsibility and of the fighting, and they had the full right to make the military decisions within the limits of the authority given them by the United Nations. When those decisions turned out well, we all rejoiced with them. When they were wrong, I think it would have been improper and ungrateful to be unfairly critical and emphasize our own lack of responsibility. However, all of us who supported the action of the United Nations in Korea had not only the right but the duty to make our views known to the Unified Command through the positions we took at Lake Success, and also through our contacts with the United States Delegation there.

Cease-Fire Discussions

... Intervention by China in this war in North Korea on an increasing scale throughout the whole of November brought sharply into view the third of the critical issues with which we have been asked recently to deal. Should we at once condemn this as aggression, or should we enter into discussions, on certain conditions, with the Chinese Communists in an effort to bring it to an end? It seemed pretty clear that a stable settlement in Korea could hardly be achieved without some agreement, even though a tacit one, with the Central People's Government of China; but after the Chinese Government at Peking had intervened in force and were driving back the outnumbered forces of the United Nations at the end of November, some voices—and this is quite natural—were immediately raised in favour of whatever United Nations military action against China itself might be necessary in order to end the war.

We have joined from the beginning those who urged the conflict in Korea should be limited and localized as far as possible; and we still believe that the arguments in favour of that course are as strong as ever.

If, then, a war with China, in which a decision could hardly be achieved, had to be averted by every means possible, what alternative methods were there for reaching a settlement in Korea? Speaking over the air on December 5, I stated my own belief that nothing should be left undone which might conceivably result in an honourable and peaceful settlement in Korea. I went on to say:

If, for example, provided the military situation is stabilized, there could be a cease-fire followed by negotiations—possibly covering more subjects than Korea—in which the Chinese Communists would participate, there might still be hope of reaching such a settlement. At least we would have done our best and the responsibility for failure could be placed where it would belong.

In that same speech, however, I insisted that a cease-fire must precede and not follow peace negotiations, and that is the position from which we have never wavered. I believe we in this government, in this House and in this country are as anxious as anyone to secure a peaceful settlement in Korea, but I think we know that such a settlement would be bought at too high a cost if it denied and betrayed the obligations we, as a member of the United Nations, had already undertaken in respect to Korea.

... If those of us who have advocated negotiations of this kind with the Chinese Communists are appeasers we are in very good company. It will not, I think, be

argued in his house that Mr. Churchill is a man likely to truckle to or appease aggressors. What are his views on the present situation? Speaking in the House of Commons at Westminster on December 14, he said:

The only prudent course open to the United States and ourselves is to stabilize the local military position . . .

That is in Korea.

. . . and if the opportunity then occurs, to negotiate with the aggressors. . . .

Later in the same speech he said:

Appeasement in itself may be good or bad according to the circumstances. Appeasement from weakness and fear is alike futile and fatal. Appeasement from strength is magnanimous and noble, and might be the surest and perhaps the only path to world peace.

. . . I should like to point out that the resolution to establish the cease-fire committee secured the support of all members of the United Nations with the exception of the Soviet bloc. The United States in particular actively assisted and encouraged the members of our committee in their work. The task of the committee was an up-hill one, and often a frustrating one. In one article which I read not long ago we were referred to as three men in search of a cease-fire. Our search was not successful. After we had secured from the Unified Command in Washington a basis for stopping the fighting which we thought reasonable, we tried to enter into effective contact with the People's Government at Peking. But for a long time our efforts were unavailing, and I must say were not treated even with very great politeness.

Statements of Principles

However, on December 21, the Chinese foreign minister broadcast a reply to our approaches in which he claimed the cease-fire committee had been illegally constituted. He demanded that negotiations for a political settlement should precede rather than follow a cease-fire in Korea. Such a procedure, of course, was totally unacceptable to us, and to the United Nations. Nevertheless, in spite of this somewhat sharp rebuff it was felt by the United Nations that it might be worth while for the cease-fire committee to make another attempt to convince the regime at Peking of the genuineness of our offer, to which the United States completely subscribed, to enter into negotiations on a wide range of Far Eastern issues if a cease-fire could only be established. After considerable difficulty, we drew up a statement of principles which was presented to the Political Committee of the Assembly on January 11. This statement combined proposals for ending the fighting in Korea with others for political negotiations of outstanding Far Eastern problems. The proposal secured the approval of fifty of the sixty member nations, including the United States and India.

A great deal of the credit for securing such widespread approval of the statement of principles must be ascribed to the fact that, at the time it was being prepared, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were meeting in London. This was an occasion on which the Commonwealth association was extremely valuable in harmonizing the views of the free nations of the east and west. The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, played a central role in the discussions in London to reconcile the various points of view.

The first reply from Peking to our statement of principles was certainly ambiguous, though it seemed to be a rejection since it contained an apparent reaffirmation of the theory that a cease-fire must follow rather than precede negotiations. In order to try to remove what we thought might be ambiguity, and indeed turned out to be ambiguity, our Prime Minister suggested to the Prime Minister of India, in a message on January 18, that since the Government of India maintained an embassy

in Peking it would be helpful if clarification could be sought through Indian channels to ascertain points in the reply which the Chinese Communists had returned to our statement of principles. It was in answer to this initiative on the part of our Prime Minister and Mr. Nehru that the Chinese Government provided the clarification requested, in their message of January 22. That clarification seemed more hopeful, since it stated for the first time in fairly clear language that a cease-fire could be agreed upon in the first meeting of a conference called to discuss Far Eastern issues and that this discussion of political issues would not take place until after the cease-fire had been agreed on. That reply was considerably encouraging to some of us.

China As An Aggressor

During the time that these cease-fire discussions were going on, proposals to name the Chinese Communists formally in the United Nations as aggressors had remained in abeyance.

... Last week we had two resolutions before us at the United Nations and we were faced with a decision as to what we should do about them. We realized that that decision might indeed have far-reaching consequences. The first of these two resolutions was the Asian resolution providing for a seven-power conference in which both the U.S.S.R. and Communist China would be represented, a seven-power conference not only for political discussions but for cease-fire discussions, and a seven-power conference the terms of the invitation to which seemed to us to be couched in a form which might have made possible protracted discussion with Peking before the conference ever met. For that reason we did not find that resolution satisfactory, and in a speech last Friday, January 26, we suggested certain points which we thought would remove the danger from the Asian resolution if those points could have been included in it, because they would have laid down in a resolution a concrete and definite programme for talks without delay. In those points we even suggested a date for the convocation of a conference, a place where it might be held and a time limit after which, if Peking did not reply, we would assume that they would not accept it. In those points we tried to remove from the aegis of this seven-power conference—which included a good many states who were not joining in the police action in Korea, including the U.S.S.R., which had refused to support action from the beginning—the negotiations for a cease-fire and send them to a more appropriate body of three: the United Nations Commission in Korea and the United States and the Peking Governments. If those points which we put forward and had discussed previously with the Indian delegation and the United States had been included in the Indian resolution, we would have voted for it. One of them was included. The others were not, I presume because it was felt that the inclusion of those other points might have made it more difficult for Peking to accept the resolution.

The United States' position with regard to our points was a simple one. They felt that the time for any further approach to Peking was over until the resolution of condemnation and setting up the good offices committee had been passed. So when the Asian resolution came to the vote, we could not vote for it, for the reasons which I have indicated. We could not vote against it because the principle of negotiation was one which we had stood for. Therefore we abstained from voting. In our attitude on this matter, so far as Canadian policy is concerned, I do not think anybody in India has any reason to feel that they were let down.

The United States Resolution

The second resolution was submitted by the United States. We had been unsuccessful in our efforts to secure postponement of that resolution. We had been successful in our efforts to get that resolution changed and also to get it clarified

and interpreted by the United States Delegate, which interpretation removed most of the doubts we had had with regard to it at the beginning. Our first objective, postponement, was not successful. Our second objective, to get the proper kind of resolution voted on, I think was reasonably successful. We were anxious to make clear beyond any possibility of doubt that any resolution which the United Nations passed on this subject would be exceedingly clear indeed on the following points. We were anxious that it would not establish any new aggression but would emphasize that the Chinese Government at Peking had merely participated in an old aggression and therefore was guilty of that but not of starting a new aggression in any other part of Korea. We were also anxious that the paragraph of condemnation should be couched in unprovocative terms, and it was. That paragraph does not brand anybody as an aggressor. It is a finding of fact that, by assisting the aggressors in Korea and by invading North Korea from China, the People's Government in Peking had itself engaged in aggression. That was a finding of fact which we certainly could not deny. The third point we were anxious to make clear was that the collective measures committee set up by this resolution and as to which many delegations had grave doubts, would not be a vehicle for rash and unwise action but might indeed become a brake on such action; and that this collective measures committee, far from jumping into resolutions and reports on sanctions at once, should not even report to the United Nations General Assembly as long as there was any possibility of the good offices committee completing its work satisfactorily. That was made clear by an amendment to the United States' resolution proposed by the Delegate for Lebanon. Fourth, we were anxious to make it quite clear in this resolution that the work of mediation and conciliation could go on after the resolution passed, and indeed that that work would be given priority over any enforcement. We wanted to make it clear beyond doubt that, so far as the United Nations was concerned, we had not slammed any doors on anybody. And then finally we wanted to make it quite clear that this resolution did not give anybody any authority to take any action which he did not already possess. It certainly does not give the United Nations, or any agent of the United Nations in Asia, any power or right to use United Nations forces to liberate Asia from communism. The mandate of the United Nations in this operation remains the same, namely, to defeat aggression in Korea, and nothing else.

The Canadian Vote

Having had these amendments put forward, and having received these clarifications from the United States Delegation, which removed most of our doubts, we felt that to vote against this resolution, or to abstain in regard to it, would have been to refuse to accept as true the statement that the Chinese Government had participated in aggression—something we had no right to do without denying the justice of United Nations action in Korea. Furthermore, it would have meant breaking the unity of the western nations on an issue of timing and tactics. We did not take that course. We voted for the resolution, and I think we were right in doing so. Forty-four other countries, including every member of the North Atlantic alliance, agreed with us.

But we have made our view abundantly clear that this resolution does not give anyone on one side any shadow of excuse for rash and adventurous courses, or anyone on the other any shadow of excuse for refusing to discuss an ending of hostilities or a peaceful solution of this problem. Why should it? It was said at Lake Success by the Indian Delegate, and it was said yesterday by the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggan (Mr. Coldwell): "You have now branded them as aggressors. How can you expect them to talk to you?" Well, they have been branding us in the United Nations as aggressors steadily for the last two or three months, and they have shown no reluctance to talk with us on their terms, or any feeling that we should not talk with them because they have called us aggressors in very rude and uncivilized tones. So

I am optimistic, and I hope my optimism is justified, that the passing of our resolution will not be followed by the catastrophic consequences that some people sincerely believe will result.

We do not believe that by passing this resolution we are slamming the door to subsequent negotiation, or that the Government in Peking should have any justification for interpreting our action in this way. I hope, and I expressed this hope in my last statement at the United Nations before I came back to Ottawa, that whatever happened to this resolution—and it is now part of the law of the United Nations—the work of cease-fire, discussion and peaceful settlement, through the machinery provided in the resolution, will proceed with a view to ending the war in Korea and removing the causes of war in other areas of Asia.



—*National Defence*

GENERAL EISENHOWER VISITS OTTAWA

General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, the new Supreme Commander, Atlantic Forces-Europe, visited Ottawa on January 27 and discussed defence problems of the North Atlantic Treaty nations with the Canadian Chiefs of Staff. Above, left to right: Vice-Admiral H. T. W. Grant; Lt. General Charles Foulkes; General Eisenhower; and Air Marshall W. A. Curtis.

THE KOREAN CRISIS

One vital truth . . . is self-evident. The armed forces of the People's Government of China continue their invasion of Korea. We think there is no shadow of a doubt about this continuing participation in aggression, and we believe that the action of the Chinese People's Government in this matter has been morally wrong, and that the United Nations cannot ignore such a defiance of the principles on which it was founded. . . . The responses of the Peking government to the attempts made so far (to find a peaceful and honourable solution to the conflict in Korea) have been enough to try the patience of us all. Nevertheless, we are ready to hold open the door to further negotiation if the People's Republic of China gives us any reason to believe these negotiations can be successful.

In these terms the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. R. Pearson, described the situation on January 26 during the concluding debate in the Political Committee at Lake Success on the efforts of the United Nations to bring about a cease-fire in Korea. The problem before the Committee was one which threatened seriously the unity of the free world in dealing with the seven month old Korean crisis. In its simplest terms, it was whether to make one more effort to arrange for a settlement through negotiation with the Chinese Communist regime, or, as advocated by the United States, formally to recognize that regime as participating in the aggression in Korea, while leaving the way open for negotiations if the opportunity arose. As was noted in the January issue of *External Affairs*, the first efforts of the Cease-Fire Group which had been established in December to attempt to determine a satisfactory basis for a cessation of hostilities in Korea and to make further recommendations to the General Assembly had met a completely negative response from the Chinese Communist Government. This failure was reported to the General Assembly on January 3, when it was pointed out that, although the Group had explored every means of ending hostilities, it had been "unable to pursue discussions of a satisfactory arrangement".

Referring to these initial efforts of the Cease-Fire Group, Mr. Pearson commented in his statement on January 26:

(This) first attempt failed because the proposals for a cease-fire which we made were not even examined by the Peking Government. . . . It would, of course, have been easier for us to explain our purposes and our proposals to the Peking Government if the representative of that government, who was in New York at the time, had been willing to meet and co-operate with the Group. He had, however, been told by his government to adopt a completely un-co-operative and negative attitude to us on the grounds that our Group was illegally constituted. . . .

A more serious reason for the refusal of the Peking Government to co-operate in the earlier stages of the cease-fire work seems to have been the alleged fear that they would be lured into a cease-fire arrangement which would be followed, not by a discussion of Far Eastern issues in which they would participate, but by a new United Nations offensive in Korea. In this respect, our cease-fire proposals appeared to them as a trap. We accepted the possibility of genuine fear and misunderstanding on this score, and attempted to remove it by further assurance to Peking on December 19. All our efforts, however, to remove misunderstandings were summarily rejected in the telegram from Peking of December 21 to the President of the General Assembly.

Cease-Fire Group Report

In the circumstances, the Cease-Fire Group was forced to conclude in its first report of January 3 that no recommendations in regard to a cease-fire could usefully be made at that time. Nevertheless, in presenting the report, Sir Benegal Rau of India emphasized that despite the initial failure, the United Nations should continue to make every effort to bring about an end to hostilities. In the debate which followed, the Norwegian representative asked the Cease-Fire Group whether it had

"given any consideration to the problem of what principles would have to be laid down as a basis for possible negotiations subsequent to the envisaged establishment of a cease-fire." On behalf of the Group, Mr. Pearson assured the Political Committee that serious consideration had been given to this question, and on January 5 he announced that it was hoped such a statement of principles could be submitted by the Cease-Fire Group in the near future.

Also on January 5, Mr. Eban of Israel, picking up the idea of a "statement of principles", suggested that this approach to the problem might be incorporated in a new resolution calling for an immediate cease-fire but laying down the principles governing subsequent negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all issues affecting peace in the Far East. This would involve an orderly sequence, specifying a cease-fire first, then the progressive withdrawal of troops, and finally the negotiation of outstanding issues.

While the Cease-Fire Group was drafting its statement of principles in New York, the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers opened in London on January 4. As a result of their discussions, the Prime Ministers issued the following communiqué dated January 12 setting forth their unanimous views on Korea in the context of the developing international crisis:

Commonwealth Prime Ministers Statement

We must do what we can to understand those who appear to differ from us. The great antidote to war is hope; its greatest promoter is despair. When we say that war is not inevitable we do not just mean that we shall prepare and be strong, and that our strength may deter aggression. We also mean that, in a world worn out and distorted by war, there must be an overwhelming majority of the people of all lands who want peace. We must not despair of reaching them. In all our discussions we have made it clear to each other, as we now do to the world, that as Commonwealth Prime Ministers we would welcome any feasible arrangement for a frank exchange of views with Stalin or with Mao Tze-tung. We should, in the name of common humanity, make a supreme effort to see clearly into each other's hearts and minds.

We do not seek to interfere in the affairs of the Soviet Union or China or any other country; we are simply determined to retain the mastery of our own affairs, without fear of aggression.

It is with these considerations in mind that in the last few days we have directed our efforts to the securing of a cessation of hostilities in Korea, so that around the conference table the great powers concerned may compose their differences on a basis which will strengthen the United Nations and fulfil the purposes of the Charter.

The statement of principles itself was finally presented to the Political Committee on January 12 as a "Supplementary Report of the Group on Cease-Fire in Korea". Introducing the report on behalf of the Group, Mr. Pearson stated:

Agreement on a statement of this kind has, of course, been no easy task. Anything we proposed had, naturally, to be in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and with the resolutions previously accepted by our General Assembly on Korea. Also, our statement had to be realistic enough to have a good chance of being accepted by those concerned without the betrayal of any principles or disloyalty to any obligations which had been previously accepted. Our statement also had to recognize the relationship between a cease-fire and political settlement, and the importance of proceeding from one stage to another with a minimum of delay but with an understanding of the fact that one stage depended on another, and that each should be implemented under the supervision of appropriate international machinery.

Above all, as we saw it, any statement of principles for a settlement of this kind must be such as to remove fears, suspicions and distrust which poison peace and make security impossible. It was in that spirit that the group of three approached this task. The result is before the committee in the form of a supplementary report made by the

three members of our group. This statement deals in a broad way with principles only and with a programme based on those principles.

The "Supplementary Report" read as follows:

The objective shall be the achievement, by stages, of the programme outlined below for a cease-fire in Korea, for the establishment of a free and united Korea, and for a peaceful settlement of Far Eastern problems.

1. In order to prevent needless destruction of life and property, and while other steps are being taken to restore peace, a cease-fire should be immediately arranged. Such an arrangement should contain adequate safeguards for ensuring that it will not be used as a screen for mounting a new offensive.

2. If and when a cease-fire occurs in Korea, either as a result of a formal arrangement or, indeed, as a result of a lull in hostilities pending some such arrangement, advantage should be taken of it to pursue consideration of further steps to be taken for the restoration of peace.

3. To permit the carrying out of the General Assembly resolution that Korea should be a unified, independent, democratic, sovereign State with a constitution and a government based on free popular elections, all non-Korean armed forces will be withdrawn, by appropriate stages, from Korea, and appropriate arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the Korean people to express their own free will in respect of their future government.

4. Pending the completion of the steps referred to in the preceding paragraph, appropriate interim arrangements, in accordance with United Nations principles, will be made for the administration of Korea and the maintenance of peace and security there.

5. As soon as agreement has been reached on a cease-fire, the General Assembly shall set up an appropriate body which shall include representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China with a view to the achievement of a settlement, in conformity with existing international obligations and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, of Far Eastern problems, including, among others, those of Formosa (Taiwan) and of representation of China in the United Nations.

Following Mr. Pearson's statement, Sir Benegal Rau of India explained his interpretation of paragraph 5 above. He said that, so far as India was concerned, the reference to settling the problem of Formosa "in conformity with existing international obligations" meant on the basis of the Cairo and Potsdam declarations.

Statement of Principles Approved

On January 13 the Political Committee approved the statement of principles contained in the Supplementary Report of the Cease-Fire Group by a vote of 50-7 (Soviet bloc, Nationalist China, El Salvador). The Philippines abstained. The Committee then adopted an additional proposal asking the Chairman, through the Secretary-General, to transmit these principles to the Peking Government, and to ask Peking whether it accepted them "as a basis for the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and other Far Eastern problems".

There had been some doubt whether the United States would be able to support a further approach to Peking after the rejection of the original cease-fire proposal. Explaining his vote on this occasion, Mr. Austin pointed out that the statement of principles appeared to have won the support of a large number of delegations, and that it was "a principal objective of the United States to maintain the strength of the

United Nations by promoting the unity of the members who are genuinely dedicated to the support of the collective security system". He then added, "if this effort fails to produce the hoped for result, I have a strong feeling that we shall be firmly united in opposing aggression".

Thus, as Mr. Austin indicated, the desire to maintain a united front partly explained the overwhelming support for transmission of the statement of principles to Peking. Despite this decision to act together, it was evident that there were serious differences of view regarding the way in which the Korean problem should be handled. As Mr. Pearson explained in his speech of January 26, there were three broad divisions of opinion among the free nations:

There were many members of this committee who felt that in making this further effort to bring about a negotiation of Far Eastern difficulties with those who were intervening in great force in Korea to assist the aggressor, we were weakening, indeed, humiliating the United Nations, and that we should proceed at once to a condemnation of Communist China as an aggressor.

There was a second group who felt that almost everything should be subordinated to the necessity of stopping the fighting and getting those most concerned, including the People's Government in Peking around the council table with a view to a peaceful and honourable settlement of Korean and other Far Eastern questions. This viewpoint was, I think, based in part at least on a feeling that United Nations actions in Korea on and after the crossing of the 38th parallel gave some reason for the Chinese in Peking—cut off as they are from normal contacts with so much of the outside world—to fear for the security of their position in Manchuria and of their regime generally.

There was a third group which agreed that, whatever might be the rights or wrongs of the matter, we should further prove our goodwill and our unswerving desire and, indeed, determination to bring about a peaceful solution, by making one further effort at peaceful settlement, before proceeding to any condemnatory resolution; that without such further effort it would be difficult to preserve the unity of the free world in the United Nations in regard to action in Korea. Some of the members of the Committee, while taking this view, were frankly pessimistic about the result.

The statement of principles represented a sincere and earnest effort to reconcile these three points of view, and at the same time to meet all Peking's legitimate objections to the first cease-fire proposals. Peking's reply was received in a cablegram of January 17 from Mr. Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs, which appeared to constitute another rebuff.* It was, however, somewhat ambiguous, especially with regard to the crucial point of the relationship between a cease-fire and the negotiation of a general settlement, and it did advance counter-proposals for consideration. With reference to the cease-fire, it stated that "regardless of what the agenda and subject-matter of the negotiations may be if a cease-fire comes into effect without first conducting negotiations to fix the conditions therefore, negotiations after the cease-fire may entail endless discussions without solving any problems." If this meant that discussion of political issues should precede a truce, it was clearly incompatible with the United Nations statement of principles. Prior discussion of basic conditions for the cease-fire itself, however, was a condition that could undoubtedly be met.

Chinese Counter-Proposals

The Chinese Communist counter-proposals presented a similar difficulty. These proposals read:

A. Negotiations should be held among the countries concerned on the basis of agreement to the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the settlement of

* For complete text of reply, see item 22 in the Canadian Government publication *Documents on the Korean Crisis*.

Korean domestic affairs by the Korean people themselves, in order to put an end to the hostilities in Korea at an early date.

B. The subject-matter of the negotiations must include the withdrawal of United States armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits, and Far Eastern related problems.

C. The countries to participate in the negotiations should be the following seven countries: The People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, France, India and Egypt. The rightful place of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations should be established as from the beginning of the seven-nation conference.

D. The seven-nation conference should be held in China, at a place to be selected.

Reaction to Chinese Reply

The initial reaction to the Chinese Communist reply, particularly in the United States, was that it could not be accepted as a basis for continued negotiation. On January 17 the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, declared:

The reply of the Chinese Communists to the United Nations' cease-fire proposal is still further evidence of their contemptuous disregard of a world-wide demand for peace. Their so-called "counter-proposal" is nothing less than an outright rejection.

Once again, the Peiping regime has shown a total lack of interest in a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

There can no longer be any doubt that the United Nations has explored every possibility of finding a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Now we must face squarely and soberly the fact that the Chinese Communists have no intention of ceasing their defiance of the United Nations.

I am confident that the United Nations will do that. The strength of the United Nations will lie in the firmness and unity with which we now move ahead.

The following day, Mr. Austin, speaking before the Political Committee, announced that the United States would urge the United Nations to find Peking guilty of aggression. The finding of aggression, Mr. Austin said, "would decide in principle that collective measures should be taken to meet aggression". If the United Nations did not take action to meet this aggression, he concluded, "we should destroy here and now the principle of collective security on which the safety of our nations rest". The following day, Mr. Austin's position was strongly supported by the United States House of Representatives, which by a large majority adopted a resolution calling upon the United Nations to brand Communist China an aggressor in Korea.

Although there was considerable evidence that this clear-cut view of the situation was not fully shared by many members of the United Nations, and was, in fact, sharply disputed by a significant group of Asian and Arab states, the United States on January 20 introduced, without co-sponsors, a resolution naming Communist China an aggressor in Korea and requesting consideration "as a matter of urgency" of "additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression". At the same time, the draft resolution affirmed the policy of achieving United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means, and requested the President of the Assembly to designate two persons "who would meet with him at any suitable opportunity to use their good offices to this end".

The debate which ensued centred around three main questions:

- (1) Whether the Chinese Communist reply of January 17 had, in fact, been an outright rejection of the principles initiated by the Cease-Fire Group or whether, in the words of Sir Benegal Rau, it had been

“partly acceptance, partly non-acceptance, partly a request for elucidation, and partly a set of counter-proposals”;

- (2) whether, in any event, a useful purpose would be served by the formal declaration of Communist China as an aggressor; and
- (3) whether, even if it were necessary to make such a declaration, it would be advisable to pursue, at this stage, the further question of possible sanctions.

Although the United States' draft resolution was supported by the Latin American countries and a number of others, including Greece, Turkey, the Philippines, and Australia, doubts in connection with one or more of the three questions enumerated above threatened to create a serious division on this issue among other nations of the free world.

Against this background, Sir Benegal Rau on January 22 read to the Political Committee a second communication from the Chinese Communist Minister of Foreign Affairs which was a reply to questions suggested by Mr. St. Laurent to Mr. Nehru in an effort to obtain from Peking further clarification of the Chinese Communist position. A similar request for clarification was made by the United Kingdom government through their mission in Peking. These questions, as subsequently made public by Sir Benegal Rau, were as follows.

1. Do foreign troops referred to in paragraph 1 of the Chinese reply include Chinese volunteers?
2. Timing of negotiations. Do the Chinese insist that negotiations on broad political issues should precede cease-fire?
3. Representation in the United Nations. Is formal recognition of Chinese Communist Government as spokesman of China in the United Nations a precondition to agreement to a conference?

Second Chinese Communication

The following was the reply:

- (1) If the principle that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea has been accepted and is being put into practice, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will assume the responsibility to advise the Chinese volunteers to return to China.
- (2) Regarding the conclusion of the war in Korea and the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, we think that we can proceed in two steps. First step: A cease-fire for a limited time-period can be agreed upon in the first meeting of the seven-nation conference and put into effect so that the negotiations may proceed further. Second step: In order that the war in Korea may be concluded completely and peace in East Asia may be ensured, all the conditions for the conclusion of the war must be discussed in connection with the political problems in order to reach agreement upon the following: The steps and measures for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; the proposals to the Korean people on the steps and measures to effect the settlement of the internal affairs of Korea by the Korean people themselves; the withdrawal of the United States armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits in accordance with Cairo Declaration and Potsdam Declaration; and other problems concerning the Far East.
- (3) The definitive affirmation of the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be ensured.

Sir Benegal Rau then requested a 48-hour adjournment of the Committee to permit study of this reply. Mr. Austin attacked this motion for adjournment, declaring that this communication was "not much more than a postal card", and urged that the Committee continue discussion of the United States resolution. After a somewhat bitter debate, however, the Indian motion was approved by a vote of 27 in favour, including Canada, 25 against, and 6 abstentions.

Meanwhile public pressure for United Nations action continued in the United States, and on January 23 the Senate followed the House of Representatives in calling upon the United Nations to brand Communist China an aggressor in Korea. By a unanimous vote, the Senate also recommended that the Peking Government should not be allowed to represent China in the United Nations. A third Senate resolution calling for economic, diplomatic and military sanctions against China was referred by a voice vote to the Foreign Relations Committee for study.

On January 25, twelve Asian and Arab countries, including India, presented a resolution to the Political Committee as an alternative to the United States proposal. It recommended "that representatives of the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Egypt and India and of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China meet as soon as possible for the purpose of securing all necessary elucidations and amplifications of the above-mentioned reply and of making any incidental or consequential arrangements towards a peaceful settlement of the Korean and other Far Eastern problems."

Debate on Resolutions

It was around these two draft resolutions that debate centred for the remainder of the week. Mr. Pearson, in his speech before the Political Committee on January 26, reviewed the history of the attempts to achieve a cease-fire in Korea and outlined the views of the Canadian Delegation. Speaking first of the Asian-Arab resolution, he stated: "Though I approve of the objective of this resolution, I regret that I cannot regard the procedure suggested in this resolution as the best method of reaching that objective. The terms of reference of the conference proposed in the Asian resolution are very wide and do not specifically embody the conception of an orderly sequence of events. . . . It is even possible that under the Asian resolution the conference might find itself involved in a discussion of general questions before any progress whatever had been made toward arranging a cease-fire. . . . For these reasons my delegation are not able to support this resolution".

Turning to the United States resolution, Mr. Pearson declared: "We think the putting of such a resolution at this stage and in this form when the possibilities of negotiation with the People's Government of China are not in our opinion completely exhausted, to be premature and unwise". Nevertheless, the Canadian delegation would vote for the resolution:

. . . because the main purport of this resolution as we understand it and certainly as the public in our own country will understand it, is to condemn the Chinese People's Government for the assistance they have given the aggressor in Korea. We think that there is no shadow of doubt about this continuing participation in aggression and we believe that the action of the Chinese People's Government in this matter has been morally wrong, and that the United Nations cannot ignore such a defiance of the principles upon which it is founded.

In the consideration of the question involved in this resolution, the Canadian Government has honestly differed with the Government of the United States on some points. We have made our position clear and we shall continue to press for those policies which, in our judgment, would be most conducive to a peaceful settlement in the Far East. We consider, however, that, though holding these views, we should

support the United States resolution as a whole. We shall do that while reserving our position in regard to any amendments which may be submitted to it. If the resolution is voted by paragraph, my delegation reserves its position in regard to paragraph 2, (which, in the draft United States resolution, noted that Peking had "rejected all United Nations proposals").

At the same time, Mr. Pearson stated that examination of the various replies from Peking had led the Canadian delegation to the view that it would have been preferable if the Political Committee could first have considered "a specific programme for a negotiated settlement . . . which would be a conclusive test of the real intentions of the Chinese Government in Peking", along the following lines:

(1) Immediate convening of a conference that might consist of the United States, United Kingdom, France, U.S.S.R., India, Egypt, and the People's Republic of China.

(2) Appointment by the conference as its first order of business of a cease-fire committee consisting of representatives of the United States, People's Republic of China, and the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea to arrange an immediate cease-fire.

(3) After completion of arrangements for a cease-fire, consideration by the conference of a peaceful solution of Korean problems and withdrawal of foreign troops in accordance with the United Nations' Statement of Principles.

(4) Discussion of Far Eastern problems in accordance with paragraph 5 of the Statement of Principles, the first item being Chinese representation in the United Nations. (The conference could only express a view on this subject, which can only be decided by the United Nations itself.)

(5) Participation in the discussion of particular Far Eastern problems by governments with special interests, as appropriate.

(6) Transmission of this programme by the United Nations to Peking with a request for an answer within forty-eight hours after its receipt.

Shortly after Mr. Pearson presented his programme, the Arab and Asian nations agreed to broaden their resolution to incorporate the Canadian suggestion that arrangement of a cease-fire be the first order of business of the seven-nation conference provided for in that resolution.

Efforts continued to be made to narrow the differences between the delegations of the free world and to find a basis for unity of action. Sir Gladwyn Jebb, speaking for the United Kingdom, had stated on January 25 that while his delegation was broadly in agreement with the United States draft resolution, it had grave doubts about the wisdom of considering further measures (i.e. the imposition of sanctions) before the intentions of the Peking Government had been fully explored. Mr. Pearson, in his statement, had stressed the point that in Canada's view the United States resolution would not give the Unified Command any authority which it did not already possess. Speaking to these two points on January 27, Mr. Austin clarified the intentions of the draft resolution, stating that the United States did not interpret the naming of Communist China as an aggressor as granting any new authority to the United Nations military command, and that the proposed good offices committee should continue to seek a negotiated settlement with Peking at the same time as the Collective Measures Committee considered possible punitive action. If the good offices committee achieved any positive results, consideration of punitive action could be postponed or abandoned.

In a further effort to ensure that adoption of the United States draft resolution would not close the door on a negotiated settlement if Peking had any genuine

intention to bring this about, the delegation of Lebanon submitted two amendments, which were accepted by Mr. Austin. The first modified the reference to Peking's response to the cease-fire proposals, stating that Peking had "not accepted" them rather than that it "had rejected all" such proposals. The second provided that the Collective Measures Committee, in considering possible sanctions, "is authorized to defer its report if the good offices committee . . . reports satisfactory progress in its efforts".

United States Resolution

The final version of the United States resolution therefore read:

The General Assembly

Noting that the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, has failed to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in regard to Chinese Communist intervention in Korea;

Noting that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has not accepted United Nations proposals to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea with a view to peaceful settlement, and that its armed forces continue their invasion of Korea and their large-scale attacks upon United Nations forces there;

Finds that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, by giving direct aid and assistance to those who were already committing aggression in Korea and by engaging in hostilities against United Nations forces there, has itself engaged in aggression in Korea;

Calls upon the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to cause its forces and nationals in Korea to cease hostilities against the United Nations forces and to withdraw from Korea;

Affirms the determination of the United Nations to continue its action in Korea to meet the aggression;

Calls upon all states and authorities to continue to lend every assistance to the United Nations action in Korea;

Calls upon all states and authorities to refrain from giving any assistance to the aggressors in Korea.

Requests a committee composed of the members of the Collective Measures Committee as a matter of urgency to consider additional measures to be employed to meet this aggression and to report thereon to the General Assembly, it being understood that the committee is authorized to defer its report if the Good Offices Committee, referred to in the following paragraph, reports satisfactory progress in its efforts;

Affirms that it continues to be the policy of the United Nations to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea and the achievement of United Nations objectives in Korea by peaceful means, and requests the President of the General Assembly to designate forthwith two persons who would meet with him at any suitable opportunity to use their good offices to this end.

Despite these modifications, and the evidence of increasing support for the United States resolution, India continued to warn against the dangers of adopting such a course, and on January 30, before the votes were taken, Sir Benegal Rau told the Political Committee that "some delegates have spoken as if the door would be

open for a peaceful settlement after the resolution is passed. My government has been informed on the highest authority that once there is a condemnatory resolution there can be no hope for a peaceful settlement. It will finally extinguish all hope for a peaceful settlement". He then pressed for a vote on the Asian-Arab draft resolution.

After an unsuccessful attempt by several Arab, Asian and Soviet Bloc states to postpone the vote for one day while instructions were sought on a Soviet amendment, the Political Committee, in its evening session on January 30, rejected the Asian-Arab resolution in a paragraph by paragraph vote, (Canada abstaining). It then proceeded to adopt the amended U.S. resolution in five separate votes, the vote on the resolution as a whole being 44 to 7 (Soviet bloc, Burma and India) with 8 abstentions (Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Pakistan, Sweden, Syria, Yemen and Yugoslavia). Saudi Arabia did not participate.

The next day the Security Council by unanimous agreement dropped the item dealing with Chinese Communist aggression from its agenda, thus clearing the way for final action by the General Assembly, which was taken on February 1.

Canadian Position Reviewed

Canada's position was briefly reviewed by Mr. Pearson in a final statement on January 30 explaining the votes of the Canadian delegation. Expressing his support of the underlying principles of the Asian resolution, and paying tribute to the "sincerity of purpose and high idealism of those who have sponsored it", he regretted that he would not be able to give it his support, even though it now embodies the "essential principle that there must be an end of fighting before there can be a discussion of political questions". Among the reasons given were its lack of precision, giving too much room for further long-drawn-out and inconclusive discussion before a cease-fire could be arranged, and the absence of recognition of previous United Nations resolutions or actions in respect of Korea. In this respect it might "be interpreted as placing the Peking Government and the United Nations itself almost on the same moral and political footing". Moreover, "reasonably satisfactory machinery for cease-fire and political negotiation is included in the United States draft resolution".

Mr. Pearson then went on to say:

"We cannot vote against the Asian resolution however because, although it does not embody, as we see it, a suitable and definite programme for a cease-fire and effective discussion which would minimize delay and evasion, it nevertheless does emphasize the necessity of discussion and peaceful settlement and it does embody the principle that a cease-fire must precede discussion. Therefore my delegation will abstain on this resolution either as a substitute for or as supplementary to the United States draft resolution.

"We shall vote for the United States draft resolution for the following reasons:

- (1) Because the Lebanese amendments, which we strongly support, remove our doubts about the wisdom of certain provisions of the unamended draft;
- (2) Because its finding that the Peking Government, by helping those already designated as aggressors in Korea, has engaged in aggressive action itself in Korea, states in moderate terms facts which we cannot reject without condemning our own intervention in Korea; nevertheless we still feel that it is premature and unwise to confront the Committee with the necessity for a decision on these facts at this particular moment and, as we see it, the methods of peaceful negotiation before condemnation have not yet been completely exhausted;

(3) Because this resolution with the Lebanese amendment does not close the door to peaceful negotiation; on the contrary it very rightly emphasizes that even a report on collective measures is to be subordinated to the work of the Good Offices Group; it supports the doctrine of the Charter that mediation, conciliation and peaceful settlement should always have priority over enforcement action;

(4) Because the statement of the United States representative last Saturday was frank and unequivocal in agreeing that this draft resolution gave no one any authority in Korea or the far east which he did not already possess under United Nations resolutions;

(5) Finally, because, we do not believe that by passing this resolution we are slamming the door to subsequent negotiation or that the Government in Peking would have any justification for interpreting our action in that way.

"This draft resolution is a very mild condemnation indeed compared to that which has been hurled at the United Nations in general and the United States in particular in respect of its actions in Korea. Denouncing us as aggressors in Korea has not prevented the Peking Government from expecting those of us who have been so denounced to sit with it and negotiate; nor has it prevented that Government itself from agreeing to participate in such negotiations. If the passing of this resolution ends, in the eyes of the Peking Government, all hope of peaceful discussion and settlement, then this can only strengthen the view, which I do not necessarily share, of those who have felt that that Chinese Government was not sincere at any time in agreeing to negotiations.

"I hope, therefore, that whatever happens to this resolution, the door will remain open for negotiation and peaceful settlement."



—National Defence

WELCOME EXTENDED TO STUDENT PILOTS

A group of student pilots from the United Kingdom arrived in Canada as part of the air-training programme for North Atlantic countries. Above, the student pilots are welcomed on their arrival at Dorval Airport by Air Commodore H. M. Carscallen, Deputy Air Member for Operations and Training.

MEETING OF COMMONWEALTH PRIME MINISTERS

At the invitation of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, a meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth took place in London from January 4 to January 12, 1951. Announcement of the intention to hold this meeting was made by Mr. Attlee in the House of Commons on November 22, 1950, when he stated:

I have recently been in correspondence with my fellow Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth about the possibility of a meeting between us to discuss questions of common concern, including aspects of the present international situation.

We have all agreed that there should be a meeting in London early in January next. In accordance with the customary practice, the meetings will be private to enable a confidential exchange of views to take place.

The Prime Ministers of eight Commonwealth countries attended the meeting: Mr. Attlee, who presided at the sessions; Mr. R. G. Menzies; Mr. L. S. St. Laurent; Mr. D. S. Senanayake; Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; Mr. S. G. Holland; Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Sir Godfrey Huggins. Owing to the illness of Dr. Malan, the Union of South Africa was represented by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dönges.

At the opening session on January 4, Mr. Attlee, as chairman, welcomed the other Commonwealth representatives on behalf of the United Kingdom Government. He recalled that since the previous meeting, death had deprived the Commonwealth of three distinguished statesmen—Mr. Mackenzie King of Canada, Field-Marshal Smuts of South Africa, and Mr. Peter Fraser of New Zealand.

Press Release

The following press release issued at the close of the conference on January 12 indicated the subjects discussed, and, so far as appropriate, the position taken:

The final session of the Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was held at No. 10 Downing Street this afternoon.

The Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth had agreed that at this critical time it was desirable to supplement and reinforce by personal discussions the regular exchange of information and views which is maintained at all times through the High Commissioners in Commonwealth capitals. Against the background of the common understanding thus secured, decisions can be reached more readily by Commonwealth Governments on specific questions of policy. The discussions which the Prime Ministers have held during the past ten days over a wide range of topics have once again revealed a harmony of view that gives a sense of confidence and strength in this time of international tension.

The main purpose of the present Meeting was to review the international situation, and to consider what further positive action Commonwealth Governments could take to secure and preserve world peace.

There was agreement on the urgency and importance of promoting a satisfactory settlement in the Far East. The current discussions on this question in the First Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations were kept under daily review during the course of the Meeting; and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers were able to exchange views regarding the means by which their representatives in New York could best advance those discussions towards a successful conclusion. It is their earnest hope that the fresh approach which has now been made in the First Committee may lead to a settlement of outstanding issues in the Far East.

The Prime Ministers discussed the terms of a peace settlement for Japan and the safeguards which it might include. They affirmed their belief that the early conclusion of a Japanese Peace Treaty was an urgent need.

The Prime Ministers considered the situation in the Middle East. They agreed that the stability and welfare of this area, and its maintenance as a vital artery of communications, are of deep concern to all Commonwealth countries.

The Meeting also reviewed the situation in Europe. The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Canada, whose Governments are signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty, explained their obligations under the terms of that Treaty and the measures which are being taken to meet them. The Prime Ministers took note of the progress made in re-establishing the economy of Western Europe on a sound basis. By strengthening the ability of the European democracies to maintain their national integrity, this has made a valuable contribution to the security of the free world.

The Prime Ministers examined the economic problems arising from current shortages of raw materials. They agreed that, apart from any comprehensive international organization for handling raw materials problems, there was need for closer and more regular consultation between the Commonwealth countries on all questions of supply and production. They agreed to recommend to their respective Governments that the existing Commonwealth machinery for consultation on economic questions should be strengthened for this purpose.

In a separate declaration the Prime Ministers have affirmed the common purpose of the Commonwealth countries to preserve world peace.

Several of the Prime Ministers will be remaining in London for a few days longer and will take this opportunity of discussing matters lying outside the scope of the Meeting now concluded.

Declaration

The declaration referred to above is as follows:

The Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Southern Rhodesia, and the South African Minister for the Interior, representing the Prime Minister of South Africa, desire, before concluding the present London Meeting, to state in simple terms some of the great principles which have inspired the discussions and strengthened mutual understanding.

Our historic Commonwealth, which comprises one-fourth of the world's population and extends over all the continents and oceans of the world, is singularly well constituted to enable it to study and in some measure to comprehend the vexed questions which beset the world. These do not fit neatly into old patterns. In Europe there are grave and urgent problems which must be solved, and in Asia the rise of new nations and new national unities must be recognized, if peace is to be secured on a basis of justice and prosperity.

The Commonwealth has the unique quality of embracing nations and peoples from every continent. Our own meetings have, therefore, given us special knowledge, and have left us with a special sense of responsibility.

We are, both jointly and severally, pledged to peace. This is not merely a pledge given to other nations; it is solemnly given to our own.

We believe that there are certain courses which must be pursued if real peace is to come.



—Capital Press

PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND VISITS OTTAWA

Mr. S. G. Holland, Prime Minister of New Zealand, paid a brief visit to Ottawa on January 30 on his way home from the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. Above, Mr. Holland, left, and Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada.

First, the wounds of the last war must be healed; settlements with Germany and Japan should be made with speed.

Second, we must do what we can to understand those who appear to differ from us. The great antidote to war is hope; its greatest promoter is despair. When we say that war is not inevitable, we do not just mean that we shall prepare and be strong, and that our strength may deter aggression. We also mean that, in a world worn out and distorted by war, there must be an overwhelming majority of the people of all lands who want peace. We must not despair of reaching them. In all our discussions we have made it clear to each other, as we now do to the world, that as Commonwealth Prime Ministers we would welcome any feasible agreement for a frank exchange of views with Stalin or with Mao Tse-tung. We should, in the name of common humanity, make a supreme effort to see clearly into each other's hearts and minds.

We do not seek to interfere in the affairs of the Soviet Union or China or any other country; we are simply determined to retain the mastery of our own affairs, without fear of aggression.

It is with these considerations in mind that in the last few days we have directed our efforts to the securing of a cessation of hostilities in Korea, so that around the conference table the Great Powers concerned may compose their differences on a basis which will strengthen the United Nations and fulfil the purposes of the Charter.

We all have deep within us, a faith in the existence of a purpose of justice in this world, and we believe it to be our duty to forward it by everything we do. Indeed, this sustaining faith derives added strength from the fact that at our meeting it has been simply and sincerely expressed by men of widely different races, traditions and creeds.

We think it proper to declare once more that the Commonwealth countries, though they have a special and precious association which they value profoundly, do not regard themselves as some sort of exclusive body. They welcome co-operation with other nations. It has been their privilege to be able to work closely with the United States of America, whose efforts in the direction of assisting many war-stricken nations are warmly regarded, and whose practical support of the United Nations has contributed much to the strength of that organization. We will at all times seek, by process of discussion, to promote the utmost harmony among ourselves and to arrive at common international policies with the United States, and with all other friendly and co-operative nations.

Our support of the United Nations needs no re-affirmation. The Commonwealth and the United Nations are not inconsistent bodies. On the contrary, the existence of the Commonwealth, linked together by ties of friendship, common purpose and common endeavour, is a source of power behind the Charter.

We of the Commonwealth recognize that the peace and prosperity of the free world cannot be assured while millions live in poverty. We are therefore resolved, while keeping our own economies strong, to promote economic and social development in the under-developed countries, by providing such financial and economic assistance as we can command and by making full use of our resources of scientific and technical experience. The Colombo Plan is practical evidence of this intention. The Commonwealth countries concerned will continue to contribute, to the full extent of their ability, towards the execution of this and similar schemes for developing economic resources and raising social standards.

In brief, the problem of peace is that of removing the causes of war; of easing tension and promoting understanding; of assisting those less-developed nations which need our aid; of being at all times willing to discuss our differences without foolishly assuming that all attempts to secure peace are a form of "appeasement". We will cultivate the friendships we now have, and hope that with wise approaches differences may become less and ultimately disappear.

But, while we say these things with a full heart, we are bound to add that, so long as the fear of aggression exists, we will have to strengthen our defences with all speed and diligence. This may well result in placing heavy burdens upon our peoples. It is our firm belief that the rule of law should govern human conduct; and we are prepared to accept whatever sacrifices may be necessary to uphold, with all other nations, those principles of international law and order which are essential conditions for world peace and progress.


Informal Discussions on Kashmir

The meeting of Prime Ministers afforded an opportunity to hold informal talks on matters outside the official scope of the conference, in particular the dispute between India and Pakistan about Kashmir. Mr. St. Laurent was present at two of these informal discussions, but his visit to France at the conclusion of the Commonwealth meeting made it impossible for him to attend the third discussion. Suggestions put forward in the course of these talks succeeded in narrowing the points of difference between India and Pakistan although agreement was not reached.

Speeches by Mr. St. Laurent

On January 8 when speaking at a dinner given by the Canada Club Mr. St. Laurent said that the inclusion within the Commonwealth circle, as absolutely equal partners, of three great Asian nations might prove to be as important a landmark in the development of the Commonwealth as the recognition of complete self-government was in 1926. There were differences in attitude and experience between the nations of the East and West, but differences and variety were the essence of life itself, and within the Commonwealth there was no desire to impose any standard of uniformity. Commonwealth membership was based upon a conviction of mutual advantage, mutual respect and genuine friendship. The Commonwealth nations could do much, through technical assistance, capital development and increased trade and commerce to help the nations of Asia overcome widespread poverty, but it would have to be clear that what was intended was genuine and friendly help, not a new form of economic imperialism to replace the old political imperialism. While it might be necessary for many years to come to maintain the armed strength of the peace-loving nations to prevent aggression, Mr. St. Laurent said "there would never be enduring peace and real security in the world until we can achieve something of this mutual respect and understanding among all nations which we are striving to maintain within the Commonwealth".

In a broadcast over the B.B.C. on January 10 Mr. St. Laurent said that the meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers "are giving those of us from the Western countries an opportunity to explain, in a friendly atmosphere, our real aims and the real motives behind our policies. They also give us the opportunity to learn from the Prime Ministers of Asian members of the Commonwealth what are the real motives and implications of their aims and their policies".



THE ORGANIZATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION

The story of OEEC during the past two years is largely an account of how Western Europe has tackled the economic problems which have confronted it since the last war. Undoubtedly the main accomplishment of OEEC has been the division of Marshall Aid between participating countries. This involved the examining and processing of annual country programmes of recovery, scaling their total foreign aid requirements to the level of the annual United States grant. The second general function of OEEC has been the development of co-operation between the countries of Western Europe. In 1948 the focus of the work of OEEC was on the increase of production from the low levels to which it had fallen after the war. In 1949, as production increased, the emphasis shifted to the encouragement of internal financial stability. In 1950 attention again shifted and a determined effort was made to liberalize European trade and payments. During the whole period the aid supplied by the United States enabled the OEEC countries to maintain minimum standards of living and to secure raw materials and other essential imports from abroad. Without this aid the European economy would almost certainly have collapsed; with it, the countries of Europe have been able to restore their economies in an orderly and progressive manner.

OEEC Activities in 1949 and 1950

During the spring and summer of 1949 the United States' economy suffered a slight recession and there was a fall of 30 per cent in Western Europe's exports to the United States between the first and third quarters of the year. This development tended to effect adversely the European trade balance with the United States. To compensate for this deterioration, OEEC began to direct its attention to raising the level of trade within Europe. With this object in view, the participating countries agreed in May 1949 to study measures for removing restrictions on intra-European trade and to draw up a liberalization programme. At the same time OEEC commenced inquiries into each country's internal financial and monetary situation. Though the more serious aspects of inflation had disappeared in most countries, high prices persisted and inflationary forces remained. European industry remained non-competitive. Special studies were also initiated on the possibility of increasing agricultural production, for it was estimated that an annual dollar saving of 1.25 billion dollars could be obtained in this sector.

Efforts were also made to liberalize intra-European payments. After prolonged difficulties the 1949-50 Intra-European Payments Agreement was signed. It permitted a certain degree of multilateralism which was lacking in the scheme of the previous year. Then in October 1949, Mr. Paul Hoffman, the ECA Administrator, addressed the OEEC Council and called for the economic integration of the Western European economy. He suggested that increased attention be given to the liberalization of intra-European trade, but he was careful to point out that the object of such efforts was not to obtain self-sufficiency and a reduction in the volume of international trade, but rather increased production, lower prices, and a stronger competitive position so that total trade would be increased.

The results of these new pressures were two-fold. At a November 1949 meeting of the Council of OEEC a proposal was adopted that all countries should progressively reduce quantitative restrictions on imports from other participating countries. From this proposal developed the OEEC scheme for the progressive removal by each country of quantitative restrictions on imports from other participating countries. In the first instance countries were required to remove by December 15, 1949, quantitative restrictions on at least 50 per cent of their total imports on private account

from other member countries taken as a group, the target to be met separately for food and feedingstuffs, raw materials and manufactured goods. By October 1950, most countries had reached the 60 per cent level. In December negotiations were taking place under OEEC auspices towards the 75 per cent level.

The second major development was the striking progress in obtaining multilateral arrangements within Western Europe. With the end of the 1949-50 payments scheme in June 1950 the OEEC countries agreed to set up a European Payments Union. Under the EPU, countries are able to use their current surpluses in any one European currency for the settlement of current deficits in any other European currency. A general clearing takes place at established intervals leaving each country in a net position either of creditor or debtor with the Union. Countries are given overdraft facilities at EPU, roughly in proportion to their transactions with other members, to cover unforeseen deficits with the group as a whole. But, unlike the previous payments schemes, the EPU contains a system of incentives to encourage debtors and creditors to restore a balance. Debtors can obtain credit freely up to 20 per cent of their quota and thereafter must make simultaneous gold payments to EPU to cover a steadily rising proportion of their deficits until, when their quota is exhausted, 100 per cent gold must be paid to cover further deficits. Creditors give credit up to 20 per cent of their quota without receiving gold, and thereafter are obliged to give \$1.00 of credit for every dollar of gold received. They have thus some incentive to reduce their surplus. The original resources of EPU were made available by ECA which set aside 350 million dollars of ERP funds for this purpose. This multilateral payments mechanism was a substantial step toward setting the financial conditions necessary for an extension of intra-European trade liberalization.

But in some of the efforts of the European countries to solve their dollar problem, some Canadians perceived certain inherent dangers. The early efforts simply to pare dollar expenditures were disappointing, especially as there was a potential dollar earning power in Western Europe. Many European manufactured goods were readily marketable in Canada if offered at competitive prices. As OEEC countries sought the development of intra-European trade through special payments and trade relations, Canada and the U.S.A. were faced not merely with the problem of Western Europe's reduced purchases of North American goods owing to a shortage of dollars, but with a possible longer term problem in the building up of a separate and higher priced trading economy in Western Europe which might permanently discriminate against North American goods.

Canadian Association with OEEC

Canada has always followed the political and economic fortunes of Western Europe with the greatest interest. The post-war loans to Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Norway, not to mention the very much larger one to the United Kingdom, were granted with the sincere desire that these countries would soon regain economic health. In the summer of 1948 Canada sent a special Mission to Paris to make contact with the newly established Organization for European Economic Cooperation in order to ensure that the problems facing the participating countries were solved in a way that took account of the interests of Canada and other overseas countries with long established trade relations with Western Europe. This Mission was withdrawn early in 1949, but Canada maintained an active interest in the policies of OEEC.

In the spring of 1949 the interest of both Canada and the United States in the economic progress of Western Europe was reinforced by a profound concern over the lack of defensive preparedness in that area. Canada joined with many of the OEEC countries and the United States in signing the North Atlantic Treaty, thus committing us to the defence of Western Europe. Article 2 of the Treaty, which

Canada was largely instrumental in getting into the Treaty, provides for economic co-operation between the Treaty members.

Although the principle of North Atlantic economic co-operation was established by Article 2 of the Treaty, no economic bodies were set up under NATO for the sole purpose of implementing its objectives. Economic co-operation was made easier between Western Europe and North America on an informal basis through OEEC. In May 1950, following a meeting in London of the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, an announcement was made that the Foreign Ministers of France and the United Kingdom had expressed a hope that OEEC would invite Canada and the U.S.A. to become associated in the work of the Organization. Subsequently a proposal of the United Kingdom and France was adopted by the OEEC Council that Canada and the United States be invited to associate themselves with the Organization. In October a Canadian Permanent Delegation to OEEC was established in Paris headed by Mr. S. D. Pierce, O.B.E.

The Impact of Aggression in Korea

In June 1950, as OEEC was tackling the problems of international trade and payments, and its participating countries were making progress toward a trade balance with the rest of the world, peace was shattered by the outbreak of war between North and South Korea. One facet of the effect of this war was a change in the climate of economic activity in North America and Western Europe. The implication for Western Europe was not just the diversion of resources to rearmament but a threat to previous hopes of a steady improvement in the standard of living, an expanding programme of investment and the raising of productivity. Old dangers, though in a new form, quickly appeared. With the sharp increase in prices of essential raw materials and the diversion of resources from investment and consumer goods to rearmament, the problems of inflation and an increasingly adverse balance of payments reappeared. It was clear that the need for external aid would continue.

OEEC is now examining the impact of rearmament on the economy of Western Europe. With the active participation of the Canadian Mission, studies on the scarcity of raw materials already have been made. The Third Annual Report of the Organization will be issued early in 1951. It will embrace the three related questions of continuing economic recovery, rearmament and the need for external aid.

Although Western Europe's economy is much sounder than it was in 1948, current problems point up the need for a further substantial expansion in production. Through the forum provided by OEEC these countries are now tackling the new problems. That useful results can be obtained from these efforts can perhaps be anticipated from the way in which the recent problem of Western Germany's trade balance was handled. During the first four months of the operations of the EPU, Western Germany developed an acute and persistent adverse balance of payments which threatened to exhaust her EPU quota before the end of the year. To meet this crisis Germany took measures to restrict credit and cut down on the number of import licenses; and OEEC considered what steps could be taken to maintain Germany as a member in good standing of EPU. The Economic Director of OEEC and an official of the Bank of International Settlements proceeded to Bonn and, with the whole-hearted co-operation of the German Government, they made a comprehensive survey of Western Germany's economic position, with special reference to the balance of payments problem. Based on their report to OEEC, the OEEC Council agreed to an extension of credit to Western Germany provided the West German Government submitted for OEEC's approval a suitable programme of action. This programme was subsequently approved and was a distinct success for OEEC as the measures proposed avoided any retreat from the degree of trade liberalization so far attained under the OEEC programme. Though much credit is due to Germany for

the energetic efforts she herself took, the way in which the problem was handled was a solid achievement for OEEC.

In the crisis now facing the free world, encouragement can be found in the economic strength which Western Europe has gained in the last two years. The improved position cannot be ascribed entirely to OEEC, but the Organization has provided a useful and important forum where the economic problems of Western Europe as a whole have been carefully examined and where country programmes have been scrutinized and publicly criticized. OEEC itself might therefore be termed one of the important resources of the West for pursuing the two fundamental goals of greater rearmament and an overall increased level of production so that standards of living can be increased.

The economic problem for Europe, and indeed for the North Atlantic community as a whole, is no longer dominated by the Marshall aid programme in the successful administration of which OEEC has been of such great assistance. The problem today is rather one of the impact on the economies of North Atlantic countries of their defence programmes. For this reason, it is obviously in the interests of all countries concerned to relate the work of OEEC with the economic side of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The exact relationship between OEEC and NATO has not yet been worked out, but is under active study. When an agreement satisfactory to all concerned has been reached, the countries on both sides of the Atlantic will advance together towards a solution of their broader economic problems which, it is becoming increasingly evident, are not capable of satisfactory long-term solution in a European context alone.



—*Capital Press*

PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE VISITS OTTAWA

The Prime Minister of France, Mr. René Plevén, visited Ottawa on February 2 for consultation with the Canadian Government. Mr. Plevén is seen above seated with the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent. Standing, left to right, are the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney; the French Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Hubert Guérin; the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; and Mr. Alexandre Parodi, Secretary-General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The Speech from the Throne

The Speech from the Throne, which opened the Fourth Session of Canada's twenty-first Parliament on January 30, 1951, contained the following references to external policy:

Honourable Members of the Senate:

Members of the House of Commons:

Since you met in Special Session in the autumn of last year, there has been a further deterioration in the international situation. The intervention of Chinese forces in active opposition to the United Nations forces in Korea has increased the danger of a general conflagration.

So far the efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in the Far East have not succeeded. While aggression cannot be condoned and will continue to be resisted, it is the view of my Ministers that the door to negotiation at any time a cessation of hostilities in Korea can be arranged must be kept open.

The increased menace in the Far East reinforces the mounting evidence that Communist imperialism is determined to dominate the world by force or the fear of force, and that the only hope of maintaining peace with freedom lies in the rapid increase of the combined strength of the free nations. It is equally important that the free nations should make it abundantly clear that they have no aggressive designs and that they are resolved to aid in constructive endeavours to improve the standards of human welfare in under-developed countries.

My Ministers have endeavoured to uphold these international objectives in the deliberations of the United Nations, at the recent meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries, and in our diplomatic relations with all nations and governments.

Units of the Royal Canadian Navy and the Royal Canadian Air Force have shared from the outset in the United Nations action in Korea. One battalion of the Canadian Army Special Force is now in Korea, and the rest of the force is at Fort Lewis, Washington, where it is available for service in Korea or for other employment in discharge of our international obligations.

Progress has been made in the organization of an integrated force in Europe under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Supreme Commander, General Eisenhower, has recently visited Canada to consult with the Government and the Chiefs of Staff. You will be asked early in the session to authorize Canadian participation in this integrated force as part of our programme for national defence and security. You will also be asked to approve substantially increased expenditures for defence.

The urgent need of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project in relation to the security of this continent is becoming increasingly apparent. It is the view of my Ministers that the Canadian authorities should be kept in a position to co-operate promptly in undertaking construction of the project once affirmative action has been taken by the appropriate United States authorities.

Your approval will be sought for an appropriate Canadian participation in the Colombo plan and in technical assistance to under-developed areas.



—*Capital Press*

NEW SESSION OF PARLIAMENT OPENS

The fourth session of the Twenty-First Parliament, in which international affairs and defence were expected to be of paramount importance, opened at Ottawa on January 30, 1951. Above, Their Excellencies, Lord and Lady Alexander, preceded by the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Major C. R. Lamoureux, and Major General H. F. G. Letson, are seen leaving the Senate Chamber followed by Miss Anstice Gibbs, Lady-in-Waiting to Lady Alexander; Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada; Senator W. McL. Robertson, Leader of the Government in the Senate; the Chiefs of Staff, Lt. General Charles Foulkes, Air Marshall W. A. Curtis and Vice-Admiral H. T. W. Grant; and the Adjutant General of the Army, Major General W. H. S. Macklin.

The policies of the government are designed to prevent war, but the dangers of the international situation and the magnitude of the defence effort required as a deterrent have, in the opinion of my Ministers, created an emergency situation. You will accordingly be asked to approve legislation vesting in the Governor in Council additional powers to ensure adequate defence preparations to meet the present emergency and to prevent economic dislocation resulting from defence preparations.

You will also be asked to approve a Bill to establish a Department of Defence Production to act as a procurement agency for the defence forces of Canada and also for such defence requirements of our allies as may be met from Canadian production.

Amendments to legislation relating to the armed forces will also be submitted for your approval.

. . . . Appropriate amendments to the Canadian Citizenship Act will be introduced to prevent retention of Canadian citizenship by persons who have renounced their allegiance or shown by their conduct that they are not loyal to Canada.

The high level of employment and production within our country give our people increased capacity to meet the demands of national and international security.

Members of the House of Commons:

You will be asked to make provision for national defence and the meeting of our obligations under the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty, as well as for all essential services. . . .

St. Lawrence Waterway

In response to a question asked on January 31 by Mr. Gordon Graydon (P.C., Peel) as to whether it was the intention of the Canadian Government to proceed alone with the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway if the United States Congress does not within a reasonable time offer its co-operation in that regard, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, made the following statement:

The prospects of co-operation between the two governments in the construction of the project as a whole, both for navigation and for hydro-electric power development, appear quite good at the present time, and we are hopeful that within a short time there will be some constructive action in that regard.



CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Eighth Session of the Trusteeship Council

The Eighth Session of the Trusteeship Council opened at Lake Success on January 30, 1951, and is expected to last until approximately the middle of March. As in its previous meetings, the Council will be confronted with four main tasks: the consideration of reports submitted by those nations which administer trust territories; the examination of petitions from inhabitants of the territories; the organization of visiting missions; and the consideration of recommendations adopted by the General Assembly.

The present membership of the Trusteeship Council consists of the six administering powers (Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States); the U.S.S.R and China (permanent members of the Security Council which do not have the responsibility for administering trust territories); and four other member states, Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Iraq and Thailand. Of these the only new member is Thailand, which succeeded the Philippines on January 1, 1951. Canada has never held membership in the Council.

Relationship Between Council and Assembly

The most debatable matters on the Council's agenda relate to certain recommendations made by the Fifth Session of the General Assembly, all of which touch upon the delicate question of the constitutional relationship between the Council and the Assembly. The extent to which the Council is obliged to abide strictly by recommendations of the Assembly has already aroused controversy in the past, notably with regard to the Council's attempts to frame a satisfactory statute for the internationalization of Jerusalem. The problem arose again at the Fifth Session of the Assembly when the administering powers and their critics were often in disagreement over the degree of flexibility which the Trusteeship Council should be permitted in its interpretation of, and action on, Assembly recommendations.

In view of these differences considerable interest will attach to the Trusteeship Council's response to three resolutions adopted by the Fifth Session of the General Assembly. The first of these requests the Council to make certain alterations in the form of its future annual reports and recommends that each such report should contain an account of the manner in which the administering authority has carried out the recommendations of the Assembly or of the Trusteeship Council, together with a statement of the measures which, in the Council's view, should be adopted. The second resolution, which deals with the procedure concerning the organization and functioning of visiting missions, recommends that the Council should review its methods in this field with a view to reducing the number of trust territories to be visited by a single mission and to extending the duration of visits without diminishing their frequency. The third resolution requests the Council to study measures for the improvement of its present procedure for the examination of petitions. When these proposals were voted on in the Trusteeship Committee of the Assembly, the Canadian Representative abstained in each case on the ground that the Trusteeship Council should be permitted as much flexibility as possible in its procedure and operations.

The Council will also discuss at its current session the revision of the provisional questionnaire which is submitted to the administering powers for the preparation of their reports on the trust territories. The provisional questionnaire consists of a series of questions concerning the status of each territory and its population in the political, economic, social and educational fields, and concerning the measures taken by the various administering authorities to promote the progress of the people of the trust territories towards self-government or independence. At its last session the

Council set up a committee of four members (Belgium, the Dominican Republic, Iraq and the United Kingdom) to undertake the revision of the questionnaire with a view to eliminating duplications and ambiguities. A revised questionnaire, embodying suggestions and comments submitted by the committee, is expected to be examined by the Council.

In addition to the procedural and organizational items outlined above, the Council will consider a large number of substantive questions. These include: a study of the annual reports for the Pacific trust territories (Western Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Nauru and New Guinea); consideration of the arrangements for the visiting mission to proceed to the trust territories in East Africa in 1951; and an examination of the report of the visiting mission which went to the Pacific trust territories in 1950. Resolutions adopted by the Fifth Session of the Assembly on educational advancement, rural economic development, technical assistance and the abolition of corporal punishment in the trust territories, will also be examined.

A further item on the Council's agenda concerns the former Italian colony of Somaliland. At its Seventh Session in 1950 the Council drew up a trusteeship agreement for this territory, which was adopted by the Fifth Session of the Assembly. At its current session the Trusteeship Council will transmit the regular provisional questionnaire to the Italian Government, which has been designated by the Assembly as the administering authority for the territory for a period of ten years from the adoption of the Trusteeship Agreement. The Italian Government (represented by an Administrator) will be assisted by a United Nations Advisory Council composed of representatives from Colombia, Egypt and the Philippines.



CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

Report of the Department of External Affairs, Canada, 1950.
King's Printer, Ottawa, Canada (Price 25 cents).

This Report was recently tabled in the House of Commons. Its contents reflect the organization of the Department, and descriptions of the work done at home and abroad during 1950 appear under the geographical headings "Commonwealth", "Europe" and "America and the Far East"; and under the functional headings "United Nations", "Defence Liaison", "Economic", "Legal", "Protocol", "Information", "Consular", "Personnel", and "Administration". Canadian participation in the United Nations has been noted only briefly, since this subject will be covered in a report to be issued later by the Department, *Canada and the United Nations, 1950*.

In a Foreword surveying the critical events of the past year, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, states that "the paramount Canadian interest abroad is the maintenance of international peace and security", and the detailed information in the Report is seen in relation to this general objective. Thus, certain constructive results of Commonwealth relations and important practical developments in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are described; the work of the Council of Europe, "in giving expression to growing united European opinion", is outlined; and various sections of the Report refer to Canadian participation in international economic co-operation—with the United States, through OEEC and under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The situation in the Far East which has threatened the achievement of peace is summarized in a section which outlines events in Korea and shows briefly Canadian policy in relation to them.

The section on legal matters includes a review of the work of the International Joint Commission during the year. The report of the Protocol Division notes changes which have occurred in diplomatic and consular representation in Canada, and the chapter on consular work suggests briefly some of the contingencies with which consular officers abroad have to deal.

The Report concludes with two appendices, the first listing international agreements entered into by Canada in 1950, and the second providing a summary of Canadian representation at international conferences and meetings during the past year.

Documents on the Korean Crisis.
King's Printer, Ottawa, Canada, (Price 15 cents).

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, tabled in the House of Commons on January 31, 1951, the White Paper entitled "Documents on the Korean Crisis". These documents provide valuable background and source material for the articles on "Canada and the Korean Crisis" which have been published in *External Affairs* each month since July 1950. This White Paper may also be regarded as a sequel to that tabled on September 1, 1950, on the same subject.

The collection begins with the Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, followed by a relevant excerpt from the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945. Official statements of Canadian policy, the first of which is the Note of September 26, 1950 to the Secretary-General of the United Nations concerning the recruitment of the Canadian Army Special Force, make up the bulk of the 38-page booklet. The most important Resolutions regarding Korea of the General Assembly of the United Nations and of certain of its Committees are included, as well as related messages from the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. Appropriate docu-

mentation is provided up to and including the Draft Twelve Power Resolution introduced before the First Committee on January 24, 1951: "Peaceful settlement of the Korean and other Far Eastern problems". A list of offers of assistance for Korea, made by countries other than the United States, up to January 2, 1951, is also included.

Other Publications

(Obtainable from the King's Printer at the price indicated).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 7: Exchange of Notes between Canada and France constituting an Agreement modifying the Visa Requirements for Canadian and French Citizens visiting France and Canada respectively. Signed at Ottawa, April 6 and 17, 1950. (Price, 10 cents). (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 9: Exchange of Notes between Canada and Yugoslavia constituting an Agreement concerning Settlement of Claims arising out of the War. Signed at Belgrade, March 25 and 29, 1950. (Price, 10 cents). (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 11: Exchange of Letters between Canada and the United States of America providing for the Renewal of the Arrangement of 1942 for the Exchange of Agricultural Labour and Machinery. Signed at Ottawa, June 29 and July 6, 1950. (Price, 10 cents). (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1949, No. 16: Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America constituting an Agreement regarding the Settlement of Claims and Accounts arising out of the Disposal of War Surpluses. Signed at Ottawa, June 17 and 18, 1949. (Price, 10 cents). (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1949, No. 26: Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Netherlands constituting an Agreement regarding Visa Requirements for Non-Immigrant Travellers of the two countries. Signed at The Hague, December 9 and 14, 1949. (Price, 10 cents). (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1948, No. 28: Supplementary Financial Agreement between Canada and Belgium. Signed at Ottawa, October 24, 1947. (Price, 10 cents). (Bilingual).



—Canadian Army

GENERAL MARK CLARK VISITS OTTAWA

General Mark Wayne Clark, Chief of United States Army Field Forces, arrived in Ottawa on January 22 for a five day visit. Above, General Clark, right, accompanied by Lt. General Charles Foulkes, at that time Chief of the General Staff, and now Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, visits the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, in his office.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. W. Holmes was posted from the General Assembly, New York, to Ottawa, effective December 18, 1951.
- Mr. F. Tovell was posted from the General Assembly, New York, to Ottawa, effective December 18, 1950.
- Mr. K. Goldschlag was posted from the General Assembly, New York, to Ottawa, effective December 18, 1950.
- Miss A. M. Ireland was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in New Zealand, to Ottawa, effective January 5, 1951.
- Mr. M. Wershof was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, to Ottawa, effective January 12, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

His Excellency Urho Toivola, Minister of Finland, resumed charge of the Legation, December 28. Mr. Toivola was married on January 5, 1951.

Mr. Zygfryd Wolniak, Second Secretary, Legation of Poland, left Ottawa, December 26, for a vacation in Poland. During his absence he is being replaced by Mr. Jan Sztuk, of the Polish Consulate General in Chicago.

Lieutenant-Colonel Janko Susnjar, Military, Naval and Air Attaché, Legation of Yugoslavia, was promoted to the rank of Colonel, January 10.

New Appointments

Mr. Tomas Vuksanovic, Commercial Attaché, Legation of Yugoslavia, December 19. Mr. Vuksanovic is married.

Mr. Vaclav Piech, Third Secretary, Legation of Czechoslovakia, December 27. Mr. Piech is married.

Mr. B. P. Adarkar, Commercial Counsellor, Office of the High Commissioner for India, December 27. He will reside in Toronto. Mr. Adarkar is married.

Mr. John H. Morgan, Counsellor of Embassy, Embassy of the United States of

America, January 11. Mr. Morgan was previously Consul at Quebec. Mr. Morgan is married.

Mr. Leonid Teplov, Counsellor, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, January 11. Mr. Teplov is married.

Mr. Serguei Roudtchenko, First Secretary, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, January 11.

Colonel José Kahl, Jr., Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, January 18.

Mr. Farnçois René Antoine de Laboulaye, Counsellor, Embassy of France, January 20. Mr. de Laboulaye is married.

Mr. M. J. van Schreven, Counsellor, Embassy of the Netherlands, January 22. Mr. van Schreven is married.

Departures

Mr. Henryk Kessler, Attaché, Legation of Poland, December 6.

Mr. G. E. B. Shannon, Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, end of December.

Mr. H. F. Eschauzier, Counsellor, Embassy of the Netherlands, end of January.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Mr. Santiago Hernandez Aljaro, Consul General of El Salvador at Montreal, January 24.

Mr. Mulford A. Colebrook, Consul of the United States of America at Winnipeg, January 24.

Mr. Edgar Enrique Perez Colman, Consul of Argentina at Quebec, January 24.

Mr. Milton Faria, Consul of Brazil at Montreal, January 24.

Mr. A. Eugene Frank, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, January 24.

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. Gustaf Lundh as Vice-Consul of Sweden at Montreal, January 6.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Horatio T. Mooers as Consul of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, January 4. Mr. Mooers is in charge of the Consulate General.

Mr. Fernando Olivie as Consul of Spain at Montreal, January 16.

Mr. Ralph Fratzke as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Windsor, January 24.

Mr. George H. Wilson as Honorary Consul General of Peru at Vancouver, January 31. Mr. Wilson is married.

Mr. Norman E. Lamb as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, January 31. Mr. Lamb is married.

Departures

Mr. Sidney A. Belovsky, Consul General

of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, December 27.

Mr. Charles F. Johnson, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, December 30.

Mr. Pedro Bonnefon, Consul General of Argentina at Montreal, December 31.

Mr. James MacGregor Davison, Honorary Vice-Consul of Sweden at Halifax, end of December.

Mr. D. W. Ledingham, Honorary Vice-Consul of Sweden at St. John, New Brunswick, end of December.

Mr. Philippe Cantave, Consul General of Haiti, resumed charge of the Consulate General, January 8, on his return from a visit to Haiti.

VISITS OF OFFICIALS OF OTHER COUNTRIES

General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, visited Ottawa, January 26 and 27.

The Right Honourable S. G. Holland, Prime Minister of New Zealand, visited Ottawa, January 30 and 31.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a List of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of January, 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier Conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs").

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually; next date of publication of complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions, January, 1952. See "External Affairs", January, 1951, for a complete list of these).

Conferences Attended in January 1951

1. *Multilateral Tariff Negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.* Torquay, England—September 28. L.D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, Chairman; H. B. McKinnon, Canadian Tariff Board, Deputy Chairman; J. J. Deutsch, W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Department of External Affairs; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarret and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.
2. *Legal Committee of ICAO.* Mexico City—January 2. Delegates: Brig. C. S. Booth, Council Member for Canada; A. S. McDonald, Air Transport Board.
3. *Indian Science Congress.* Bangalore, India—January 2. Dr. B. R. MacKay, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
4. *Pan-Indian Ocean Congress.* Bangalore, India—January 2. Dr. B. R. MacKay, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
5. *Commonwealth Prime Ministers.* London—January 4-12. Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada; Advisers: N. A. Robertson, Secretary to the Cabinet; J. W. Pickersgill, Office of the Prime Minister; and J. Léger, Department of External Affairs.
6. *Centenary of Geological Survey of India.* Calcutta—January 10. Dr. B. R. MacKay, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
7. *Permanent Joint Board on Defence.* Washington—January 10. Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton, Chairman; Rear-Admiral F. L. Houghton; Maj-Gen. H. A. Spar-

ling; A/V/M A. L. James; C. C. Eberts, Office of the Privy Council.

8. *Annual Meeting to Discuss Plans for Arctic Weather Programme.* Ottawa — January 11. W/C F. H. Pearce; W/C W. Murray; A/C. A. D. Ross; A/C R. A. London; S/L A. Rosenthal; S/L F. H. Nichols; Lt. Col. R. A. Klaehn; F. A. Brinkman; and G. Rowley, Department of National Defence; Lt. J. H. MacLean and Lt. W. V. A. Leslie, R.C.N.; G/C Z. L. Leigh, R.C.A.F.; Dr. G. S. Hume, Dr. C. S. Beals, R. G. Madill, E. Fry and N. L. Nicholson, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys; Dr. D. C. Rose, National Research Council; J. G. Wright, J. W. Burton and J. C. Jackson, Department of Resources and Development; Inspector H. A. Larsen, R.C.M.P.; A. Thomson, D. C. Archibald, R. W.

Rae, J. C. Wyatt, A. Watson and H. M. Hutchon, Department of Transport; C. C. Eberts, Office of the Privy Council.

9. *Twenty-Fifth Session of Executive Board of UNESCO.* Paris—January 15-28. Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland.
10. *First Session of the ILO Committee on Indigenous Labour.* LaPaz, Bolivia — January 16-27. D. F. Brown, M.P.
11. *Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Bird-Banding Association.* Boston—January 26. H. R. Webster, Dominion Wildlife Officer for the Maritimes.
12. *Twelfth Session of ICAO Council.* Montreal — January 30. Brig. C. S. Booth, Council Member for Canada.

Conferences to be held in February and March

1. *Tenth Plenary Meeting of Cotton Advisory Committee.* Lahore, Pakistan — February 1.
2. *Third Session of the Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee of ILO.* Geneva—February 12-24.
3. *Consultative Committee on South and South-East Asia.* Colombo — February 12.
4. *Agenda Committee of ECOSOC.* San-

tiago—February 16.

5. *Twelfth Session of ECOSOC.* Santiago —February 20.
6. *114th Session of Governing Body of ILO.* Geneva—February 26-March 10.
7. *Medical Conference.* Pakistan — February.
8. *First South American Congress on Petroleum.* Montevideo—March 12-16.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY CANADA

France

Agreement between Canada and France relating to the Terms of Compensation for Canadian Interests in Nationalized Gas and Electricity. Signed at Paris on January 26, 1951.

India

Exchange of Notes between Canada and India constituting an Agreement concerning the Entry to Canada for Permanent Residence of Citizens of India. Signed at Ottawa, January 26, 1951.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 51/1—*The Commonwealth and the World Today*, an address by Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, delivered to the Canada Club in London, England, on January 8, 1951.

- No. 51/2—Statement by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, made in the First (Political) Committee on January 26, 1951.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE KOREAN CRISIS

THE adoption by the General Assembly on February 1 of the United States resolution condemning China as an aggressor closed a crowded chapter in the story of the Korean crisis. In the next chapter, which opened with the month of February, the search for a settlement of the dispute was pressed forward in a less dramatic manner.

The dominant fact of the month from the United Nations point of view was the marked improvement in the military situation. Late in January, United Nations forces embarked on a limited offensive from their line of farthest retreat 35 miles south of Seoul. Slowly and at disproportionate cost to the Chinese forces they moved forward 30 miles. At the end of the month it seemed improbable that they could be driven back unless the Chinese People's Government sent large additional forces to the battle area. This new military situation appeared likely to provide a new and firmer basis for the search for a peaceful settlement in Korea.

The General Assembly resolution of February 1 provided for the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee to consider additional measures to meet the Chinese aggression. It also requested the President of the General Assembly to form a Good Offices Committee by designating two persons who would meet with him at any suitable opportunity to use their good offices in bringing about a cessation of hostilities in Korea and in achieving United Nations objectives by peaceful means.

The Additional Measures Committee met on February 16 for the first time to organize its activities and discuss its relationship with the Good Offices Committee. It constituted part of its membership as a bureau to study the main lines and principles followed in previous applications of collective measures. When the bureau has completed its work, the full Committee will meet again to consider the next step in carrying out its part of the General Assembly resolution.

The President of the Assembly had hoped that Sir Benegal Rau and Mr. Pearson would continue to work with him on the Good Offices Committee as they had done on the Cease-Fire Committee. In view of the stand which India had taken against the United States resolution, Sir Benegal did not believe that he should accept appointment on a committee set up under its terms. Mr. Pearson declined an invitation to serve on the Good Offices Committee because one member of the Cease-Fire Group, Sir Benegal Rau, had been unable to serve on the new committee, and because he himself did not think his duties in Ottawa would enable him to give sufficient time and attention to the work of the Committee. Mr. Entezam therefore invited Mr. Sven Graftstrom of Sweden and Dr. Luis Padillo Nervo of Mexico to join him on the Good Offices Committee. On February 19 the Committee met formally for the first time to consider how it could best promote a peaceful settlement of the Korean war. The same day it met with the bureau of the Additional Measures Committee to determine a working arrangement for the two committees that would facilitate the United Nations objective of peaceful settlement. On February 23 the Good Offices Committee was reported to have made its first approach to the Chinese People's Government to see if the latter would discuss Korean peace terms with it. At the end of the month the Chinese Government had not yet responded to this approach.

The slow advance of United Nations forces northward focused attention once more on the 38th parallel. There was widespread speculation that a movement across the line might provoke the Chinese Government to intervene on a larger scale and might destroy what seemed to be a growing awareness on their part of the necessity of accepting a negotiated settlement.



—United Nations

CANADIAN TROOPS IN KOREA

In a ceremony held at Pusan, the United Nations flag was presented to Lt. Col. J. R. Stone, Commanding Officer of the Princess Patricia Canadian Light Infantry, 2nd Battalion, by Mr. James Plimsoll, Australian Delegate to the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea.

Responding to a question about the 38th parallel in the House of Commons on February 13 the Secretary of State for External Affairs expressed the opinion that any decision on crossing the parallel should be a collective one including particularly those governments participating in United Nations operations in Korea, of which the most important was the United States of America. Mr. Pearson told the House that as a result of recent discussions among representatives of governments with forces participating in Korean operations, the political significance of any move across the parallel deep into North Korean territory was fully appreciated.

On February 21 two announcements were made which highlighted Canada's participation in the first attempt of the United Nations to apply the principle of collective security. It was announced that the Canadian infantry battalion which had been training in South Korea for three months was fighting as a part of the Commonwealth Brigade on the central front in the limited offensive announced the day before by General MacArthur at Wonju, Korea. The same night, in the House of Commons, the Minister of National Defence announced that two more infantry battalions, an artillery regiment, and supporting service units, from the Special Force in Fort Lewis would proceed shortly to Korea to join with the battalion already fighting there in forming a full Canadian brigade group.

INTERNATIONAL NARCOTIC CONTROL*

It has been amply demonstrated through the years that when a commodity in international trade has both a legal and illegal use, national control alone, without international collaboration, is not fully effective; that the smaller the bulk and the higher the value of the commodity, the greater the difficulty of control; and that where there is no national interest to resist international control, control will be easier. Narcotic drugs have a legal and illegal use, are small in bulk and high in value, and, in so far as most countries of the world are concerned, there is no national interest to resist control. Such national interest can, however, exist when, as in Japan prior to the close of the Second World War, drugs are used as an implement of policy to weaken an enemy; when the tax revenue derived from the commodity is a considerable proportion of the country's budget income; or when cultivation or manufacture or trade is an important part of the country's economy.

In its simplest form, international control of narcotic drugs consists of this: international conventions require governments to ensure, through administering appropriate legislation, that the drugs can be used for medical and scientific purposes only, that no unlicensed person, from the grower or manufacturer down to the ultimate user, may possess the drugs, and that records of all transactions shall be kept, summarized and sent to an international organization. This body is thus enabled to determine whether a government has fulfilled its obligations. Enforcement by the international control bodies depends upon certain permissible embargoes, and upon the pressure of public opinion. In essence, therefore, international control is supervision of the performance of national administration.

The first international step was taken in 1909 when an International Opium Commission met in Shanghai. Representatives of thirteen governments participated, the late Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King being a member of the British delegation. The representatives recognized that "the use of opium in any form otherwise than for medical purposes is a matter for prohibition or for careful regulation", that "the unrestricted manufacture, sale and distribution of morphine already constitute a great danger", and that "drastic measures should be taken by each government to institute a proper control over this drug and also of such other derivatives of opium as may appear on scientific enquiry to be liable to produce similar abuse and . . . like ill effects."

First International Convention Negotiated

Three years later, delegates from twelve States met at The Hague and negotiated the first international narcotic convention. Production and distribution of raw opium was to be controlled. Only authorized persons were to be allowed to import or export, and contracting parties undertook to limit the number of ports and harbours through which such traffic was permitted.

In 1920 the first Assembly of the League of Nations created an Advisory Committee "to exercise a general supervision over the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs and to secure the full co-operation of the various countries in this field", while the Secretariat was charged with the duty of collecting information concerning the arrangements made in various countries for carrying out the Hague Convention, as well as information about the production, distribution and consumption of narcotic drugs. Canada was appointed to this Advisory Committee in 1934 and remained a member until it was replaced in 1946 by the Narcotic Commission of the United Nations. In 1924-5 there was a Conference at Geneva, attended by thirty-six States, from which emerged the 1925 Convention. Voluntary control was transformed into

* By Col. C. H. L. Sharman, Department of National Health and Welfare.

a legal obligation, and in addition to raw opium and its derivatives, the Convention covered coca leaves, crude cocaine, ecgonine and Indian hemp. The most important feature, however, was the creation of the Permanent Central Opium Board, and the acceptance of compulsory arbitration for all disputes arising out of the convention which could not be settled by other means. International trade in the substances covered was to be effected through a system of compulsory import certificates and export authorizations, the latter only issuable upon production of the former. A copy of the export authorization was to accompany the consignment and was required to quote the number and date of the import certificate so that it could be linked with it. By these means a strict check was made possible over the international narcotic trade, and in the subsequent twenty-five years has continued to work well.

Fifty-eight countries have ratified the 1925 Convention, which came into effect in 1928, and after it had been in operation for a few years it was possible to determine the actual legitimate needs of the world, and to effect considerable reduction in world manufacture. In 1929, 58 tons of morphine for all purposes had been manufactured, while in the period 1931-35 the legitimate needs of the world had been completely satisfied by an annual production averaging 29 tons. In 1929, 3.6 tons of heroin and 6.4 tons of cocaine had been manufactured, while in 1935 the percentage of reduction effected in relation to these drugs was 82 per cent and 40 per cent respectively.

The next Convention, that of 1931, extended the scope of the control, particularly of manufactured drugs, each country supplying detailed estimates of its medical and scientific requirements and of its requirements for manufacture and subsequent export. These estimates are examined and endorsed by a Supervisory Body, set up by the Convention, which is empowered to draw up an estimate for any country which has failed to furnish one. This Convention has been ratified by 68 States, 16 of which are not members of the United Nations.

In 1936 an Illicit Traffic Convention was formulated, but only came into force in October, 1939, one month after the outbreak of the Second World War. The Convention defines the specific offences, which are to be punishable by adequate penalties and which should be included as extradition crimes in any extradition treaties negotiated between parties.

In 1948, during the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, a Protocol was signed by many member-countries and some non-members, by which was reached an agreement to bring synthetic narcotics under controls similar to those applying to opium-based products.

The present functioning organs in the field of international control are described below.

The United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs

This is composed of fifteen members of the United Nations which are important producing or manufacturing countries or countries in which illicit traffic constitutes a serious social problem. Ten countries, including Canada, are permanent members, while the remaining five are appointed for three years. It meets annually, usually at New York, and constitutes the policy-formulating body on all questions relating to Narcotic Control, besides being the advisory organ to the Economic and Social Council in its task of applying and supervising the application of the various international narcotic instruments. The Commission receives and reviews annual reports from all countries and territories. It also examines the seizure reports, received from all over the world, submitted under the terms of the 1931 Convention. The Commission is also the appointing authority for one member of the Supervisory Body. At the present time it is, in addition to its regular duties, engaged in the consideration

of proposals for the establishment of International Monopolies in relation to both opium and manufactured drugs, and for the preparation of a single unified Convention to replace and, where possible, improve the existing Conventions and Protocols. It is also studying the report of a Commission of Enquiry sent to Bolivia and Peru to investigate the situation in respect of the chewing of the coca leaf and the economic aspect of the limitation of coca production.

The Permanent Central Opium Board

This Board operates under the 1925 Convention to "watch the course of international trade in narcotic drugs", and employs a system of statistical control based on the detailed quarterly and annual returns received from practically every country and territory. It is empowered to call for an explanation from any country, to undertake an investigation, to communicate its reports to the Economic and Social Council, and in certain circumstances, to apply an embargo against an offending country, a power which it has been necessary to exercise on over sixty occasions during the last twenty-five years, of which five occurred in 1949. If the imports and exports of any country show that the estimates of the importing country are, or will be, exceeded, the Board immediately informs all Parties to the Convention "who will not during the currency of the year in question authorize any new exports to the country in question, except under special circumstances". The members of the Board, eight in number, are appointed for five years by the Economic and Social Council. They include persons who possess a knowledge of the drug situation, both in producing and manufacturing countries, as well as in consuming countries. The PCOB has a joint secretariat with the Supervisory Body and the required administrative services are furnished by the United Nations. It holds two meetings each year, and joint meetings with the Supervisory Body, at Geneva, which is its headquarters.

The Supervisory Body

The main function of the Supervisory Body is to examine the estimates furnished annually by governments, showing their legitimate requirements for narcotic drugs. Such estimates for 1951 were received from sixty-nine countries and eighty-three territories, while the Supervisory Body itself prepared estimates for six countries and five territories which had not submitted any. An annual statement is issued on December 15 of each year, this being the basis upon which the whole machinery of the international control of the manufacture of and trade in narcotic drugs now rests.

The Supervisory Body consists of four members, two eminent medical men appointed by the World Health Organization, and two experienced narcotic administrators appointed by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the Permanent Central Opium Board. The Canadian representative to the Narcotic Commission was nominated to the Supervisory Body in 1948 by the Commission. Two meetings are held annually in Geneva, as well as joint meetings with the Permanent Central Opium Board. It is expected that if and when the proposed Unified Convention is ratified, both the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Supervisory Body will disappear as separate entities and be replaced by an International Drug Board of nine members. This has already been anticipated to as great an extent as possible by having three of the four members of the Supervisory Body also serving as members of the Permanent Central Opium Board.

No claim is made that the existing international machinery of narcotic control is in every aspect perfect, but it has been pointed out on several occasions that such machinery might serve as a useful example for those concerned with the problems of controlling even more dangerous substances than narcotic drugs. The example may be particularly valuable where the need is for control of substances in relation to which the main problem arises not from proper use but from abuse. Narcotic drugs

are not in themselves harmful. They have legitimate and useful purposes which bring great benefits to mankind, and are indispensable to modern medicine, but experience has shown that their abuse can cause enormous havoc. One of the valuable lessons that can be learned from experience with the agreements on narcotic drugs is that there can be universal application of control without universal acceptance of a limiting convention. This is due to the fact that the sources of supply exist in only a small number of countries. The wider significance of the Limitation Convention of 1931 was well emphasized by M. de Brouckère, the President of the Conference which drafted it, when he stated "if a similar system could be established . . . for far more dangerous drugs and far more murderous weapons, we men would have made a considerable advance".



—National Defence

CANADIAN ARMS AND EQUIPMENT FOR BELGIUM

A 17-pounder self-propelled gun is prepared for shipment to Belgium as part of Canada's programme of providing arms to other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY*

A Summary of Recent Statements by the Government of Pakistan

Perhaps the clearest definition of Pakistan's foreign policy was given by its Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, in a series of speeches during his tour of North America in May and June of 1950. On May 4, speaking to the National Press Club in Washington, he described his country's foreign relations in terms of three fundamental interests: the integrity of Pakistan, the faith in Islamic culture, and the desire and great need for economic development. "Given these, any student of international affairs can appreciate our foreign relations and their trends", added the Prime Minister. In this and subsequent speeches Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan expanded on the policies by which his Government hoped to serve these basic interests.

Above all, Pakistan wants peace in the world "not merely as an ultimate aim but equally urgently as an immediate aim". Peace is needed if the under-developed countries, like Pakistan, are to satisfy their urge to shed as quickly as possible the inadequacy and under-development which for centuries have kept their peoples in poverty, ignorance and ill-health. Immediate peace will depend, however, not on anything that the Asian countries can do but "only on those who can make immediate war". The Government of Pakistan is resolved to make the greatest possible contribution to the maintenance of peace but it considers that its efforts will be fruitless without international co-operation on the part of the great powers in the world. This same spirit of co-operation must exist if the under-developed countries are to achieve their aims for economic development. It is only by eradicating the causes of war — poverty, ignorance, economic and racial inequality — that the world can hope for permanent peace and this can only be accomplished — like the achievement of immediate peace — through international co-operation on a comprehensive scale.

"Natural Affiliation with Muslim Countries"

Facing as it does both East and West, Pakistan has a vital interest in developments in the Middle East and in South-East Asia. Culturally, Pakistanis feel a "natural affiliation with other Muslim countries" and for this reason "are keenly interested in the progress and development of the Middle East countries and in the maintenance of their independence". The Prime Minister made it quite clear in discussing this point that he was not thinking in terms of a Muslim power bloc. As for South-East Asia, Pakistan, having achieved independence from colonial rule, has "the greatest sympathy for and understanding of resurgent nationalism in that part of the world". Pakistan stands for stability in Asia. In the Prime Minister's words, "the belief is growing in our minds that peace and stability in Asia are essential for peace and stability in the world". With these objectives in mind, Pakistan has established friendly relations with Burma, Indonesia and the countries of the Middle East; has recognized the Central People's Government of China while withholding recognition of the Bao Dai regime in Indo-China; and would welcome a treaty of peace with Japan at an early date and the restoration of Japan's economy.

Pakistan considers that its contribution to stability in Asia is significant. The Prime Minister pointed out on several occasions in America that Pakistan was "one of the few countries in the new Asia whose people are unified and surprisingly free from doubts and clashes". This was all the more surprising "in a world of conflicting ideologies" for a nation that had recently achieved full sovereignty was likely to be the victim of mental confusion and consequent instability. In Pakistan the Government was pledged to pursue as "an irrevocable article of faith" the Islamic way of

* It is expected that an article on Indian foreign policy will be published in a forthcoming issue of *External Affairs*.

life, which as a matter of tradition stood for "clear-cut and easily intelligible principles of democracy and social and economic justice". This was a good beginning for the new state and augured well for continuing stability, but the great need for supplementing these pledges with practical steps for raising living standards must not be overlooked. "We firmly believe that if Asia is allowed to stagnate and fester, the whole world will be perilously pushed to the brink of unpredictable upheavals". The importance of stability in Pakistan was underlined by its strategic position in South Asia. "Pakistan, therefore, politically, ideologically and strategically holds a position of great responsibility".

Relations with Europe

Pakistan has established diplomatic relations with most of the countries of Europe where its interest is mainly commercial. A number of trade agreements have been concluded during the past year, including those with Austria, Hungary, Poland, Spain and Switzerland. Recently the Government of Pakistan announced its decision to terminate the state of war with Germany with effect from January 5, 1951. This action coincided with a strengthening of commercial bonds with the West German state. In the past Pakistan has had differences of opinion with one or two countries of Europe over colonial questions

Attitude to the United States

Pakistan looks to the United States for mutual goodwill and co-operation. Throughout his tour last year the Prime Minister spoke in the warmest terms of the friendly relations between the two countries, of the genius and energy of the people of the United States and of his admiration for their material achievements. In his last major speech at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on May 26, 1950, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan gave voice to his hopes in the United States for future constructive leadership toward world peace. He also said something of his anxieties:

. . . Looking at this great country and then thinking of countries like my own, I have been painfully conscious of the disequilibrium that exists in the world today . . . I see the United States as . . . a fabulously prosperous island. And round this island I see the unhealthy sea of misery, poverty and squalor, in which millions of human beings are trying to keep their heads above water . . . With monotonous reiteration during my days in America I have appealed for international co-operation . . . I do not ask for charity (but) for the help of the more experienced countries of the world to put our own men to work and make our own resources yield their wealth . . . Democracy in the world today cannot remain isolated and flourish. It must go ahead and spread itself or else it will wither away. Prosperity too cannot remain isolated. It too must go ahead and spread itself . . .

With such thoughts in mind Pakistanis look to the New World to carry democracy to its logical conclusion and, with the resources, the great experience and the technical knowledge it commands, to be among the leading architects of a new internationalism; and to enter with vigour into the vast constructive fields which are open in the world "and where alone the foundation of lasting peace can be had".

Pakistan and India

On several occasions during the North American tour, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan spoke about Pakistan's relations with India, which he said had not been "as free from anxiety as we earnestly desire". He pointed out that two fundamental facts which influenced these relations were that India was much larger than Pakistan and that some sections of the Indian population had not reconciled themselves to the partition of the old British India. The preponderant size of its neighbour and the resentment felt by some Indians has caused an uneasiness in Pakistan about the maintenance of its independence and its freedom to follow the Islamic way of life. The existence of a



PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN

The Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Begum Liaquat Ali Khan visited the Parliament Buildings when they were in Ottawa in May 1950. With them is the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, right, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. W. Ross MacDonald; in the background is the High Commissioner for Pakistan and the Begum Mohammed Ali.

number of major disputes between the two countries has only served to disturb their relations and has led to a substantial expenditure on defence, which Pakistan can ill afford in the face of its need for economic development. In spite of the tension — which has eased considerably since the signing of the Delhi Pact on minorities — the Government of Pakistan is fully aware that a relationship of mutual confidence with India is essential for the peace of Asia and of the world.

Kashmir

Pakistan's position as regards Kashmir and the other disputes with India has been stated on many occasions both inside and outside Pakistan. The underlying thesis on Pakistan's side of the prolonged correspondence between the two Prime Ministers concerning a No-War Declaration has been that "there should be tangible action to match the spirit of the declaration, since peoples and governments are judged by their actions rather than by their words". In a letter to the Prime Minister of India on November 21, 1950, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said: "The solution to our problems will come, I am earnestly convinced, when each side accepts adjudication on all issues that are justiciable, and arbitration of other issues. My Government are prepared to do this on every issue". More specifically, Pakistan would refer the canal waters dispute to the International Court of Justice, and, should negotiations and mediation be unsuccessful after a given period, would accept arbitration in the disputes over evacuee property and the claims relating to assets.

On Kashmir, Pakistani representatives make the following points: there is an international agreement between India and Pakistan that a free and impartial plebiscite shall be held in Kashmir to let the people of the State decide for themselves whether they would like to join India or Pakistan. The difficulty lies in securing agreement regarding the demilitarization of Kashmir which is to precede the plebiscite. Pakistan has already agreed to have outstanding points of difference settled by arbitration. Further, at the conclusion of the recent conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan indicated that Pakistan was prepared to accept any of the various proposals suggested by the Prime Ministers for the demilitarization of Kashmir but that India had rejected them all. Pakistani spokesmen therefore proceed to the conclusion that it is now up to the Security Council to take the next step to secure the implementation of the agreement for a plebiscite. At his press conference in New York on November 28, Sir Zafrulla Khan, Pakistani Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, expressed the opinion that the deadlock could only be resolved if the Security Council could itself pronounce upon the points of disagreement, or appoint an impartial person of high standing to do so, and call upon both parties to carry out their undertakings under the various United Nations resolutions, more particularly the resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 of the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan.

The crisis which occurred late in December over the attendance of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference arose, not because the Government of Pakistan expected, or wished to force, a decision on Kashmir in London, but because in Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's view "the Kashmir dispute affects vitally the relations between India and Pakistan and peace and security in Asia. It would be unrealistic and futile to consider the situation in this part of the world without first seeking a solution of the Kashmir dispute". The other Prime Ministers recognized the importance of a solution of the Kashmir dispute to the stability of South and South-East Asia and the matter was discussed informally on three separate occasions in London. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has since publicly expressed his appreciation of the efforts of the Commonwealth leaders.

Pakistan's attitude toward the Western democracies is influenced by two other factors, namely the continuation of colonialism in Asia and North Africa and the speed and effectiveness with which economic aid from the West is forthcoming. On November 12, 1950, speaking at Miami Beach, Florida, Sir Zafrulla Khan warned that "one-third of the world's population is prepared to risk communism to gain independence from the colonial yoke of the Western powers." This third, he added, was principally Muslim and not definitely committed to either Soviet or Western ideologies. In an earlier address on October 22, speaking about the non-self-governing territories in the world, he called for "sustained action, both on the part of the United Nations and what are called the Colonial Powers, to push forward the setting up of all these peoples as independent sovereign states". On the question of economic aid the Foreign Minister, addressing the Fifth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25, 1950, repeated the warning which his Prime Minister has sounded often on his North American tour:

A man who is hungry, ill-clad, exposed or disease-ridden will not long cherish ambition or sustain hope and will soon become desperate. He will fall easy prey to disorders and diseases of the mind, intellect and spirit that destroy more widely and effectively than hunger and disease of the body . . . Call a system what you will, give it any name you please, mankind is bound ultimately to adopt that which fulfils its needs and is beneficent in its operation.

The United Nations

Consistent with its overriding interest in world peace, Pakistan has publicly expressed a determination to play its part in the United Nations, although the con-

tinuing deadlock over Kashmir has put a strain on popular thinking about that body, which sometimes finds reflection in the utterances of Pakistani public men. The representatives of Pakistan at Lake Success have given their country's full support to the Security Council's resolutions on Korea. On other issues they have consistently expressed concern for the welfare and championed the rights of the inhabitants of trust and non-self-governing territories; they have also displayed an active interest in the development of plans for economic aid and technical assistance for under-developed areas.

Pakistan stands for universality of membership in the United Nations as was made clear by the Foreign Minister in an address last September. Accepting this principle and having recognized the Peking regime, Pakistan has pressed for recognition of the representatives of Communist China. Moreover, it has joined with those nations which have been urging a policy of caution in dealing with the Chinese intervention in Korea, and abstained from voting on the resolution passed in the Political Committee which named China an aggressor.

Late in 1950 there was a suggestion that the Government of Pakistan might be re-examining its attitude toward the United Nations, as a result of the delay in the Security Council's dealing with the Kashmir question. On December 16 Mr. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Minister for Kashmir Affairs, in an interview with Reuters' diplomatic correspondent, intimated that if the United Nations continued to postpone the Kashmir issue, the Pakistan Government would have "seriously to consider the recall of the Pakistan delegation from the United Nations". He stressed that inside Pakistan the failure of the United Nations to act was resulting in a tide of criticism, both among the friends and opponents of the Government.

The Commonwealth

Perhaps the clearest statement of Pakistan's attitude toward the Commonwealth was given by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on May 31, 1950, when he spoke to the joint session of both Houses of the Parliament of Canada. He declared that he was not one of those "who would demand that the bond which exists between the various members of the Commonwealth be minutely defined". He paid tribute to the continuing value of the Commonwealth association:

In the uneasy, apprehensive world of today, such a large group of nations with so much identity in their declared aims should be a heartening spectacle to mankind. No practical person would therefore wish wantonly for its disintegration.

The Prime Minister developed these remarks by commending to the attention of his listeners, first, that the Commonwealth ties were no longer mainly religious, historical or racial and that therefore the Commonwealth had an opportunity to lead the world in establishing the brotherhood of man irrespective of race, creed and colour; and, secondly, that since the greatest fear in the world was the fear of war, the Commonwealth should do its part in raising the hopes of mankind by outlawing war as a method of settling disputes among its own members.

On the latter point, it is interesting to note that in an interview last April with Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger of the *New York Times* Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan suggested that the Commonwealth should issue a collective guarantee of the territorial integrity of Pakistan in an effort to ease the tension between them. Although the proposal has never been formally raised, it is one of several indications that the Government of Pakistan would favour the creation of some machinery in the Commonwealth for settling disputes between members. It need hardly be added that the Government's thinking about the Commonwealth is greatly influenced by its anxiety over relations with India.

Afghanistan

Pakistan's desire for friendly relations with all countries and especially with Muslim countries, has not been realized in its relations with Afghanistan. For some time the Government of Pakistan has complained about propaganda emanating from Kabul, aiming at the establishment of an autonomous state of Pushtoonistan carved out of territory in West Pakistan. The Pakistan Government holds that the boundary between the two countries established by the Durand Line is not a matter for discussion. The embittered relations between the two countries have led to unrest along the border and to a number of border clashes. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, in a statement made on October 7, 1950, gave some indication of the Pakistan feeling on this subject. He then said:

I am glad to be able to say (of the people of the tribal territory on the Pakistan side of the Durand Line) that their devotion to Pakistan is as strong as ever in spite of the most insistent propaganda by the Afghanistan Government to wean them away from their loyalty. The tone of the Afghan Government-controlled radio and press, which was already violent and vituperative, has steadily become worse and now they are openly concentrating on incitement and war-mongering . . . I repeat what I have said before, namely that the Government of Pakistan are still willing to discuss questions of common interest both economic and cultural but I would like to impress upon the Government of Afghanistan with all the emphasis at my command that the feeling of anger and resentment against their hostile and un-Islamic policy towards Pakistan is mounting in the tribal area and indeed throughout Pakistan. The disturbance of peace in an area of such strategic importance is fraught with grave consequences. We desire peace and have no territorial ambitions but neither the threat of force nor force itself will make us yield one inch of the soil of Pakistan.



THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION

To prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters and to settle all questions which are now pending between the United States and the Dominion of Canada involving the rights, obligations or interests of either in relation to the other or to the inhabitants of the other, along their common frontier, and to make provision for the adjustment and settlement of all such questions as may hereafter arise . . .

In these altruistic words is set forth the preamble to a treaty which is, without doubt, unique in the history of the United States and Canada and, indeed, in the conduct of relations between any two independent states.

This treaty, the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, so farsighted and wide in its scope, was but the natural outcome of the desire of two friendly neighbouring nations, possessing a common heritage and striving for the same ideals, to settle in an amicable and informal manner any of the differences and disagreements, which are bound to arise between even the closest of friends. The means of implementing this common purpose was the International Joint Commission, the establishment of which was provided for in this treaty.

International Joint Commission Established

To review the events leading to the establishment of the International Joint Commission we must go back to 1894, the year in which the Irrigation Congress of the United States was held in Denver, Colorado. At this Conference a resolution, put forward by a Canadian delegate and unanimously passed, asked that steps be taken for the appointment of an international commission, to act in conjunction with the authorities of Mexico, Canada and the United States, in adjudicating the conflicting rights which had arisen, or might thereafter arise, on streams of an international character. This suggestion was adopted by the Canadian Government and in 1896 the British Ambassador at Washington informed the Government of the United States that Canada would be glad to co-operate in the appointment of an international commission.

No action, however, resulted until the Rivers and Harbours Act was passed by the United States Congress in 1902, requesting the President to invite Great Britain to join in the establishment of an international commission, to be composed of three members from the United States and three representing Canada. This led to the establishment of the International Waterways Commission, whose functions were limited to the consideration and preparation of reports and recommendations on all waters adjacent to the Boundary, from the head of the Great Lakes to the St. Lawrence River and so into the Atlantic Ocean, regarding suitable levels to be maintained, diversions for power purposes and improvements in navigation.

Although the International Waterways Commission was purely an advisory body the work it achieved did prove of value. Its investigations clearly demonstrated, moreover, as early as 1907, that certain principles, regarding the use of boundary waters, ought to be determined in advance as applicable to all questions which might arise, and that a body with broader powers would be required. Thus, the International Waterways Commission paved the way for the present International Joint Commission.

As a result of these and other suggestions from various quarters, negotiations were entered into at Washington between Lord Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States, and Elihu Root, Secretary of State. Both these men possessed in a high measure the qualities of statesmanship and selfless endeavour which have produced enduring monuments to international peace and stability. Although the chief negotiators were Lord Bryce and Secretary Root, Canada played a prominent part

in the negotiations and was at all times in direct contact with the proceedings through the media of Dr. W. F. King, of the International Boundary Commission, Sir George Gibbons, of the International Waterways Commission, and the Honourable William Pugsley, then Minister of Public Works and later Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, all of whom assisted Lord Bryce in the negotiations.

The treaty was signed at Washington on January 11, 1909 and in 1911 an Act of Parliament was passed approving its ratification. This Act further provides that:

The laws of Canada and of the several Provinces thereof are hereby amended and altered so as to permit, authorize and sanction the performance of the obligations undertaken by His Majesty in and under the said treaty . . .

Agreement on Practices Governing Boundary Waters

Besides providing for the establishment and operation of the International Joint Commission, the Treaty also lays down certain practices to be followed on various matters concerning boundary waters.

By the terms of Article I, freedom of navigation on all navigable boundary waters is guaranteed to the inhabitants and ships of both countries, subject to any regulations of either country, within its own territory, which shall apply equally to both parties.

Article II reserves to the signatories to the Treaty exclusive jurisdiction and control over the use and diversion of waters on their own side of the line flowing across the boundary, or into boundary waters, but it is provided that:

any interference with or diversion from their natural channel of such waters on either side of the boundary, resulting in any injury on the other side of the boundary, shall give rise to the same rights and entitle the injured parties to the same legal remedies as if such injury took place in the country where such diversion or interference occurs.

This Article is of prime importance in that its provisions give Canadians the right to go into the courts of the United States to seek redress for injury sustained in Canada, and give Americans similar rights in Canadian courts.

The pollution of boundary waters, or waters flowing across the boundary, to the detriment of health or injury of property on either side is expressly prohibited by Article IV.

Article V determined the authorized diversion from the Niagara River, above the Falls, for the power purposes of both countries. However, the Niagara Diversion Treaty of 1950, concluded between Canada and the United States, allows for an increase in the authorized diversion to both countries, consonant with preserving the beauty of the Falls.

Article VI of the Treaty makes provisions for the apportionment of the waters of the St. Mary and Milk Rivers and their tributaries and stipulates that they are to be treated as one stream for the purposes of irrigation and power development.

Establishment and Composition of the Commission

The establishment of the International Joint Commission itself, is provided for in Article VII and the composition of the Commission and the method of appointment thereto is laid down. The Commission consists of six members, three appointed by the President of the United States and three by the Governor General in Council. These six Commissioners are pledged to a viewpoint that is American in the continental sense. They must regard the people on both sides of the boundary as equally

entitled to their best possible judgment. All of the Commissioners represent the same broad international constituency and it is a very significant fact that in all cases so far dealt with the decisions of the Commission have been practically unanimous.

Although the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 sought the settlement of all outstanding questions and disputes, which had up to that time arisen between Canada and the United States, it also envisaged, and no doubt this was the prime purpose of those who had conceived of the idea, the solution of all future questions of difference which might arise thereafter. The complicated, and often lengthy, diplomatic negotiations between Canada and the United States, through the medium of Great Britain, attendant upon the settlement of differences, were cut to minimum. Here was a tribunal, vested by the treaty in many cases with final authority, to which grievances arising on either side of the border could be referred for amicable settlement, in the knowledge that they would receive impartial judgment from men who were not bound by sectional interests. Questions of differences which, under the old system of protracted and involved negotiations, would have festered and perhaps inflamed national passions, could now be settled in a speedy and neighbourly manner.

Jurisdiction of Commission

The jurisdiction of the International Joint Commission is governed by five specific articles of the Boundary Waters Treaty. The first of these five specific articles, Article III, states that the High Contracting Parties agree that there shall be no further use, obstruction or diversion, "affecting the natural level or flow of boundary waters on the other side of the line", without the authority of either Canada or the United States on their respective side of the line and the approval of the International Joint Commission. Remedial works to improve navigation and harbour facilities may be undertaken by either party within their own territory, provided that such works do not "materially affect" the flow of boundary waters on the other side of the line nor interfere with domestic or sanitary uses of such water.

For the purpose of the treaty, boundary waters are defined by a preliminary article as

the waters from main shore to main shore of the lakes and rivers and connecting waterways, . . . along which the international boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada passes, including all bays, arms, and inlets thereof, but not including tributary waters which in their natural channels would flow into such lakes, rivers and waterways, or waters flowing from such lakes, rivers and waterways, or the waters of rivers flowing across the boundary.

Boundary waters, therefore, include the international portions of the St. Croix River and St. John River, between the State of Maine and the Province of New Brunswick; the St. Lawrence River from Cornwall to Kingston; Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, Lake Erie, the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, St. Clair River, Lake Huron, St. Mary's River, Lake Superior, the series of small rivers and lakes from Lake Superior over the height of land to Rainy Lake, Rainy Lake and Rainy River to the Lake of the Woods.

By the terms of Article IV any works contemplated in waters flowing from boundary waters or in waters at a lower level than the boundary in rivers flowing across the boundary, the effect of which is to raise the natural level of waters on the other side of the boundary, must have the approval of the International Joint Commission.

Article VIII empowers the Commission to pass on all applications coming to it under Articles III and IV. This article also provides the order of precedence of uses to be taken into consideration by the Commission:

- (1) Uses for domestic and sanitary purposes;

- (2) Uses for navigation, including the service of canals for the purposes of navigation;
- (3) Uses for power and for irrigation purposes.

It will be seen that this order of precedence recognizes the supreme importance of public health. Navigation interests come next. These interests on the Great Lakes are of immense and ever increasing importance. Not only is an enormous capital tied up in navigation and transportation on these waters, but the communities, large and small, along their shores are to a considerable extent dependent thereon, and to a lesser degree those communities farther afield but connected by transportation lines with the Lakes.

The scope of the Treaty and the jurisdiction of the International Joint Commission are greatly extended by Articles IX and X. According to the terms of Article IX, the High Contracting Parties agree that any questions of difference arising in the future along the common frontier shall be referred to the International Joint Commission for examination and report whenever either government requests that a question be so referred. Furthermore, it must be noted that in this case the decisions of the Commission are in the nature of recommendations to the two governments and in the words of the treaty "in no way have the character of an arbitral award".

The terms of Article X enlarge the area within which the Commission may adjudicate problems, stipulating that any question of difference arising in the future between Canada or the United States may be referred to the International Joint Commission for decision, providing that both governments consent to this move. The question of difference need not, in this case, be connected with the common frontier, as it must in Article IX. The Commission is empowered to render a decision on any matters that may be referred to it under Article X and it is provided that in the event of the Commissioners being equally divided or unable to reach a decision, an umpire is to be chosen, as prescribed under Article XLV of the Hague Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Up to the present, all references to the Commission, as distinct from applications under Articles III and IV, have been under Article IX and the practice has developed whereby they are submitted jointly by the two governments.

References Submitted to the Commission

The procedure for referring a question to the Commission is designed to ensure the minimum amount of delay and the maximum co-operation from both countries. As soon as either country has decided to refer a question to the Commission, the two governments consult one another to determine the exact scope and terms of the reference. When this has been determined and the text drawn up to the satisfaction of both governments, it is submitted jointly to the International Joint Commission. The Commission then considers the reference and appoints an International Engineering Board, composed of an equal number of technical experts from both governments, to study and report to the Commission on the engineering aspects of the reference. This board in turn, has adopted the practice of appointing an Engineering Committee of local experts, including engineers representing the provincial and state governments concerned, to supervise the necessary investigations in the field.

The Engineering Board transmits a series of progress reports, at intervals of six months, to the Commission which are considered at its executive sessions. The Commission may decide to hold hearings at the locale of the reference to give all interested parties the opportunity to present their views and, at the same time, to afford the Commission an opportunity of hearing the views of all concerned. If need be, the Commission may subpoena witnesses to appear at these hearings. When the final

report of the International Engineering Board has been submitted, hearings held, and briefs submitted, the Commission studies the whole matter and submits a report to the two governments.

The majority of references concern boundary waters and waters flowing across the international boundary. As a general rule the Commission's task is to make recommendations on such questions as apportionment, conservation and regulation of the waters in rivers, for the purpose of facilitating irrigation, power production, navigation and flood and low water control. The scope of some references is indeed very broad and we have only to study the Columbia River reference to appreciate this fact. By the terms of this reference the Commission is called upon to make recommendations concerning the development of the water resources of the entire watershed of the Columbia River, having in mind domestic water supply and sanitation, navigation, efficient development of water power, the control of floods, the needs of irrigation, reclamation of wet lands, conservation of fish, and wildlife and other beneficial public purposes.

Of a more unusual nature are two references submitted recently to the Commission, the first of which requested the Commission to recommend measures to reduce the pollution of boundary waters. The second reference called on the Commission to recommend remedial works to enhance the beauty of Niagara Falls by ensuring an unbroken crest line in the Falls.

Passamaquoddy Bay Reference

Although the Commission is usually concerned with rivers flowing along or across the international boundary, or lakes through which the boundary runs, it has recently dealt with a reference in the vicinity of Passamaquoddy Bay where the tidal range, in common with other portions of the Bay of Fundy, is abnormally large. In 1926 a project was sponsored to make use of the great tidal range in Passamaquoddy Bay for generating electrical energy, but after a preliminary survey the project was abandoned. The recent reference requested the Commission to make an estimation of the cost of a full scale investigation of this project, using any of the existing plans, but further stipulating that it was not to make recommendations regarding the desirability of a further reference to carry out the complete investigation which would be necessary to decide whether the project was feasible. In its report to the two governments the Commission stated that additional information was required to decide if any existing plan for development of tidal power at this location was practicable and desirable from the point of view of public convenience and interest, and that the costs of the full scale investigation would amount to \$3,900,000.

More recently a reference, which in no way concerns itself with boundary waters, has been submitted by the Canadian and United States Governments to the Commission. This reference concerns the pollution of air in the Detroit-Windsor area by smoke from factories, ships and other sources. As well as ascertaining the amount of smoke, from what sources it may originate, and to what extent public health is menaced by it in the Detroit-Windsor area, the Commission is to recommend what remedial measures should be taken, the probable cost of these measures and by whom the costs should be borne.

As distinguished from references to the Commission are applications, which are made under Articles III and IV. Applications may come from private concerns or either of the two governments and request the Commission's approval of works and projects contemplated in waters on either side of the boundary, the effect of which would be to raise the level of water on the other side of the boundary.

One instance of a private application is a recent one of the Creston Reclamation Company which sought, and was granted, the Commission's approval of works de-

signed to reclaim 3,200 acres of Duck Lake in British Columbia and to store water in the remainder of the lake for wildlife purposes and winter release. An instance of an application by one of the governments is that of the United States Government for approval of the proposed Libby Dam on the Kootenay River in Montana. The approval of the Commission is required under the Boundary Waters Treaty because the building of this dam will raise the natural level of the river on the Canadian side of the international boundary.

The Commission Appoints International Waterways Board

In handling the various projects which have been submitted to it by public and private bodies, the Commission has at times found it necessary to provide for the creation of International Boards of Control to implement the provisions contained in its orders of approval. These Boards, in each case, consist of two engineer members, one appointed by the Government of Canada and the other by the Government of the United States. The functions of the Board are to ensure that the provisions of the Commission's orders of approval are observed. The Boards form the effective machinery in the field to ensure the international obligations which are embodied in the Commission's orders and they report directly to the Commission. In the event of disagreement between their members, the decision rests with the Commission. Among these Boards may be mentioned the International Lake Superior Board of Control. Another control board, the International Lake of the Woods Control Board, in the operation of which the Commission is concerned, was established by the Lake of the Woods Convention and Protocol of 1925.

Personnel of the Commission

The Commissioners of the Canadian Section are General the Honourable A. G. L. McNaughton, who is Chairman, J. Lucien Dansereau, Consulting Engineer of Montreal, and the Honourable George Spence of Regina, former Director of the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act. The Chairman of the United States Section, the Honourable A. O. Stanley, has been with the Commission since 1930 and is a former United States senator and governor of Kentucky. The remaining members of the American section are R. B. McWhorter, Chief Engineer of the Federal Power Commission, and Eugene William Weber, special assistant to the Director of Civil Works, Chief of Engineering, Washington, D.C.

From the times of Lord Bryce and Secretary Root to the present day many eminent statesmen, both Canadian and American, have supported and acclaimed the work and aims of the International Joint Commission. It remained for the late William Lyon Mackenzie King, attending, in company with the late President Roosevelt, the dedication of the Thousand Islands Bridge, to say:

The decision never to arm against each other was taken, as I have indicated, over a century ago. In our time we have crowned that decision by the construction of other bridges of international friendship and understanding. By far the most important of them is the International Joint Commission. It was created to adjudicate all questions of difference arising along our four thousand miles of frontier. In the quarter of a century of its existence, by substituting investigation for dictation, and conciliation for coercion, in the adjustment of international disputes, the Commission has solved many questions likely to lead to serious controversy. This bridge of peace has been the more significant in that while countries on the continents of Europe and Asia have been increasing their frontier armaments, the United States and Canada have settled all their boundary differences by the method and processes of reasoned discussion.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

Canadian Contribution to the Colombo Plan

On February 20, 1951, Mr. G. F. Higgins (PC, St. John's East) asked how the proposed expenditures under the Colombo Plan, which were recently announced, were to be made. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, on February 21 made the following statement in reply to this question:

A little over a year ago the foreign ministers of the Commonwealth countries met in Colombo, Ceylon, to consider many of the urgent political and economic problems then facing Asia. Out of their discussions a consultative committee on South and South-East Asia was created which was charged with examining economic problems of the area and preparing appropriate recommendations. This committee, which drew its original membership from seven countries, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Canada, met in Sydney, Australia, last May and in London last September. Its most recent meeting in Colombo, Ceylon, ended yesterday.

The United States, with unanimous agreement of the seven original members, recently joined the consultative committee. In announcing his government's acceptance of this invitation, the Secretary of State in Washington said on January 24 of this year that it afforded his country the opportunity "for further co-operation with the countries of South and South-East Asia in their efforts toward economic and social development". Representatives of the following non-Commonwealth countries also attended the recent meeting in Colombo: Burma, Cambodia, Viet Nam, Indonesia, the Philippines and Thailand.

During 1950, when the United States was continuing to carry such a heavy burden of foreign aid, it was, I think, appropriate that the Commonwealth countries should examine together some of the pressing economic problems of South and South-East Asia. These were not new problems, but they were ones to which the free world had not previously given adequate attention. The Commonwealth countries did good work, therefore, in bringing together in one report an analysis of the needs of the countries which comprise four-fifths of the area of South and South-East Asia.

Since the plan was drawn up, there have already been significant economic changes which are bound to affect its progress, at least in its initial stages. The burden of rearmament which the western countries have been forced to take on is having major economic consequences. The prices of many of the raw materials produced in South and South-East Asia have gone up sharply. This advantage to producers in the area has been offset to some extent by the rising cost of the goods which the Asian countries must import. Even more serious are the difficulties in obtaining delivery of critically needed goods. Most regrettable, there has been a serious falling off in India's food supply owing to drought in some regions, floods in others and locusts in still others. This has imposed a very real human and economic problem upon India.

The Colombo Plan calls for a capital development programme in Commonwealth countries of South-East Asia totalling about \$5 billion over a six year period starting this year. Of this \$5 billion it is expected that about \$2 billion will be raised internally and about \$3 billion will come from external sources. Private capital is one source, though in the present international situation it cannot be as important as it should be. We also hope that the International Bank will be another source for financing some of the larger projects. So far as government contributions are concerned, the United Kingdom has announced that its contribution over the six-year period will take the form of sterling balance releases, at a high and fixed rate, grants for colonial development, and loans floated in London, amounting to well over 300 million pounds sterling, or more than 900 million Canadian dollars for the six years. Australia has announced that it will provide 7 million pounds sterling, which is nearly 21 million Canadian dollars in the first year, and that over the six-year period its contribution

will be not less than 25 million pounds sterling, that is nearly 75 million Canadian dollars.

The Canadian Government has been giving very serious consideration to the course of action which should be recommended to Parliament. We have been conscious that Canadians, as individuals—and this has been clearly reflected in the press from one end of the country to the other—wish to contribute to the success of this plan. This desire of the people of Canada to extend assistance has also been clearly shown in the debate on the speech from the throne. It was reflected by the remarks of the leader of the opposition (Mr. Drew) when he expressed his confidence that members of the house would support all practical measures which will bring hope and encouragement to those who are in such great distress in so many parts of the world. It was reflected also in the remarks of the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggart (Mr. Coldwell), when he called the Colombo Plan the most imaginative ever adopted by the Commonwealth countries.

The Government therefore authorized Mr. David Johnson, our High Commissioner in Pakistan and our delegate to the recent meeting of the consultative committee, to state that the Canadian Government would ask Parliament to appropriate \$25 million as its contribution to the first year of the plan, provided it was clear that other contributing countries would be making appropriate contributions so that the broad objectives of the Colombo Plan might be realized.

The United States representative at the Colombo meeting said that his government welcomed the initiative of the countries participating in the Colombo Plan; that the Plan itself appeared to offer a basis for genuine economic progress, and that the United States intended to co-ordinate to the greatest extent possible the programme it had undertaken or might undertake in the area with those programmes under the Colombo plan.

I should also inform the house that we are immediately opening discussions with the Indian Government to see whether they would wish that some of the funds we provide this year under the Colombo Plan should be spent on Canadian wheat for their famine-stricken country. As yet we do not know exactly what types of wheat, available in Canada, will be of use to India; nor, of course, do we know what next year's crop will be. However, it is our hope that some wheat may be provided to the Government of India in connection with the Plan. This wheat, I imagine, would be sold by the Indian Government to the people of India under its rationing system, where possible, and the money so raised could then be voted to capital developments. In the Colombo report it is clearly recognized, especially in the case of India, that imports of food as well as imports of capital goods may serve in attaining the objectives of the plan. At the same time that we open discussions with the Indian authorities we shall open parallel discussions with the Pakistan authorities.

In conclusion . . . perhaps I might read to the house the last sentence of the Colombo report, which summarizes so eloquently our hopes for the success of the Colombo Plan:

In a world racked by schism and confusion it is doubtful whether free men can long afford to leave undeveloped and imprisoned in poverty the human resources of the countries of South and South-East Asia which could help so greatly, not only to restore the world's prosperity, but also to redress its confusion and enrich the lives of all men everywhere.

On the conclusion of Mr. Pearson's statement, Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggart) asked whether the Canadian contribution to the Colombo Plan were "contingent upon a substantial financial contribution by the United States." Mr. Pearson replied in part as follows:

. . . I would merely say that to carry out the original plan in its entirety, a contribution from the United States will be essential. The contribution we shall ask Parliament to make is not in a sense conditional upon anything; but if the plan could not be carried out in its entirety, naturally we would have to re-examine the whole position.

Recrossing of 38th Parallel by United Nations Troops

On February 12, 1951, Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggart) asked the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, whether members of the United Nations had been consulted about the reported recrossing of the 38th parallel by United Nations troops. Mr. St. Laurent said in reply "the answer is, not to our knowledge". To a supplementary question asked by Mr. Coldwell as to whether Canada made any representations to the Secretary-General or to the United Nations concerning reconsideration of the implied permission which was granted to the troops last October (to cross the 38th parallel) the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, replied the next day in part as follows:

... There is some doubt as to the exact details about the reported crossing of the 38th parallel by a South Korean detachment. Apparently it was a purely tactical movement and on a small scale, and does not indicate that any decision has been taken for a major crossing of the line, even if military conditions make that possible.

... Canada has not made any representations to the Secretary-General or to the United Nations concerning the question of the recrossing of the 38th parallel by United Nations forces. However, representatives of governments with forces participating in Korean operations have had informal discussions recently with the United States representatives in regard to this and other matters arising out of the Korean campaign. These discussions have included a Canadian representative. As a result of these discussions, I think I can state that the political significance of any new move across the parallel deep into North Korean territory is fully appreciated. At this moment I would not like to add anything to this observation beyond repeating my view that any decision taken in this matter should be a collective one, including particularly those governments who are participating in United Nations-Korean operations, of which the most important is the United States of America.

Proposal for Conference on International Federal Union

On February 26, 1951, Mr. Alistair Stewart (CCF, Winnipeg North) moved:

That, in the opinion of this house, the government should take into consideration the advisability of supporting the calling of a convention of delegates from the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty and representing the principal political parties of such democracies, for the purpose of exploring how far their peoples and the peoples of such other democracies as the convention may invite to send delegates, can apply among them within the framework of the United Nations, the principles of federal union.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, spoke to this motion in part as follows:

... I should say at once that I support, and I think the government supports, the purposes and principles and the idealism which underlie this resolution. But I am not myself certain that those purposes could best be achieved or those principles best implemented by the procedure recommended in the resolution.

... The meaning of the resolution, then, is quite clear. It is interesting to note that a resolution in almost these same terms was discussed in Washington—last June, I believe it was—and also in the autumn of 1950, by the Senate of the United States. A resolution in these terms, or in terms very similar to this resolution, has also been discussed in the other place, here.

The discussion in Washington resulted in no decision being taken at that time by the Government of the United States. But a report on this very important matter was made by a Senate sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which set out very clearly and very effectively the pros and cons on action of this kind.

The administration in Washington, however, has expressed its views already on this matter; and possibly it might be of interest to the house if I read from a state-

ment made before the Senate sub-committee by the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States in which he gives the administration's point of view on the question. At that time, February 15, 1950, the administration's point of view was expressed by their spokesman, the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Hickerson, as follows:

We believe that progressively closer association, by limited and practicable steps on the basis of common interests, and in support of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, within as much as practicable of the free world, is both necessary and desirable.

And then he went on to say:

In the development of such closer association, care must be exercised not to set in motion forces which will render more difficult the maintenance of the solidarity of the free world in support of the principles and purposes of the United Nations.

In a number of countries in the Atlantic community progress in both the national and international fields has resulted from the willingness of certain groups to accept sacrifices primarily on the basis of national interest. It will take a very long time before similar strong loyalty to a new political unit emerges. We believe that under the present North Atlantic Treaty arrangements we are utilizing this force in the most constructive way at this stage of development in international relations. The establishment at this time of such a federation—

as is proposed in this resolution—

—far from providing additional strength, could be a source of weakness and greater internal divisions. Furthermore, the effective operation of democracy in some of the suggested participants is severely hampered by the system of splinter parties which might be carried over and even intensified in such a federation.

And then he ended in this way:

The proposed resolution—

that is, the American resolution—

—directs its attention primarily to calling a convention to explore the possibilities of Atlantic union. We believe that if the government should sponsor such a convention at this time it would raise false hopes. If the convention did not succeed it would lead to reactions unfavourable to the cause of collective security. Under present circumstances such a convention appears more likely to bring to light and emphasize the divisions among the proposed members of the Atlantic union than to lead to substantial progress in the desired direction. In view of these facts the projected convention would seem likely to weaken rather than to strengthen both the Atlantic community and the United Nations.

That . . . remains, as I understand it, the attitude of the United States Government toward a development of this kind. I think it is quite clear that without at least co-operation of, and I would hope in this case possibly leadership by, the United States Government, it is not likely to be practicable to convene a convention of the kind indicated in the resolution.

I am not suggesting for one moment, nor would I want to give the impression, that we disagree with the principle embodied in the resolution, or that we would minimize in any way the necessity in the present dangerous international situation of the closest possible kind of international co-operation, among all the nations of the free world—not only the seven supporting nations under the Atlantic Treaty. I would not take my stand for one moment in respect of a resolution of this kind on the desirability or essentiality of unrestricted national sovereignty.

National sovereignty has played its part—its very important and constructive part—in building up the nation-state out of feudalism, and in progress toward democratic liberty and social advancement. But I agree with the hon. member who has just spoken (Mr. Stewart) that we are living in an age today different from that in which national sovereignty emerged. We are living in an age, not so much of independence,

important though that may be, as of interdependence. It would be, not only unwise, it might even be disastrous, if we clung to any barren, negative, legalistic interpretation of national sovereignty . . . Every time we sign a treaty with some other country we give up some part of our national sovereignty—or, as I prefer to put it, we are making our sovereignty work for us in the interests of peace and security by pooling our sovereignty with other like-minded states; so that by giving something we get more.

. . . I think that this process from the single nation state based on the Austinian theory of legal sovereignty to groups of interdependent states is an important one and should go forward. It is going forward every month and every year. If this development is to be effective however, if it is to be constructive, I suggest that it must be gradual and not get too far in advance of public opinion in the various nation states of the world who would become part of any such federation as that which is visualized in this resolution.

Further, a world federation, such a Tennysonian concept, if I may call it that, is not an end in itself, but merely the means to an end. That end is peace and international co-operation. A federation itself is not any assurance that these ends will be met, either internationally or even domestically. The belief that federations inevitably prevent war domestically was shattered finally, I should think, in 1861 in the United States. The choice before us is not between federation and survival but between collective action and survival. I am not sure that in the present circumstances the latter is not even easier without forcing the former.

Certainly the problems inherent in international co-operation would not be exercised by taking our stand on anything like federal union, especially a federal union where power would be so unevenly divided between the dominant United States and a country like Luxembourg. I think our own Commonwealth of Nations offers the best example I can think of, of international co-operation on the closest intimate basis without federal institutions or without federal union of any kind being found to be necessary. As a matter of fact if we had had to institutionalize our co-operation within the commonwealth that co-operation might not be as close as it is today.

So there are difficulties in the way of carrying out an advance of this kind, because it would be an advance. If we do not understand those difficulties and if we plunge headlong into a conference of this kind without understanding them, we might very well find that far from having made progress we would have set back the wheels of progress. Some of the questions which would come before any convention of this kind leap automatically to one's mind. How far would the people of the various countries go in altering their own form of government and accepting the basic economic and social changes which must inevitably follow through the federation? For instance, how far would they go in 1951 in giving up control over exports, imports, currency, taxation, finance and immigration?

A constitutional convention of the type visualized in this resolution, if it did anything at all, would have to deal with these matters at once. I suggest that in doing so it would raise far more problems than it would solve. It would raise hopes which could not in the nature of things be realized at this time. It might be followed by disappointment and disillusionment which would set back rather than advance the cause of closer union and more intimate co-operation.

A convention of this kind might even cause among the free nations which would be invited to it confusion and division and possibly even disunity. Far from assisting in the move toward federation itself, a premature attempt at this time might set it back. The hon. member who has just spoken (Mr. Stewart) pointed out that in the first instance a convention of this kind would include only the seven powers that have sponsored the Atlantic Charter. As he pointed out, it is true that provision could be made for inviting other countries to attend later.

The seven sponsoring powers are the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Canada. We would inevitably run into difficulties when we began to pick and choose other powers to join us in this constitutional convention. That kind of discussion in a convention of that kind would not, as I see it, be conducive now to achieving the ends which are desired by us and which are expressed in this resolution.

I think it might be particularly confusing at this time to have a convention of this nature because of the steps that are being taken and the progress that has been made already in Europe toward a federation of European states. Very important discussions with far-reaching consequences are taking place looking toward European union and the creation of European machinery. While those discussions are important and I think filled with hope, they have indicated already some of the difficulties in the way of even a European federation. To superimpose at this time on those discussions the wider discussion of an Atlantic federation, or a federation even wider than the Atlantic, would not I think be helpful toward the very important movement which has developed in the way of European unity.

I pay a sincere tribute to the idea behind this resolution which I think we all hope will be realized one day, but I do not think to associate ourselves at this time with such a hypothetical invitation would be well advised. There is one further difficulty which I have not mentioned, the relationship of the Commonwealth countries to a convention of this kind. Would they all be included, or would only some be included? If only some were included, would not that mean a possible weakening of the links between all the Commonwealth countries?

I think I should mention to the house that this question is now once again before the United States Congress in its current session. A few weeks ago the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) received a letter from Senator Guy M. Gillette. He was writing on behalf of a number of senators who are sponsoring a resolution of this kind before the Senate. I am not going to read the whole letter but I should like to read a couple of paragraphs from it. It is addressed to our Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) and it is dated January 24, 1951. In its opening paragraph it refers to the resolution now before the United States Senate. Senator Gillette goes on to say about that resolution that it represents—and I am quoting from the letter —

... an effort to improve upon our first essay in Atlantic collaboration. It proposes that the original seven sponsors of the North Atlantic Treaty send delegates to a convention to explore how far the Atlantic community is willing to go in merging its political, diplomatic, military and economic resources for the common good.

In that sense it is almost the same kind of resolution we have before us this evening. Then Senator Gillette ends his letter as follows:

Some of us are engaged in forming, among members of the United States congress, an informal committee to advance this exploratory effort. It would be of great value if you would inform us how far your views on ways and means of meeting the present crisis accord with those set forth above and whether you would be prepared to form a similar group within your parliamentary body.

The Prime Minister replied to that letter on January 31, as follows:

Dear Senator Gillette:

I duly received your letter of January 24, regarding the concurrent resolution standing in the name of Senator Kefauver, yourself and a number of your colleagues, calling for exploration of the possibilities of forming an Atlantic union.

I think you will appreciate how embarrassing it might be for both countries if the head of the government of one of our countries were to express himself about the content or efficacy of a specific proposal which was under consideration in the other country, and on which a conclusion had not been reached. You may be assured, however, that should the resolution pass and the President carry out the request contained therein, it would receive the most careful consideration of the Canadian Government.

As for the possibility of forming a similar group in the Canadian Parliament, and particularly in the House of Commons, this is something which it would not be possible, because of our different constitutional structure, for the head of the administration to sponsor, unless and until the policy proposed had become a

definite policy of the administration. Since the success of the proposal contained in your resolution would clearly depend upon the initiative being taken by the United States Government, it would, I feel, be premature for our administration to take any initiative until a decision had been reached in principle in Washington. That, of course, would not preclude the advocacy of similar proposals by private members of our parliament; as was the case in respect of the resolution considered in our Senate last year.

I regret that I cannot be more specific in my reply, but I can assure you and your colleagues in the United States Senate that any action which will have the practical effect of strengthening the North Atlantic community, will, I believe, meet with a favourable response in Canada.

Before I sit down I should like to point out to the house that action is already being taken to strengthen the North Atlantic community under the North Atlantic Pact. It does not go as far of course as this resolution would have us go, and progress may not be as fast or as far as some of us would like, but progress is being made in implementing Article II, for instance, of the North Atlantic Treaty. Effective liaison arrangements have been worked out between members of the North Atlantic group in economic matters—especially, I admit, economic matters concerned with defence. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the OEEC have established effective working relationships, and indeed I think it may not be going too far to say that some of the economic functions which are now being performed by the Office of European Economic Co-operation will be taken over by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We are also discussing the building up under the North Atlantic Organization of a permanent international secretariat. So we are making some progress at this time under the North Atlantic organization toward the development of a North Atlantic community. I would suggest . . . that at this time that is the most effective way by which we can work towards achievement of the fine objective put forward in this resolution.

I said not very long ago “that our North Atlantic alliance may provide the foundation for a great co-operative economic commonwealth of the western world which one day may become a political commonwealth. You may say that this is unrealistic nonsense but I suggest that in this jet-propelled atomic age no plan less than this will be adequate, no vision less than this will do.” So far as I am concerned I stand by those words, but I do not think that at this time the calling of a conference of the type indicated by the resolution would make any appreciable advance to the attainment of the ultimate objective, which remains a commonwealth of the free world. Therefore, in order that we in this house may not give the appearance of division and disunity on a matter as to which we are all fundamentally united, I would venture to express the hope that this resolution may not be pressed to a vote at this time.

On Mr. Stewart's request permission was granted to withdraw his resolution.

Japanese Peace Treaty

Mr. Gordon Graydon (PC, Peel) referred on February 26, 1951, to press despatches regarding the return of John Foster Dulles, the special representative of the United States government, who had been in the far east for six weeks in connection with Japanese and other problems. In this regard Mr. Graydon asked whether the Canadian Government had been kept closely in touch with Mr. Dulles' movements and whether a meeting might be expected soon with respect to a peace treaty with Japan.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, replied as follows:

We have kept in touch with United States government authorities in general, and with Mr. Dulles in particular, in regard to the possibility of an early Japanese peace conference and a Japanese treaty, and through our officers in the countries that he visited on this journey we have the discussions he had about these matters. We expect to be in touch with him directly in Washington within the next few days.

On the other question, about the possibility or otherwise of an early Japanese peace conference, I do not think it would be advisable for me to say anything at this time except there are indications that a Japanese peace settlement will be possible before very long.

The Termination of the State of War with Germany

On February 23 Mr. Donald M. Fleming (PC, Eglinton) asked whether the Government were taking any steps with a view to terminating the state of war with Germany. The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made this reply:

No special steps have been taken with respect to this matter since I spoke to the House about it last some time ago; but the possibility of a termination of the state of war with Germany by action other than through a general peace treaty is under consideration.



—RCN

H.M.C.S. "ONTARIO" LEAVES FOR SOUTH PACIFIC

The cruiser H.M.C.S. "Ontario" left Esquimalt on February 26 for a three month training cruise of the southern Pacific.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Trusteeship Council

During February the Trusteeship Council made rapid progress in considering the substantive items on the agenda of its current session. The Council, aided by a number of sub-committees, has examined annual reports submitted by the administering authorities for the trust territories of Samoa (New Zealand), the Pacific Islands (United States) and Nauru (Australia). Petitions from groups and individuals in Samoa, British Togoland and the Pacific Trust Territories were also scrutinized by an ad hoc committee of the Council.

Perhaps the most significant event of the month occurred in connection with the Council's revision of its rules of procedure. Among a number of supplementary rules adopted was a provision permitting Italy to participate without vote in the Council's proceedings on items affecting Somaliland, for which territory Italy has been assigned administrative responsibility. When this decision had been adopted the Italian observer, who had been invited to take his seat in the Council, immediately registered the additional request that Italy be allowed "full participation" in all aspects of the Council's work. His attitude was reflected in a resolution, adopted on the suggestion of Argentina, that the question of Italy's participation in the work of the Trusteeship Council be placed on the agenda of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly. As a result of this decision, the Assembly will be faced with the interesting constitutional question of whether a state which is not a member of the United Nations may nevertheless have voting rights in one of its main organs.

The Council is expected to conclude its session about the middle of March.

Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments

On October 24, 1950, in a statement to the General Assembly, President Truman suggested that it might be possible to break the existing stalemate in atomic and disarmament negotiations by discussing these two related problems together. After a lapse of some weeks this suggestion was taken up in a proposal, originating in the Australian Delegation, to establish a committee to consider the fusion of the present Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. On December 13, the General Assembly adopted a resolution establishing a committee "to consider and report to the next regular session of the General Assembly on ways and means whereby the work of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments may be co-ordinated and on the advisability of their functions being merged and placed under a new and consolidated disarmament commission". The resolution specified that the committee should be composed of the members of the Security Council with Canada (as a member of the AEC).

This committee is an ad hoc body, with the assigned task of considering the subject outlined and presenting a report to the next General Assembly. The opening meeting of the committee, convened by Mr. Trygve Lie on February 14, was devoted to preliminary discussion. A Soviet resolution to seat a representative of the Peking regime was defeated on the ground that the question of Chinese representation on a committee set up by the Assembly should be decided by the Assembly itself. There was also an inconclusive discussion as to whether the committee should choose a permanent chairman or should adopt a system of rotating chairmanship. It was expected that the question of chairmanship and other procedural matters would be settled at the second meeting, scheduled for March 2, and that the committee would then draw up a programme of works.

Collective Measures Committee

Under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its Fifth Session, the Collective Measures Committee was established to study and report to the Security Council and the General Assembly by September 1, 1951, on methods of organizing collective security measures under the United Nations. The Committee is composed of fourteen member states, including Canada.

At the request of the United States Delegation the first meeting of the Committee was held on February 28, when organizational questions were discussed. Consideration is now being given by the Canadian Government, in consultation with other governments, to the planning of a suitable programme of work.

Economic and Social Council

The Twelfth Session of the Economic and Social Council opened at Santiago, Chile, on February 20. The Canadian Delegation is composed of: J. D. Kearney, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina (Representative); J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Embassy, Washington (Alternate Representative); Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, (Principal Adviser); G. V. Beaudry, Canadian Embassy, Santiago; A. R. Crépault, Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations, New York (Advisers).

At its opening meeting the Economic and Social Council re-elected Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile as President, and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India as First Vice-President. Jiri Nosek of Czechoslovakia was elected Second Vice-President.

In view of the comparatively limited number of questions with which the Council will be called upon to deal at its present session, it is hoped that it will complete its agenda in approximately four weeks. Among the principal issues to be discussed are the United Nations programme of technical assistance, the relief and rehabilitation of Korea, the economic development of under-developed countries, forced labour and measures for its abolition. In addition the Council will hold its annual debate on the world economic situation during which, this year, there will probably be a good deal said about the effects of world-wide rearmament upon economic development programmes.

Executive Board of UNICEF

The newly constituted Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund held its first meeting at Lake Success from February 9 to February 13. The reorganized Board includes the eighteen members of the Social Commission as well as eight other members. These latter were elected last December by the Economic and Social Council on the basis of equitable geographical representation and the degree of their participation in the Fund's work, either as contributors or as recipients. As a result of this reorganization the combined Asian and Middle Eastern representation on the Board has been increased from two to eight.

As its first Chairman the Executive Board elected Mrs. D. B. Sinclair of Canada. Mrs. Sinclair had been a member of the retiring Executive Board since the inception of UNICEF, and had served as the Chairman of its Programme Committee since 1946. She holds the post of Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare in the Department of National Health and Welfare and, during the Second World War, was Director of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service.

During the course of its current meetings the Executive Board considered the report of the previous Board, which outlines the operations of the Children's Fund during 1950. The report shows that, by the end of 1950, UNICEF had received contributions in the total amount of \$152,800,000. These resources had been allocated to aid governmental child-care projects in fifty-eight countries and territories, and to assist Palestine refugees. The aid extended by UNICEF had included supple-

mentary feeding, equipment and advisory personnel for maternal and child health services, support of training centres for child care personnel, an international anti-tuberculosis vaccination campaign as well as equipment for milk conservation plants and the production of anti-biotics.

The future activities of the Children's Fund will include emergency assistance, when special needs arise, in addition to long-range programmes designed to improve child health and welfare services. At its meeting on February 13, the Board approved plans for extensive child-aid programmes in Europe, Asia and Latin America. A total of \$1,083,000 in new funds was allocated by the Board for operations in Greece, Yugoslavia and Palestine refugee camps. The remaining appropriations of \$550,000 for programmes in South and South-East Asia, and \$285,000 for child health projects in Latin America will be taken from funds previously set aside as area reserves.

World Meteorological Organization

The World Meteorological Organization is holding its first Congress in Paris commencing March 19. This Organization is the newest of the Specialized Agencies, having come into existence in March 1950, after thirty countries had ratified the World Meteorological Convention. The Congress will be preceded by an extraordinary meeting of the directors of the International Meteorological Organization, which is winding up its operations and transferring its functions to the new organization. Like its predecessor, WMO is primarily concerned with the organization on an international level of a system which provides for an authoritative flow of accurate reports to and from all parts of the world. It will spend most of its time at the first session deciding what its administrative structure should be; how large a permanent secretariat it should have; its programme for the first four-year period between congresses; and how much money it should seek from participating governments. Canada ratified the World Meteorological Convention in 1950 and thus automatically became a member of WMO. A Canadian delegation will be attending the first Congress, headed by Dr. Andrew Thomson, Controller, Meteorological Division, Department of Transport.



Forthcoming Publications

It is expected that a report entitled *Canada and the United Nations 1950* will be available shortly after Parliament reconvenes following the Easter recess.

This publication will provide a survey of Canada's participation in the United Nations and the work of the Specialized Agencies during 1950; it continues a series of departmental publications on this subject which began with a report on the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

Canada and the United Nations 1950 will be obtainable from the King's Printer, Ottawa; its price will be fifty cents per copy.



ROBERT GERALD RIDDELL

1908 - 1951

Gerry Riddell was not in our service very long—but if he had been with us for half a century, those of us who knew him could not feel a greater sense of loss and grief at his passing.

It is hard, at this time, to write about him in terms which would do him justice, especially as he himself would not wish, indeed would be embarrassed by, any eulogy. He was that kind of man.

I have known no one who combined more completely or more easily in his own person the qualities that make for true greatness. He had outstanding ability and wisdom and good judgment, but he had also the greater gifts of simplicity, unselfishness and goodness. He had a record of distinguished achievement, but was always anxious to give credit to others for what he himself did.

He moved with ease among the highest dignitaries, but was happier with plain people. He had a determined integrity but was patient and even gentle with those who disagreed with him.

He was not ambitious for place or power and coveted only one reward, the satisfaction of doing his own work well, and discharging his own duty honestly.

He was an invaluable colleague, a loyal friend, and a devoted servant of his country. We shall not cease to miss him, but his memory and his spirit will help us for the days ahead, as we work for the things to which he devoted his talents, his energy and his life.

—L. B. Pearson.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. R. A. D. Ford was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in the U.S.S.R., effective February 5, 1951.

Mr. J. Fournier was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in France, effective February 6, 1951.

Mr. P. E. Morin was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in Brazil, effective February 10, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

Mr. Tomas Vuksanovic, Commercial Attaché, Legation of Yugoslavia, was promoted to the rank of Commercial Counsellor, February 8.

New Appointments

His Excellency Nicolas A. Anissas presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador of Greece, February 22. Mr. Anissas entered the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1919 and served successively at Berlin, Prague, Moscow, Berne, Addis-Ababa and Buenos Aires. In 1946 he was appointed Head of the Administrative and Legal Division of the Ministry and in 1949 Head of the Personnel Division.

Mr. John C. Cambiotis, First Secretary,

Embassy of Greece, February 22.

Lieutenant-Colonel Paulo Emilio de Câmara Ortegá, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, February 24.

Departures

Mr. Gérard Dubois, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of France, early in February.

Mr. Sverre Holsten, Civil Air Attaché, Legation of Norway, February 8.

Mr. Jean Basdevant, Counsellor, Embassy of France, February 12.

Dr. José Alvarado-Sanchez, Secretary, Embassy of Peru, February 23.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Mr. Bernhard Day, Honorary Consul of Belgium at Toronto, February 23.

Mr. Metty Koetz, Honorary Consul of Belgium at Quebec, February 23.

Mr. Fernando Olivie Gonzalez Pumariega, Consul of Spain at Montreal, February 23.

Mr. George H. Wilson, Honorary Consul General of Peru at Vancouver, February 23.

Mr. Moshe Yuval, Consul in charge of the Consulate General of Israel at Montreal, February 23.

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. Leslie L. Harrison as Honorary Vice-Consul of Sweden at Saint John, N.B., February 8.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Ramon Martin y Arencibia as Consul of Cuba at Montreal, February 6.

Mr. Carlos Buzzoni Villela as Consul Gen-

eral of Chile at Montreal, February 9.

Mr. Julio Ricord, Jr., as Honorary Consul General of Panama at Vancouver, February 15.

Mr. C. E. Bryant as Honorary Vice-Consul of Sweden at Halifax, February 21.

Mr. Hanan Aynor as Vice-Consul of Israel at Montreal, February 27.

Departures:

Mr. Arié Ben-Tovim, Consul of Israel at Montreal, February 4.

Mr. Domingo Barros Parada, Consul General of Chile at Montreal, February 6.

Mr. I. A. Christenson, Honorary Vice-Consul of Norway at Camrose, Alberta, February 13.

Mr. Orlando de Lara, Consul General of Cuba at Montreal, left on January 31 for a holiday in Cuba. During his absence, Mr. Ramon Martin, Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

VISITS OF OFFICIALS OF OTHER COUNTRIES

His Excellency René Pleven, President of the Council of Ministers of France, visited Ottawa, February 2 and 3.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of February 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier Conferences may be found in previous issues of "External Affairs")

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. See "External Affairs", January 1951, for the last complete list of these Boards and Commissions to which must be added the following commodity groups which, under present arrangements, will be in continuous session in Washington for as long as there is a raw material crisis)

Name	Place	Date Established	Canadian Representatives
1. Standing Committee on Rubber, Zinc and Lead	Washington	February 1951	S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington (Alternate).
2. Standing Committee on Sulphur	Washington	March 1951	S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington, (Alternate).
3. Standing Committee on Cotton and Cotton Linters	Washington	March 1951	S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington, (Alternate).
4. Standing Committee on Manganese, Nickel and Cobalt	Washington	March 1951	S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington, (Alternate).

Conferences Attended in February 1951

- Multilateral Tariff Negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.* Torquay, England—September 23. L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London, Chairman; H. B. McKinnon, Canadian Tariff Board, Deputy Chairman; J. J. Deutsch, W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Department of External Affairs; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarrett and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.
- Tenth Plenary Meeting of Cotton Advisory Committee.* Lahore, Pakistan—February 1. R. Grew, Commercial Counselor, New Delhi.
- Executive Board of UNICEF.* New York—February 9-13. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
- Third Session of the Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee of I.L.O.* Geneva—February 12-24. Government Delegates: J. L. MacDougall and W. W. Dawson, Department of Labour; Employers' Delegates: J. N. Flood, St. John, N.B.; R. Brunet, Hull, P.Q.; Workers' Delegates: J. B. Delisle, Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour, and J. Connolly, Toronto.
- Consultative Committee on South and South-East Asia.* Colombo, Ceylon—February 12. Delegate: D. M. Johnson, High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan; Alternate: P. Sykes, Canadian Representative to the Council of Technical Co-operation, Colombo; Advisers: C. Read, Department of Finance, and J. Thurrott, Department of External Affairs.
- Conference to Discuss Creation of German Army.* Paris—February 15. Observer: Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political

Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Mission, Bonn, Germany; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.

7. *Agenda Committee of ECOSOC*. Santiago, Chile—February 16. Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs.
8. *Twelfth Session of ECOSOC*. Santiago, Chile—February 20. Representative: J. D. Kearney, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina; Alternate: J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Embassy, Washington; Principal Adviser: Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs; Advisers: G. V. Beaudry, Canadian Embassy, Santiago; A. R. Crépault, Permanent Dele-

gation of Canada to the United Nations, New York, Secretary.

9. *114th Session of the Governing Body of I.L.O.* Geneva—February 26-March 10. Delegate: A. H. Brown, Department of Labour; Alternate: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations.
10. *U.S.-Canada Discussions on Frequency Assignment Plans for Bands below 4000 kc.* Washington, D.C.—February 26. C. J. Acton, Department of Transport, Chairman; A. J. Dawson, Department of Transport; Lt. R. M. Dunbar, Royal Canadian Navy; Capt. L. H. Wylie, Canadian Army; F/L. W. D. Benton, R.C. A.F.; Mr. G. E. Cox, Canadian Embassy, Washington.

Conferences to be held in March and April

1. *First South American Congress on Petroleum*. Montevideo—March 12-16.
2. *Inter-American Conference on Social Security*. Buenos Aires—March 12-31.
3. *Extraordinary Conference of Directors of International Meteorological Organization*. Paris—March 15.
4. *Seventh Session of Social Commission of ECOSOC*. Geneva—March 17.
5. *First Congress of World Meteorological*

Organization. Paris—March 19.

6. *First Meeting of the North-West Atlantic Fisheries Commission*. Washington, April 2-14.
7. *Seventh Meeting of I.R.O. General Council and Executive Committee*. Geneva—April 4-18.
8. *Ad Hoc Committee of ECOSOC*. Geneva, April 16-27.
9. *Sixth Meeting of the Council of I.T.U.* Geneva—April 16.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

(Obtainable from the King's Printer, at the price indicated.)

Diplomatic and Consular Representatives in Ottawa, February 15, 1951. Price, 25 cents.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (fifth session); 29 December 1950; document E/1889, E/CN.7/216; 84 pp.

United Nations Programme of Technical Assistance (Under General Assembly Resolutions 58 (I), 200 (III) and 246 (III))—Report by the Secretary-General; 9 January 1951; document E/1893; 99 pp.

Final Report of the First Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 11 December 1946—31 December 1950; 13 January 1951; document E/ICEF/L.8; 103 pp. and tables I to X.

(b) Printed Documents:

Catalogue of Economic and Social Projects 1950 (No. 2); 19 April 1950; document E/1670; 515 pp.; \$3.75; Sales No.: 1950.II.D.1.

**Report of the International Monetary Fund* (Annual Report of the Executive Directors for the fiscal year ended April 30, 1950); 8 December 1950; document E/1872; 160 pp. (Washington, D.C.)

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Fifth Annual Report 1949-1950); 13 December 1950; document E/1873; 64 pp. (Washington, D.C.)

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

World Health Organization:

a) *Third World Health Assembly, Geneva, 8 to 27 May 1950*—Resolutions and decisions, plenary meetings, committees, annexes; 603 pp.; \$3.25; Official Records of the World Health Organiza-

tion, No. 28. (December 1950).

b) *Executive Board, sixth session held in Geneva from 1 to 9 June 1950*—Resolutions and decisions, annexes; 53 pp.; 50 cents; Official Records of World Health Organization, No. 29. (December 1950).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 51/3—Statement by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, made in the First (Political) Committee on January 30, 1951, explaining the Canadian vote on the Arab-Asian and the United States resolutions on Korea.

No. 51/4—*Review of the International Situation*, a statement by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, made in the House of Commons on February 2, 1951.

No. 51/6—*Canada and the Colombo Plan*, a statement by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, made in the House of Commons on February 21, 1951.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 51/5—*Canada's Defence Programme*, a statement by Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence, made in the

House of Commons on February 5, 1951.



CBC INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Quarterly Review of Activities

(December 1950-February 1951)

Canada Speaks Now In Fourteen Languages

The "Voice of Canada" has added Finland and Russia to its target areas. On December 3, 1950, the International Service transmitted its first half-hour programme to Finland. These weekly Sunday half-hour broadcasts (1530-1600 GMT) consist of Canadian news, material on basic Canadian industries, human interest stories and descriptions of Finnish-Canadian activities. It is interesting to note that after four weeks of broadcasting, 25 letters commenting favourably on this new venture were received from Finnish listeners. On February 4, 1951, the Russian Service was inaugurated and now broadcasts daily at 1415-1445 GMT and 2200-2230 GMT. The former Canadian Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Mr. Dana Wilgress, was heard on the inaugural broadcast with a message to the people of the Soviet Union.

Reconnaissance Tour of Latin America

To assess the effectiveness of the present shortwave service in Spanish and Portuguese and to make recommendations for improving the service, Mr. H. W. Morrison, Supervisor of the Latin American Service, completed a reconnaissance trip through Latin America in November and December, 1950. He visited the major centres, including all Canadian diplomatic and trade missions. He travelled through 9 different republics and 13 cities, covering about 20,000 miles by air.

March, 1951



THE VOICE OF CANADA

A portion of the antennae system of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation International Service shortwave transmitting station at Sackville, New Brunswick.

With assistance from the Canadian offices in the areas visited, Mr. Morrison brought back an interesting report. The present shortwave service is well heard in Latin America—a fact attested by 5,472 letters received from listeners in 1950, more than double the number of the previous year. The response is particularly noteworthy, in Mr. Morrison's opinion, when it is taken into consideration that both the BBC and the "Voice of America" can utilize from twice to five times as many frequency channels as CBC to broadcast at the same hours. CBC is limited to two frequencies.

Programme Notes

German Section

The German Section broadcast two outstanding programmes. In December it interviewed at the United Nations representatives of the German Republic who were concerned with the problem of prisoners of war. In January the section dramatized a visit to the asbestos mines in Quebec under the title "Asbestos"—a school broadcast for North-West German Radio in Hamburg.

Italian Section

The Italian Section had its quota of notables who appeared for interviews, including Professor Dordoni, guest of the Canadian Council for Reconstruction and Mr. Brusasca, Italian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Giuseppe Caraci, Professor of Geography, Rome University, attending the Geographical Seminar at Macdonald College under the auspices of UNESCO, did four broadcasts in December on "Canada and its geography through the eyes of an Italian scientist".

French Language Section

Camille Bernard, Canadian singer, former pupil of famed Yvette Guilbert, is being featured by the French Language Service in a series, "Chansons de France et du Canada"

every Sunday at 1745 GMT, accompanied by Marie-Thérèse Paquin at the piano. Another interesting programme, "Les grandes figures de l'histoire du Canada", 15-minute dramatic sketches broadcast every Monday, 1745 GMT, brings to life famous figures of Canadian history, such as Cartier, Champlain, Vancouver, Mackenzie, Hudson and D'Iberville.

English Language Service

Curtailment of air time due to Spanish transmissions to Latin America and Russian and Finnish broadcasts to Europe has resulted in the English Language Service concentrating on news and commentaries. A scheme — a kind of airmail order service — has been instigated whereby the CBC-IS English Language Service offers special talks programmes prepared here for presentation abroad. Radio Pakistan, Radio Ceylon, All India Radio, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, South African Broadcasting Corporation and the New Zealand Broadcasting Commission are among those stations contacted.

Dutch Section

In December the Dutch Service did an interview with Mr. P. Mijksenaar, Public Relations Officer of the City of Amsterdam, for relay to Radio NCRV, Hilversum. Various Christmas programmes were recorded: — three programmes in three different provincial dialects for Regional Broadcasting North; three programmes with greetings for Radio VARA, Hilversum; one programme on Christmas as celebrated by Protestant Dutch immigrants with a special Christmas message by Dr. A. Sevenster, Dutch Consul General in Montreal, for NCRV Hilversum; one programme on Christmas as celebrated by Roman Catholic Dutch immigrants for Radio KRO. Important coverage has been given in January and February on Canadian Industry, Federal supported air travel for immigrants and on the United Nations.

Czech Section

Czech broadcasts have been political in nature during the last few months. In December "The Rule of Law — Backbone of Democracy", a series by a well-known lawyer, outlined the Canadian democratic way as compared with that existing in Czechoslovakia. Professor J. Mallory of McGill University did a series entitled "Marxist Theory and Communist Propaganda". Other interesting commentaries were "Who are the Partisans of Peace" and "The Prague Congress of Czechoslovak Partisans of Peace". One intensely human broadcast dealt with Canada's acceptance of six blind DP's, among them one Czechoslovakian, who would have found no place in a Communist-run land.

Around the World by Transcription

Howard Cable's original Christmas Show, prepared and recorded by International Service's Transcription Service, was sent to 48 countries by transcription and used by all language sections in direct transmission. It was also used by the Trans-Canada Network as a special Christmas Eve Fantasy on December 24. Enthusiastic comments have come in from stations which have used the show.

A series of seven 15-minute programmes featuring Gisèle singing popular and traditional ballads to her own piano accompaniment has been released to some 40 Canadian missions abroad and to non-commercial radio stations. Healey Willan's "Symphony No. 2", played by the CBC Toronto Symphony Orchestra conducted by Geoffrey Waddington, will be released soon.

CBC INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

DAILY SHORTWAVE BROADCASTS FROM CANADA

Schedule effective March, 1951 (Subject to Change)

Greenwich Mean Time	Programme	Call-signs
TO EUROPE		
1350-1400	Opening Announcement (except Saturdays and Sundays)	CKNC & CKCX
1400-1415	Commentaries from the U.N. (except Saturdays and Sundays)	
1405-1415	Opening Announcements (Saturdays and Sundays only)	CKNC & CKCS
1415-1445	Russian	
1445-1530	Commentaries from the U.N. (except Saturdays and Sundays)	
1445-1600	Programmes for Europe	
1445-1515	Swedish (Sundays only)	
1515-1530	Programmes for Europe (Sundays only)	
1530-1600	Finnish (Sundays only)	
1530-1600	Programmes for Europe (except Saturdays and Sundays)	
1600-1630	Czech	
1630-1645	German	
1645-1700	Dutch	CKCS & CKLO
1700-1730	English	
1730-1745	Czech	
1745-1815	French	
1815-1845	Dutch	
1845-1900	English	
1900-1920	Swedish	
1920-1940	Norwegian	
1940-2000	Danish	
2000-2030	German	
2030-2100	Italian	CKCS & CKLO
2100-2130	Czech	
2130-2200	French	CKLO & CKRZ
2200-2230	Russian	
2230-2245	English	CHOL & CKLO
2245-2300	English	
2300-2315	Czech	
2315-2330	Czech (Saturdays and Sundays only)	
2315-2330	German (except Saturdays and Sundays)	

TO LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

2350-0040	Portuguese	CKCX & CKRA
0040-0145	Spanish	
0145-0200	French	
0200-0230	English	CKCS & CKRA
0230-0245	Dutch (Saturdays only)	
0230-0245	Spanish (except Saturdays)	
0255-0335	Spanish	

TO AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

0430-0505	Commentaries from the U.N. (except Sundays and Mondays)	CKLX & CHOL CKLO & CHOL
0840-0950	English programmes for listeners in the Southwest Pacific area (Sundays and Wednesdays)	

TO NORTHWEST TERRITORIES AND ARCTIC REGIONS

0420-0500	Northern Messenger (Mondays only)	CKLO & CKOB
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CKNC	17.82 mc/s, 16.84 metres	CHOL	11.72 mc/s, 25.60 metres
CKCS	15.32 mc/s, 19.58 metres	CKLO	9.63 mc/s, 31.15 metres
CKCX	15.19 mc/s, 19.75 metres	CKOB	6.09 mc/s, 49.26 metres
CKLX	15.09 mc/s, 19.88 metres	CKRZ	6.06 mc/s, 49.50 metres
CKRA	11.76 mc/s, 25.51 metres		

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William Street)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Belgian Congo.....	A/Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Casier Postal 373)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (46, rue Montoyer)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Commercial Secretary.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (P.O. Box 1006)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.)
China.....	Ambassador.....	Nanking (147 Hankow Rd.)
“.....	Consul General.....	Shanghai (27 The Bund)
Colombia.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bogota (Edificio Columbiana de Seguros)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida de las Misiones No. 17)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Head of Mission.....	Bonn (Zittelmannstrasse, 14)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Commonwealth House)
“.....	Consul.....	Frankfurt (145 Fuerstenbergerstrasse)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (No. 20, 4th Avenue South)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong Bank Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	A/Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers)
Japan.....	Head of Mission.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
“.....	A/Commercial Secretary.....	“ (The Cotton Exchange, McLeod Road)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (Hotel Bristol)
Portugal.....	Acting Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103)
Singapore.....	A/Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Minister.....	Berne (Thunstrasse 95)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (43 St. Vincent St.)

Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (211, Ayranci Baglari, Kavaklidere)
"	Commercial Secretary.....	Istanbul (Istiklal Caddesi, Kismet Han 3/4, Beyoglu)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24, Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grande Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok)
"	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Glasgow (200 St. Vincent St.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
"	Consul.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
"	Consul.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Los Angeles (Associated Realty Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
"	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (503, 120 Exchange Street)
"	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (8° Peso Edificio America)
Yugoslavia.....	Minister.....	Belgrade (Sv. Markovica, 20)
"	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	
*OEEC.....	Representative.....	Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy).
United Nations.....	Permanent Delegate.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
"	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

✓ THE KOREAN CRISIS

MILITARY operations and leaders dominated the development of the Korean problem during March. United Nations forces drove steadily northward moving slowly and cautiously in an attempt to maintain contact with the enemy forces. Against diminishing enemy resistance they pressed close to the 38th parallel and at the end of the month had virtually liberated South Korea for the second time in six months.

In statements on the Korean situation the United States Commander and his deputy in Korea emphasized a trend towards a military stalemate. On March 7, General MacArthur said among other things, "assuming no diminution of the enemy's flow of ground forces and material to the Korean battle area, a continuation of the existing limitation upon our freedom of counter-offensive action and no major additions to our organizational strength, the battle lines cannot fail in time to reach a point of theoretical military stalemate. Thereafter our further advance would militarily benefit the enemy more than it would ourselves. He asserted that a solution to the stalemate would have to be found by an authority with greater powers than those delegated to him by the United Nations. On March 12, General Ridgway declared that a military stalemate appeared likely; however, he added that "it would be a tremendous victory for the United Nations if the war ended with our forces in control up to the 38th parallel". A significant point in his statement was the rejection of any obligation on the part of the United Nations to unify Korea by force. A few days later General MacArthur repeated his opinion about a stalemate and the necessity of new decisions "on the highest international levels".

Commenting on General Ridgway's remarks the Secretary of State for External Affairs said in the House of Commons on March 20 "I myself would prefer to think of the situation not so much as a military stalemate but as the stabilization of a military position. We might even reach a position where we have a sort of *de facto* cease-fire. What do we do then? All I would say on that point . . . is that if we do reach the position of a sort of *de facto* cease-fire roughly along the line of the 38th parallel I think we should take advantage of that position, that military stabilization, to reopen negotiations with the people of the other side provided there is any possibility of that being brought about — and I have no illusions as to the difficulties on that score". Although agreeing with General Ridgway that "it is not the obligation of the United Nations to unify Korea by force" Mr. Pearson declared: "but it is our obligation to do everything we can to bring about that unity. I should think that the best way in which it could be done would be by negotiation if that is possible."

General MacArthur's Statement

Recognition of a military stalemate and limitation of the military objective to the liberation of the Republic of Korea reflected a growing sentiment in those countries represented in the United Nations forces for an early political settlement and extrication from an apparently indecisive struggle. In a statement on March 24 General MacArthur said "I stand ready to confer in the field with the Commander-in-Chief of the enemy forces in an earnest effort to settle United Nations political objectives in Korea and end the fighting". At the same time, however, he said "the enemy must by now be painfully aware that a decision of the United Nations to depart from its tolerant effort to contain the war to the area of Korea through expansion of our military operations to his coastal areas and interior bases would doom Red China to the risk of imminent military collapse". This was interpreted by some as a threat that if the peace offer was refused United Nations military action would be taken against China. This was in fact the interpretation given to the statement by the Peking radio when it announced in the evening of March 28 that the peace offer had been dismissed as a "bluff" and an "insult to the Chinese people".

The statement by General MacArthur which provoked most controversy was: "there should be no insuperable difficulty arriving at decisions on the Korean problem if the issues are resolved on their own merits without being burdened by extraneous matters not directly related to Korea, such as Formosa and China's seat in the United Nations". This statement contradicted the decision taken by the Political Committee of the United Nations on January 13, 1951, when it adopted, with the concurring vote of the United States, a statement of principles in which the Korean problem was linked to Formosa and Chinese representation in the United Nations.

The State Department quickly made known its surprise at General MacArthur's statement. On March 24, after consultations on the highest levels, the following statement was issued: "General MacArthur is conducting United Nations military operations in Korea under military directives issued through the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff which, as the President stated in a recent press conference, are fully adequate to cover the present military situation in Korea. The political issues, which General MacArthur has stated are beyond his responsibility as a field commander, are being dealt with in the United Nations and by inter-governmental consultations".

The Secretary of State for External Affairs referred to this problem in an address on March 31 in Ottawa. Speaking of the threats to the unity of the free world he said:

The other danger to our free world unity arises when those who have been charged by the United Nations with military responsibility make controversial pronouncements which go far beyond that responsibility, and create confusion, disquiet and even discord. It seems to me to be as unwise, indeed as dangerous, for the generals to intervene in international policy matters as it would be for the diplomats to try to lay down military strategy. This is a case, I think, where the specialist should stick to his specialty. Otherwise, unnecessary difficulties are created, and that whole-hearted co-operation between friends which is so essential is hindered.

Problem of the 38th Parallel

Discussion of a satisfactory solution of the Korean problem concentrated on the 38th parallel. From the beginning of the month as United Nations forces ground forward slowly, it became apparent that a decision would soon be required on the action to be taken when the parallel was reached. After the puzzling withdrawal of the enemy forces in the middle of the month, a decision on recrossing the boundary became a matter of first importance.

Responding to a question on this subject in the House of Commons on March 20, the Secretary of State for External Affairs said "there is a real difficulty from my point of view in dealing with this matter because at this moment, even this afternoon, informal discussions are going on in Washington with other countries participating in the Korean campaign on the subject of what might be a proper political directive if a directive should be issued for the United Nations Commander on this matter".

The following day Mr. Acheson, the United States Secretary of State, gave a negative reply to a reporter who asked whether the United Nations Commander needed any new authority to cross the 38th parallel. Mr. Acheson added however, that there was need for a common point of view on the question by the United States and its United Nations allies; he would not say that United Nations Forces would cross the parallel.

The United Nations Commander himself announced the immediate intentions of his forces on March 24 in Tokyo, after returning from a one-day visit to the fighting area. In a prepared statement which he read General MacArthur said:

No further comment would seem to be necessary with reference to the 38th parallel the status of which has been so thoroughly discussed in recent statements



—National Defence

CANADIAN DESTROYER IN KOREAN THEATRE

An ammunition barge replenishing at sea HMCS Cayuga's supply of four-inch shells after bombardment of enemy shore batteries at Inchon.

from Washington, London and other capitals. As a matter of fact it has never had any military significance. Our naval and air forces cross it at will and both ground forces (Red and U.N. troops) have done so in the past. I have directed the Eighth Army to do so again if and when its security makes it tactically advisable.

To this statement there was no objection from Washington; it was, in effect, in accord with President Truman's recent remark that crossing the parallel was a tactical matter to be determined by the United Nations Commander. Three days later the statement was confirmed by General Marshall, the United States Secretary of Defence, who said that the United Nations Commander would be guided by the necessity to safeguard the security of his command. He added that the question of a sweep across the parallel was a matter for political consideration.

In the United Nations the Good Offices Committee at the end of the month was still awaiting a reply from the Chinese People's Government to its offers of good offices in arranging negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the dispute. The Additional Measures Committee met on March 8 to consider the report of the Bureau appointed in February to draw up a tentative list of possible measures. The Committee appointed a sub-committee of five to consider the practicability of the measures suggested by the Bureau and the question of priorities.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

A Summary of Recent Statements by the Prime Minister of India

Recent statements by Mr. Nehru, India's Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs, assist in throwing light on the principles and fundamental attitudes upon which Indian foreign policy is based. Perhaps the most frequently recurring thoughts in the Prime Minister's public speeches over the past year have related to India's desire for peace and the unmitigated disaster that another general war would bring to the whole of civilization. Referring in Parliament on February 12, 1951, to the Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, he said:

All of us had one primary purpose — the maintenance of peace in this afflicted world of ours. All of us realized that widespread war would be the most terrible of disasters and that we should strain every nerve to prevent it.

As to India's role in international relations, Mr. Nehru added in the same speech:

We do not claim to influence world affairs very much, nor have we any desire to do so. But fate and circumstances have cast a certain responsibility upon us . . .

In an earlier address on December 6, the Prime Minister emphasized this same thought when he said that the fate of the world depended fundamentally today on some of the great powers — the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and China, but that India's counsel might be of moral and psychological value.

Mr. Nehru has made it clear in this connection that independence of action is regarded as an essential part of Indian policy. In answer to charges that India had abandoned "neutrality", Mr. Nehru told Parliament on August 4 that at no time had India been "neutral" and at no time did it propose to be. Indian policy was simply independence of action and an unwillingness "to commit ourselves to follow a certain line".

The Prime Minister has also spoken on a number of occasions of the importance he attaches to negotiation in the settlement of international disputes and his dislike of force or threats of force. In his speech of December 6, he appealed to the "great countries" to make every effort to solve the present tangle by "a peaceful approach, by negotiation, or by any other way they could find provided it was peaceful". . . . "I think that all of us", he added, "wherever we may be, more or less in some measure have to share the responsibility for this terrible state of the world today".

While deprecating the harsh words and recriminations between the great powers in their approach to international problems, Mr. Nehru has not rejected the use of armed force in certain circumstances. Broadcasting from London on January 12 last, he said:

I am not a pacifist. Unhappily, the world of today finds that it cannot do without force. We have to protect ourselves and prepare ourselves for any contingency. We have to meet aggression or any other kind of evil. To surrender to evil is always bad . . .

More specifically the Indian Prime Minister told the United States Congress on October 12, 1949, that "where freedom is menaced or justice threatened, or aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral". At a press conference on October 16, 1950, Mr. Nehru said that to tolerate aggression leads to war, but that military means should be used only when other means are not available.

Korea

In applying these principles to the Korean question, Mr. Nehru said in Parliament on August 3, 1950:

It is perfectly clear that North Korea indulged in a full-scale and well laid out invasion and this can only be described as aggression in any sense of the term, so that when this matter came up before the Security Council it seemed to us quite inevitable that we should describe it as aggression.

After the initial collapse of the North Korean armies in South Korea, however, the Indian Prime Minister told a press conference on October 16, "we felt that the time had come for an effort to be made for a peaceful solution. . . . To cross the 38th parallel without making such an effort . . . appeared to us to be wrong and to involve grave risks of a conflict on a much wider scale".

Following the entry of Chinese troops into Korea and their advance down the peninsula, Mr. Nehru explained his Government's attitude in Parliament on December 6: ". . . it would serve little purpose, and indeed it would be very harmful, if this matter were considered in the United Nations in the formal way of passing resolutions of condemnation". The only possible approach should be one of negotiation among the parties concerned, including China, to cover "the whole question of Korea" and Formosa as well. The negotiations should be preceded by a ceasefire and the establishment of "some kind of demilitarized zone".

In conformity with this approach, India played a prominent part in the ceasefire negotiations in the United Nations. The Indian Representative, Sir Benegal Rau, was a member of the three-man Cease-Fire Group. India did not regard the Chinese reply to the U. N. Statement of Principles of January 13 as a rejection of the ceasefire proposals. Speaking in Parliament on February 12, Mr. Nehru said on the contrary it was clear that the reply was not a rejection: "in part it was acceptance and, in part, fresh suggestions. Subsequent clarification brought out still further that there was a very wide area of agreement and that the gap of disagreement had been very much narrowed. It was possible that this gap could also be closed if any earnest effort were made to that end." After explaining, in the light of this attitude, why India had opposed the U. N. resolution, naming China as an aggressor, the Prime Minister continued:

As we expected, the passing of this resolution has, for the time being at least, put an end to any attempts at negotiation or settlement. We hope still that it may be possible for events to take a better turn in future but, I must confess that, at the moment, that hope has grown very dim.

China and South-East Asia

Overriding the Indian attitude toward specific problems connected with the Korean war, is India's fundamental approach to China and South and South-East Asia. In his broadcast from London on January 12, Mr. Nehru said that the old equilibrium in Asia had been upset and could never come back. Asia was essentially peaceful, but in the exuberance of its newly-won freedom it might "go wrong occasionally". In any event it was no longer prepared to tolerate domination or the threat of domination or any behaviour "after the old pattern of colonialism". The countries of Asia, however, had tremendous problems to solve concerned with the primary needs of their peoples. They needed friendship and co-operation, and if "a new approach and understanding" were forthcoming, he felt sure they would respond "with all friendship".

Referring specifically to China, the Prime Minister said:

China has taken a new shape . . . But whether we like that shape . . . or not, we have to recognize that a great nation has been reborn and is conscious of her new strength. China, in her new-found strength, has acted sometimes in a manner which I deeply regret.

But we have to remember the background of China as of other Asian countries — the long period of struggle and frustration . . . It is neither right nor practical to ignore the feelings of hundreds of millions of people. It is no longer safe to do so.



GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, NEW DELHI

These buildings, as viewed from the War Memorial Arch, consist of, in the centre, the former Viceroy's palace, now the residence of the President of India, with buildings of the central secretariat located on either side. The circular building on the right is the House of Parliament of the Republic of India.

We in India have 2,000 years of friendship with China. We have differences of opinion and even small conflicts, but . . . we endeavour to maintain friendly relations with this great neighbour of ours for the peace of Asia depends on these relations.

Mr. Nehru added significantly on another occasion: "if this unfortunate error of keeping out the new China from the United Nations had not been committed, much of the trouble that has subsequently occurred might have been avoided".

If Mr. Nehru has expressed himself with vigour on the subject of colonialism in Asia, he has also indicated that Asian countries admire Western democratic institutions and are fearful of communist expansionism. On October 16 he stated:

Generally speaking, the countries of Asia are developing or wish to develop democratic institutions. Most of them are opposed to totalitarianism as represented either by communism or fascism. The idea of social justice, as embodied in communism, attracts many people, but at the same time the ideology and the methods of Communist parties have been greatly disliked and have come into conflict with democratic nationalism. World communism, in its expansionist aspect, just as any other expansionist movement, is considered a danger to peace and freedom. It appears, however, sometimes in the guise of a liberating movement. This problem has at times its military aspects but fundamentally we feel that it is a problem of winning the understanding and goodwill of the masses of the people. Unless the people have some hope in the future held out to them, they seek other remedies.

Tibet and Nepal

The fact that India is not prepared to exclude force in the defence of interests which it considers vital is perhaps best illustrated by two statements of the Prime Minister relating to India's northern frontiers. On November 20, Mr. Nehru told Parliament, in answer to a question, that India considers that the McMahon Line defines the boundary between India and Tibet and that India "will not allow anybody to come across that boundary". On December 6, when discussing the need for constitutional reforms in Nepal, he said: "The principal barrier to India (the Himalayas)

lies on the other side of Nepal and we are not going to tolerate any person coming over that barrier. Therefore, much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot risk our own security by anything going wrong in Nepal which permits either that barrier to be crossed or otherwise leads to a weakening of our frontiers."

On December 6, Mr. Nehru told Parliament that the marching of Chinese armies into Tibet came as a "surprise and a shock" to the Government of India and that India had gone on pressing China to halt her advance and settle the matter peacefully.

Indo-Pakistan Relations: Kashmir

In the series of letters between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan over the course of last year, both Prime Ministers gave assurances of their will to peace and of their resolve to work for peace with one another. Putting this idea in more positive form, Mr. Nehru told Parliament on March 28 that partition of the sub-continent "was approved by, or accepted, by us and it must remain . . . Therefore, one should recognize the fact that Pakistan and India are two independent neighbouring countries. Now from the economic point of view, from the political or any point of view, they should have close contact with each other."

Among the disputes now separating India and Pakistan, the problem of Kashmir is the most difficult and conspicuous. In setting forth the Indian Government's position on this matter Mr. Nehru told Parliament on March 28 that the accession of Kashmir to India arose from the Indian Independence Act and the negotiations that preceded it. The action was fully in accord with all that had happened with regard to the accession of many other states. The act of accession was accepted on behalf of the Crown by the then Governor General. Nevertheless, from the very beginning it had been declared Indian policy that the people of Kashmir should decide their future. Mr. Nehru argued that the fact that Pakistan had "committed aggression" and removed part of Kashmir from India's "factual control" did not alter the proposition that Kashmir was juridically and politically an integral part of the State of India. Furthermore, the Indian Prime Minister told a press conference on March 13, that while his country stood by "every single word" of its agreements with the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan in regard to a plebiscite, "we cannot break our pledges or betray the confidence reposed in us by refusing to provide the minimum security necessary for Kashmir, when there is always a danger of barbarous invasion. We cannot permit foreign troops of any kind to enter Kashmir. We cannot set aside the lawfully established government of popular elements which at present controls the greater part of Kashmir: but we are prepared now, as ever, to give every opportunity for a free determination by the people of Kashmir of their future". Mr. Nehru has rejected arbitration as a means of settling outstanding points of difference with regard to the demilitarization of Kashmir, because this procedure ignores the "basic facts" of the dispute.

The Commonwealth and the United States

India's relations with the Commonwealth as a whole have seldom in recent months been the subject of special definition or comment. On August 3, Mr. Nehru said: "We are friendly with the countries of the Commonwealth . . . and there is a constant stream of information going from one to the other. We agree on many matters and we disagree on some matters and we can disagree without doubting the other's *bona fides*." On February 12 he stated, with reference to the recent Prime Ministers' Conferences: "It was natural that the approaches of the different countries represented should not be identical; to some extent, each . . . perhaps emphasized some one aspect (of the problems) more than the other. But I should like to make it clear that there was, during these discussions, a very large measure of community of approach and objective. This was indeed very gratifying . . ."

On the same date Mr. Nehru referred to "the United States of America, that great nation, on whom a vast burden of responsibility has fallen and which is playing such a decisive part in world affairs today." He continued:

We have endeavoured to maintain the friendly relations that have happily existed between India and the United States and, in spite of differences of opinion, we shall continue to do so. There has been a great deal of criticism of our policy in the press and statements of prominent men in the United States. We welcome criticism and try to profit by it. We have not allowed this criticism to come in the way of our friendly feelings towards America, just as we cannot allow it to influence us in a direction which we consider unwise or wrong.

The United Nations

India's support for the principles of the United Nations has been often expressed. Specific mention should perhaps be made, however, of recent statements by Mr. Nehru which underline his conception of how that organization is meant to function. On August 3, 1950, he told Parliament that the United Nations was established "to bring . . . all the nations of the world together. The United Nations was never intended to be a group of nations thinking one way and excluding other nations . . ." On October 16 he said: "Any attempt to change the basic provisions of the Charter or to exclude a particular nation, has far-reaching results and we are opposed to it . . . We also do not agree with proposals to create separate armed forces on behalf of the United Nations in each country. This seemed to us a wrong approach. It seemed like converting the United Nations into a larger edition of the Atlantic Pact and making it a war organization more than one devoted to international peace."

In spite of the shortcomings of the United Nations in the eyes of the Indian Prime Minister, he has specifically rejected the idea of withdrawing from that body, because of Security Council action over Kashmir. On March 28, he told Parliament that this would be a gesture that would have no meaning and that although the United Nations might have "gone wrong often enough" it would be a disaster to the world if the organization ceased to function. "We have," he said, "from the very beginning, looked up to the United Nations organization . . . because we felt that it was an organization, the basis of which was right, the object of which was right."

The opposition of the Indian Prime Minister to colonialism, mentioned earlier, in this article, has been repeatedly expressed by Indian representatives in the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. India has also indicated its strong opposition to racial discrimination. It has shown a special concern in the treatment of persons of Indian origin in South Africa. On December 6, Mr. Nehru put the matter in Parliament in the following terms:

As (they are) South African citizens, we have nothing to do with them politically . . . but it involves this question of racialism, because it involves self-respect . . . not only of India and the Indian people, but of every people in Asia and every people in the world, it has become a vital matter.

The Prime Minister has also attacked colonialism directly, with reference to the French and Portuguese possessions in India and has said on several occasions that India can "never tolerate" any foreign footholds remaining on Indian territory. Mr. Nehru has emphasized, however, his intention of pursuing a peaceful approach in relation to the problem of foreign possessions in India as in other matters. "The way we have proceeded . . .", he said on December 6, "shows . . . our enormous patience."

GIFT TO CANADA OF A HOBBEA PAINTING BY THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT

In June 1949 Mr. Pierre Dupuy, Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, was informed by the Netherlands Minister of Education that his Government wished to express the gratitude of the Netherlands for the role played by the Canadian forces in the liberation of their country, by presenting a well-known work of art to the Canadian Government and nation. The gift was also intended to express the gratitude of the Dutch people for Canadian hospitality to the Dutch Royal family during the war. The Netherlands Government requested that the gift be hung in one of the rooms of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa where it might readily be seen by visitors.

The works of several well-known Dutch artists were mentioned as suitable for the presentation. After consultation between the Director of the National Gallery of Canada, the Clerk of the House of Commons and Netherlands art experts, it was decided that the Canadian Government should accept a landscape by the seventeenth century Dutch artist Meindert Hobbema. The title of the painting is "The Two Water-mills".

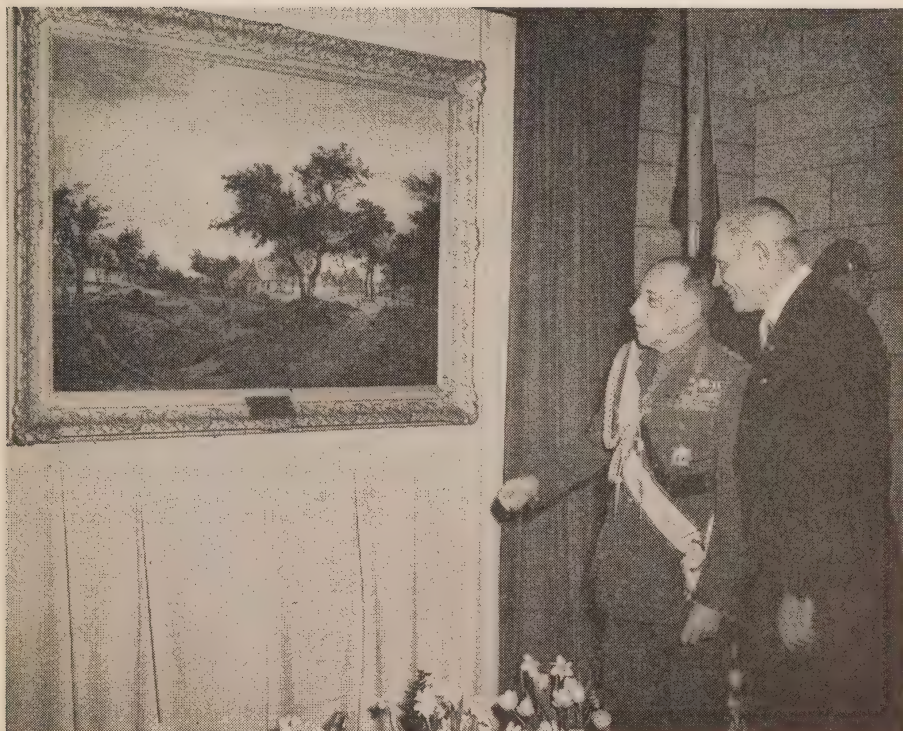
The choice of the Hobbema painting was unanimously approved by both Chambers of the Netherlands Parliament in April 1950. In closing the brief debate the Prime Minister, Dr. W. Drees, said that his Government considered it desirable to express Holland's gratitude to the Canadian people for what they had sacrificed in the liberation of the Netherlands and for their generosity after the war. The Prime Minister also remarked that although no gift could match the sacrifice offered by the Canadian people, relinquishment of the masterpiece by Holland meant a sacrifice for the Dutch people and should be understood as such.

On July 4, 1950, the Hobbema painting was officially presented to the Canadian Ambassador by Queen Juliana at the Soestdijk Palace in The Hague. Before it was shipped to Canada, arrangements were made by the National Gallery of Canada to have suitable reproductions of the painting prepared by a Dutch art printing firm. These will be made available to the Canadian public in due course.

The painting arrived in Ottawa during February and was held in the vaults of the National Gallery while arrangements were made for the holding of a suitable ceremony of acceptance.

On Wednesday, March 14, in the Hall of Fame of the Parliament Buildings, the masterpiece was unveiled by Lieut. Gen. H. D. G. Crerar, C.H., C.B., D.S.O., in the presence of the Governor General, the Ambassador of the Netherlands, and other dignitaries. The Governor General accepted the Hobbema painting on behalf of Canada and expressed the gratitude of this country for so generous a gift. In handing the masterpiece over for safekeeping to the Speaker of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Commons, His Excellency said that it forms a "symbolic and tangible expression to the bond between our two peoples. . . . What was once the national treasure of one nation has become the national treasure of two nations."

The Netherlands Ambassador to Canada, Mr. A. H. J. Lovink, said that he hoped "that Hobbema's masterpiece will continue to hang in this place for centuries to come as a tangible symbol of the lasting friendship between two countries".



—Capital Press

PRESENTATION OF HOBBEEMA PAINTING

Unveiling the gift of the Netherlands to Canada, "The Two Water-mills" by Meindert Hobbema, in the Hall of Fame of the Canadian Parliament Buildings is, above, General H. D. G. Crerar, who commanded the Canadian army of liberation. His Excellency A. H. J. Lovink, Ambassador of the Netherlands to Canada, also appears.

This mellow masterpiece of Hobbema, who is estimated as one of the greatest of landscape painters, is well-known to connoisseurs. Simple in composition, it gives an impression of freshness in its inimitable sun-lit atmosphere which has persisted since the first half of the seventeenth century, when the picture was painted.

A recurring theme in the work of this artist of the country side was a water-mill, such as these, set in pleasant woods. Another "Paysage et Moulin à eau" hangs in the Louvre in Paris. Rich in attractive details, his pictures have a unique charm; this outstanding example of his work will mark most memorably the close and happy relationship of the peoples of the Netherlands and Canada.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The recrossing of the 38th Parallel by United Nations troops

On March 20 Mr. Angus MacInnis (CCF, Vancouver East) brought to the attention of the House "the fact that for the second time communist forces in Korea have been driven to or across the 38th Parallel. I should like to know," Mr. MacInnis went on to say, "what action is to be taken by the United Nations forces when they reach the 38th Parallel on this occasion." Mr. MacInnis then set forth his views on this question, referring to previous discussions of it which have taken place in the House. The debate was subsequently joined by Mr. J. H. Ferguson (PC, Simcoe North), Mr. Victor Quelch (SC, Acadia), Mr. Alistair Stewart (CCF, Winnipeg North), Mr. J. M. Macdonnell (PC, Greenwood), Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggart), and Mr. Clarence Gillis (CCF, Cape Breton South). The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, then spoke in part as follows:

... The question that is in our minds, the question that has been brought up this afternoon, is not, as has been pointed out, entirely a military question. While it certainly has military significance, it has political as well. It is a question, if I may put it that way, of whether to cross or not to cross the 38th parallel. More accurately it is a question of whether to recross or not recross the 38th parallel.

There is a real difficulty from my point of view in dealing with this matter because at this moment, even this afternoon, informal discussions are going on in Washington with the other countries participating in the Korean campaign on the subject of what would be a proper political directive, if a directive should be issued, for the United Nations commander in Korea on this matter.

Although I do not think the United Nations has any right to fight General MacArthur's war, nevertheless it is our duty as members of the United Nations to lay down the political directives which would govern his operations. He is the first one to accept that fact. This question has come up before. . . . It came up last October when we were at the United Nations Assembly. We then took a decision which authorized General MacArthur to use his own judgment whether to cross this particular line or not to cross it. We certainly have no right to complain of the decision although I think it is true to say that one of the factors in a good many minds at that time leading up to the United Nations resolution was the hope, indeed the expectation, that the crossing of this line might not result in a rush for the Manchurian or Russian border. I am not disposed to criticize that decision by virtue of hindsight because it might have been a very tempting idea at that time to clean up the war completely. It did not work out that way.

... It certainly would be unwise and unfair to the commander and to the men in the field to tell the enemy exactly what we were going to do in a military way when we reached that particular line. I think that that certainly would be playing into the hands of those whom we do not wish to help. No doubt when the decision is taken it will be governed by both military and political considerations. From the military point of view, the first responsibility of the United Nations to its commander and to its forces is not to prevent him from taking action which he may consider it necessary to take to safeguard his men. I am sure that none of us would wish to do that.

... Although military considerations are important, political considerations are equally important, possibly more important. When a decision was taken last October to authorize the United Nations commander to cross this line if he saw fit, there were political reasons behind that decision as well as military. The political reasons were that the United Nations felt that it should authorize necessary action to liberate and unify all of Korea. That is what we hoped would happen as a result of that decision, but unfortunately it did not happen.

I think most of us saw in our minds at that time certain dangers in that decision. Those dangers turned out to be much greater than we had realized. Possibly we were wrong in not realizing that. Well, we are up against the same kind of situation now and at least we have the advantage of experience. I hope that this time we will take all the factors into consideration so that the decision will be both militarily and politically wise.

It looks at the present time as if the situation in Korea may result in what General Ridgway, the United Nations commander in Korea, has called a military stalemate. He made that statement the other day and it was received with great interest in a number of countries. I myself would prefer to think of the situation, not so much as a military stalemate but as a stabilization of the military position. We might even reach a position where we have a sort of *de facto* cease-fire. What do we do then? All I would say on that point . . . is that if we do reach the position of a sort of *de facto* cease-fire roughly along the line of the 38th parallel I think we should take advantage of that position, that military stabilization, to reopen negotiations with the people on the other side provided there is any possibility of that being brought about — and I have no illusions as to the difficulties on that score.

But if this position is to be stabilized in a way which now seems possible, it would surely be statesmanlike to take advantage of that position to see if we can work out the kind of settlement which will make it possible for us to extricate ourselves, as the hon. member for Greenwood (Mr. Macdonnell) has said, “with honour”, from Korea, because Korea is not the main danger front. For that purpose it might be desirable to try to negotiate something along the lines of the six point proposal which was put forward by our own delegation at Lake Success after consultation with a good many other delegations. I know that that idea is in the minds of people now, and I hope that possibly we might be able to utilize a favourable military situation to bring about a favourable political situation. But there again we must never forget that it takes two to make peace although it sometimes takes only one to make war.

We have not very much ground for optimism that the Chinese communist government will meet us more than halfway in any effort of this kind. However, I hope that the opportunity may present itself, and that we may be able to work out some kind of solution which will make it possible to bring this horrible conflict in Korea to an end with honour to ourselves and with freedom and unity to the Korean people. As General Ridgway pointed out, it is not the obligation of the United Nations to unify Korea by force, but it is our obligation to do everything we can to bring about that unity. I should think that the best way in which it could be done would be by negotiation if that is possible.

The Good Offices Committee of the United Nations has already taken action in this direction. It has made an approach to the government in Peking but it has received no reply whatever to that approach. I would think that it would be unwise for us to despair because of that fact. There may be other avenues of approach; there may be other ways in which this can be done. We should certainly, I feel, use every possible opportunity to exploit every military advantage to achieve a political result which will end this conflict. If we can do that the objective of the United Nations in Korea will have been achieved, and something may have been gained out of the horrible carnage that has gone on there because it will at least have shown that the United Nations can act effectively on the battlefield and in the council chamber.

The hon. member for Rosetown-Biggart (Mr Coldwell) has said that we should use the experience we have gained in the Korean operation to work out a system of control under the North Atlantic organization by which the military is brought under appropriate international civilian control, the kind of control we take for granted in our own country. There has been difficulty about this in Korea but I would point out to those who emphasize the difficulty — and at times it is a difficulty which leads to some exasperation — that its basis is the fact that in the United Nations Korean operation about 95 per cent of the actual fighting in the field has been done by the forces of one country. Naturally the government of that country is going to exercise a preponderating influence in that operation, and we should be the last to criticize that. I think that on the whole we have very little to complain about the consultation which we have managed to achieve at Lake Success and in Washington on this matter.



—United Nations

CANADA CONTRIBUTES TO KOREAN AND PALESTINE RELIEF PROGRAMMES

Mr. J. W. Holmes, Acting Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, presents to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, a cheque for \$8,000,000 as Canada's contribution to the United Nations relief and rehabilitation programme in Korea and Palestine. Of the total amount, \$7,250,000 is earmarked for Korea and \$750,000 for Palestine.

The translation of the results of that consultation to the commanders across the Pacific is not always as effective or as easy as we would like it to be, but I suggest that is largely because of the nature of the operation. We are working along different lines in the North Atlantic Organization and we are building up not only a military organization which will be effective, we hope, in preventing war, but a political organization which will be able to control, as civilian governments should control, the military arm. . . . I should like to repeat once again that as we approach a decisions on this matter in Korea—and we are approaching that—I hope that decision will be both politically and militarily wise.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for Korea

The House of Commons on March 19 went into committee of supply. Under the heading "Terminable Services", Item 582 concerned a contribution of \$7,250,000 for the United Nations relief and rehabilitation programme for Korea. Regarding this item, Mr. S. H. Knowles (CCF, Winnipeg North Centre) asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs:

Is that the first amount that we have been asked to vote for rehabilitation in Korea? What is the total amount being undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations? Can the minister give some comment as to the nature of the programme and as to what progress is being made?

Mr. Pearson replied in part:

. . . At the last session of the General Assembly a resolution was passed providing for a programme of relief and rehabilitation for Korea where of course the need is very great and getting greater every day. A committee of the Assembly discussed

this matter at great length and a United Nations Commission for Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea was set up. That organization drew up a plan of action and reported back to the United Nations. Its plan was also very carefully considered by the Economic and Social Council. It is estimated that about \$250 million will be required to meet the immediate needs. That of course will not begin to cover the whole problem of rehabilitation.

... This was some weeks ago. Of course there has been more damage done since that time, and there have been more refugees moving south. It was felt that \$250 million might see the organization through the immediate period of relief. Our delegation at that time thought it would be most desirable if this amount could be raised by assessment of all members on the basis of their proportions of contribution to the United Nations itself. We were not able to get sufficient support for that idea but a committee was set up to try to raise this money on some equitable and proportionate basis. As a result a high proportion of the \$250 million has now been earmarked by various governments.

We felt that as a government we might ask parliament to agree to appropriate an amount which would be roughly proportionate to our share of the United Nations budget. For that reason we are asking approval for this estimate of \$7,250,000 for Korean relief. The organization to supervise the expenditure of this money has been set up. The Director-General of the organization is Mr. Kingsley, who has been Director-General of the International Refugee Organization. He has been to Korea and has made arrangements that these relief supplies should be distributed through the Unified Command while operations are going on. We hope that this effort will be successful because there is no part of the world now where relief is more urgently needed than in Korea.

Mr. Pearson then provided a partial list of the different nations contributing to the fund. In response to a question asked by Mr. A. J. Brooks (PC, Royal) it was pointed out that the communist nations were not contributing to the fund. The following exchange then took place:

MR. KNOWLES: (CCF, Winnipeg North Centre): I take it that thus far the money has been spent mainly on medical supplies, food, clothing and other things necessary for immediate relief. Do the terms of the resolution voted by the United Nations envisage going on with a programme of rehabilitation if and when the shooting is over?

MR. PEARSON: Yes. This is a programme of relief and rehabilitation but the funds that are being raised now will not be sufficient even to cover the immediate cost of relief.

MR. LOW (SC, Peace River): Is there any possibility of Russia and her satellites making a contribution eventually to this rehabilitation fund?

MR. PEARSON: They have been given the opportunity but they have not seen fit to take advantage of it, and I think it a highly unlikely contingency that they will contribute.

Mr. J. F. Pouliot (L, Temiscouata) later asked on what basis the amount of \$7,250,000 had been computed, and Mr. Pearson replied:

The amount requested by the United Nations was \$250 million. Our proportion of the expenses of the United Nations has been laid down as 3.2 per cent, and the application of that principle to this amount gave us roughly this figure.

On other aspects of Korean relief Mr. Pearson said:

... (This relief and rehabilitation) will apply to all that part of Korea which is under United Nations and republican Korean control. At present, of course, that does not include any territory north of the 38th parallel.

... There is a very great deal of relief work being carried on for several hundred thousands of these people. That is being done by the military authorities as part of military relief. It is also true, I think, that there have been some voluntary contributions to Korea, and that the Red Cross is helping out there under arrangements with the Unified Command. So far the relief has been largely military, however.

...I...know some thousands (of refugees) have been taken to islands not far from Korea and looked after there in relief establishments. There again, those establishments have been kept up by the military authorities at their expense, and by and large that means at the expense of the United States. So far relief has been almost entirely military, and it has covered many thousands in Korean refugees, some of whom are in these island camps.

... The U.S.S.R. and the satellite states were invited to appear before this committee which was arranging for relief contributions and give some assurance that they would participate in this work. Naturally they refused to take any part in it. That is what one might have expected. They disclaimed all responsibility for this work because, again as one might have expected, they claimed it was due to the aggressive policies of the United States and other countries that this relief was necessary. Therefore, in their estimation, that relieved them of responsibility.

... Any rehabilitation or reconstruction which is incidental to military operation no doubt will be carried on by the military. It is hoped that this United Nations agency will have responsibility not only for relief but for civilian rehabilitation and reconstruction afterwards, but of course that will depend upon the resources made available to the agency. At the present time they are seeking only \$250 million. That may seem a large amount of money, but it is not large in terms of the needs of the people of Korea, and I doubt very much if any great portion of that will be available for anything but immediate needs.

Canadians in China

On March 12 Mr. Gordon Graydon (PC, Peel) directed the following question to the Secretary of State for External Affairs:

... Can the minister tell us whether he has any late reports dealing with the subject of Canadian citizens still in Red China, and whether it is possible for Canadian citizens to leave that country freely for Canada if they so desire?

Mr. Pearson replied as follows:

We have information in my department through the United Kingdom authorities in Peking, which information has been transmitted to us through London, and also information from other sources, that certain Canadians have been detained by the government in Peking. We have asked the United Kingdom authorities in China to look into the cases that have been brought to our attention and to do everything they can to afford those Canadians protection. Since we ourselves have no diplomatic representation in China, on this occasion we are dependent upon the good offices of the United Kingdom diplomatic service; and, as always, they are only too anxious to help, as I hope we would help if the circumstances were reversed.

On the general question of the position of Canadians in China, I would not like to say anything at this moment without more consideration; but I can tell the hon. member for Peel that Canadians are leaving China at the present time. Delays have been put in their way but of those who wish to return to Canada some are getting out of China. I may be able to give him more particulars on that aspect of the matter shortly.

On March 19 Mr. E. D. Fulton (PC, Kamloops) asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs what steps were being taken by the Canadian Government in the light of the reported arrest by the present government of China of five missionary sisters on obviously trumped-up charges. Mr. Pearson replied in part that "on the face of it, it would appear the charges have been made for communist propaganda purposes of the kind with which we have become all too familiar in recent years".

The next day, March 20, the question was again raised by Mr. J. F. Pouliot (L, Temiscouata) and Mr. Pearson made the following statement:

... Attacks have recently been made in the Chinese communist press in Canton, Peking and Hong Kong against Canadian nuns of the Order of the Immaculate Conception who conduct the Orphanage of the Holy Child in Canton.

Typical charges made against the nuns are as follows:

1. Far from pursuing acts of charity they are guilty of inhuman acts against the children in their charge.
2. The orphanage is a typical example of an imperialist charity organization, operation of which would not be tolerated by the Chinese people.
3. Since the communist liberation of Canton the orphanage had admitted a total of 2,251 infants, of whom 2,116, or 94 per cent, have died in the institution to date.
4. This mortality rate reflects fully on the irresponsible attitude adopted by the sisters in the care of the infants.

This information, which we received from unofficial sources — that is the information as to these charges — has been confirmed by telegram from our high commissioner in London, who secured the confirmation from the United Kingdom authorities, who of course are represented in China.

A letter from the orphanage in Canton, dated March 5, has been received by the Mother Superior in Montreal. The nuns reported that the orphanage had been taken over by the Chinese authorities and that the Canadian nuns were to be deported to Hong Kong. There has been no official confirmation of newspaper reports of their arrest. The United Kingdom foreign office has been requested by the Canadian government to ask the United Kingdom chargé d'affaires in Peking to do everything possible to assist these nuns who apparently have been the victims of grotesque and unfounded charges.

The Passamaquoddy Tidal Project

In reply to a question asked by Mr. A. W. Stuart (L, Charlotte) on March 8, Mr. Pearson made the following reply concerning the report of the International Joint Commission, on this project:

... The International Joint Commission made its report to the two governments on October 23, 1950, recommending that a further investigation would be necessary to enable it to make recommendations concerning the feasibility of the Passamaquoddy project, and has estimated that such an investigation would cost \$3,900,000. The report suggests that the cost might be apportioned between the two countries in proportion to the benefits that each country would derive from the completed project. This report is still under study by the interested federal authorities, and has been referred to the Government of New Brunswick.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

On March 19, the House of Commons being in committee of supply, the following item was considered:

The Canadian government's assessment for membership in the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, further amount required, \$109,000.

In the course of the ensuing debate, which was joined by Messrs. P. E. Wright (CCF, Melfort), H. H. Hatfield (PC, Victoria Carlton), G. C. Nowlan (PC, Annapolis Kings) and J. F. Pouliot (L, Temiscouata), Mr. Pearson spoke in part as follows:

... The Food and Agriculture Organization is a specialized agency of the United Nations which deals with food and agricultural questions. Its membership consists of approximately 70 states, each with one vote in the conference or in the governing body which meets between conferences. The FAO is divided into technical divisions, of which I think there are seven. There are the divisions on agriculture, distribution, commerce, statistics, forestry and fisheries products, nutrition and rural welfare.

These divisions provide a wide range of fact-finding and advisory services designed to furnish information to the member states and to help them in the formulation of their agricultural policies. Canada has a real interest in the technical informa-

tion obtained from these various divisions. I believe the Department of Agriculture feels that useful services are being performed by them.

The FAO has been in existence for five years and during that period had established statistical services in the field of food, agriculture, forestry and fisheries which have been of use to our government and to the provincial agricultural services. The organization has also collected a great deal of technical information in these fields which has been made available to us and which has been of special assistance in the development of the agriculture of backward countries.

... I would point out that there are no countries behind the iron curtain which are members of the Food and Agriculture Organization. They have all withdrawn from that organization and are not now receiving any assistance from it.

... The budget of this organization has been fixed this year by the United Nations at \$5,000,000, and Canada's contribution is 4.11 per cent, which is slightly lower than the figure of 4.5 per cent, for last year. Our proportion on that basis would be roughly \$205,500 U.S. or \$217,000 Canadian.

The organization decided this year to move its headquarters from Washington to Rome and some additional expenditures must be made immediately. We, along with other countries, have been requested to make the contribution on next year's assessment available at as early a date as possible and this item is one-half of next year's contribution . . .



PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF FRANCE VISITS OTTAWA

—NFB

The President of the Republic of France, M. Vincent Auriol, visited Ottawa, Toronto, Quebec and Montreal, April 5-8. He is pictured above at a reception held by the Speakers of the Senate and the House of Commons. Left to right: Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. W. Ross MacDonald; the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent; M. Auriol; Speaker of the Senate, Mr. Elie Beauregard; Senator Norman P. Lambert; and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Robert Schuman. It is anticipated that further material relating to the President's visit will appear in "External Affairs" for May.

THE INTERNATIONAL MATERIALS CONFERENCE

Soon after the outbreak of war in Korea, the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and other countries of the free world became acutely aware of the immediate necessity of increasing their military preparedness to a level which would discourage countries of the communist bloc from further aggression. In the ensuing nine months large rearmament programmes have been planned and an increasing percentage of national incomes have been allocated to defence. One of the most serious results of the rearmament programmes and the fear of war has been the emergence of a critical shortage of certain essential raw materials. A sharp rise in raw material prices has accompanied the shortages.

Initially, the shortages were caused partly by an increase in industry requirements, but to a large extent they were the result of speculative buying in the expectation of rising prices, and some stock-piling for strategic reasons. As defence production proceeded, however, real shortages began to appear.

The first countries to experience difficulties were the countries of Western Europe, as most of them had only very low stocks of most raw materials in the summer of 1950. Unless unemployment was to occur in Europe, with its accompanying political danger, working stocks had to be rebuilt and adequate supplies ensured for the future. For this reason the Organization for European Economic Co-operation began to take a very active interest in the world raw material shortage. Added to the problem of physical shortage was the danger that the excessively high prices paid for certain raw materials might upset the financial stability which, by June 1950, Western Europe had to a large degree achieved.

At the same time that OEEC was considering the problem, NATO also became concerned about the shortages because of their effect on rearmament. Because of their geographical limitations neither of these regional organizations was able to develop a comprehensive approach to the problem: it was evident the raw materials problem was a world problem.

Tripartite Group Established

When Mr. Attlee, after consulting the French Premier, flew to Washington in December 1950, he discussed the now critical raw materials problem with Mr. Truman. It was decided there that a Tripartite Group, to consist of the United States, the United Kingdom and France, should be established in Washington. This body, which has since become known as "The Central Group" of the "International Materials Conference" was given the task of determining which materials were in sufficiently short supply to warrant the setting up of standing committees to study them and to decide what countries should be members of each of the commodity groups. The membership of these commodity committees was to be determined on a statistical basis by which the leading producing and consuming countries which, in total, accounted for 80 per cent of the production and consumption of the individual commodities were to be invited. The position of countries which were not invited to attend the standing committees was not at first made clear, but such countries have since been informed that they may submit written memoranda on their requirements to the committees and attend meetings to support their memoranda. The reason for limiting the size of the committees was to keep them to a manageable size so that the commodity studies could be carried out expeditiously.

On February 24 the Central Group announced the establishment in Washington of the following standing commodity committees:

February 26, Copper, Zinc and Lead Committee,
 March 1, Sulphur Committee,
 March 5, Cotton and Cotton Linters Committee,
 March 8, Tungsten and Molybdenum Committee,
 March 12, Manganese, Nickel and Cobalt Committee,
 April 2, Wool Committee.

Canada is a member of all but the Tungsten and Molybdenum Committee and the Wool Committee. An additional Committee on Pulp and Paper products will be established in the near future. Canada, as a major producer, has been invited to be a member.

The Canadian Government has appointed Mr. S. V. Allen, Special Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, as its principal representative to attend meetings of the commodity groups of the International Materials Conference. Mr. M. P. Carson, Assistant Commercial Secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, was named as his alternate. Commodity experts attend as required.

Towards the end of January proposals were put forward for an increase in the size of the Central Group. It was felt in some quarters that the Tripartite Group was not sufficiently representative of major producing and consuming areas. After some discussion it was agreed to expand the Central Group to ten members: to include the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Italy and representatives from the Organization for European Economic Co-operation and the Organization of American States. The first meeting of the enlarged group took place on February 21. Although enlarged, the Central Group is still considered as a servicing mechanism for the standing commodity groups. It is not a policy-making group, and after setting up the standing groups, does not have any further control over them.

The terms of reference of the Standing Commodity Committees are to consider and recommend to governments the specific action which should be taken in the case of each commodity to expand production, increase availabilities, conserve supplies, and assure most effective distribution and utilization of supplies among consuming countries. The standing groups are entirely autonomous bodies which decide individually their method of procedure. They do not report to any existing international organization nor to the Central Group. They do not have any method of enforcing their decisions, but can only recommend action to governments.

It is too early to judge how successful this new machinery for solving the raw materials problem will be. Any success that it may have will depend on the co-operation of all producing and consuming countries. When the bulk of a particular commodity is produced in one or two countries with similar political and defence interests, a rational distribution is relatively easier than when commodities are produced in a large number of countries whose defence and political interests vary.

The International Materials Conference is an attempt to solve the raw materials problem in a comprehensive way. Country representation appears adequate, but not so broad as to make the committees unwieldy. The representatives of the member countries have before them the delicate problem of arranging international co-operation by mutual consent in a world where economic and political interests diverge widely. However, failure to reach a basis for co-operation may lead to serious dislocation of industry, to unemployment due to regional shortages of raw materials, to continuation of the threat to financial stability caused by excessive increases in the prices of these materials, and to interruption of defence programmes.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Twelfth Session of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council held its Twelfth Session in Santiago de Chile from February 20 to March 21. This was the first occasion on which the Council had met elsewhere than at the United Nations Headquarters in New York or in Geneva and the first time any major organ of the United Nations had held a session in Latin America. The tremendous publicity given in the local press to the Council proceedings indicated a high degree of interest on the part of the Chilean public in the work of the United Nations, and it was unfortunate that this particular session was marked by an aggressive propaganda campaign which not only delayed and hampered the conduct of business, but which distracted attention from the constructive economic and social work which is the function of the Council. The only interest of the Cominform members, the U.S.S.R., Poland and Czechoslovakia, was to make political capital out of every issue and to use the Council as a forum for their propaganda in Latin America. Their charges were so extreme and their tactics so obvious that they created an unfavourable impression among intelligent Chileans, and it seems quite likely that the cause of Communism in Latin America suffered from the over-zeal of its missionaries.

Many of the items on the agenda for the Twelfth Session, as is usual in the winter session of the Council, dealt with routine matters or were in the nature of progress reports on such continuing programmes as Technical Assistance and UNICEF. On the economic side, the most important items were those relating to the annual review of the world economic situation and the problem of the financing of economic development.

Resolution Adopted

The under-developed countries were clearly worried over the possible detrimental effects on their own economy of the accelerated defence programmes of the more advanced countries and were anxious that their problems in this regard be recognized and that adequate measures be taken to avoid serious disequilibrium. After an exhaustive general debate and considerable discussion in committee, divergent views were reconciled and a resolution adopted which received unanimous support except for the Soviet bloc. This resolution recognizes the difficulties being encountered by under-developed countries with regard to shortages of needed imports, lower levels of investment, scarcity of capital goods and new inflationary pressures resulting from the present international situation. At the same time it recommends to member governments increased production and equitable distribution of essential consumer goods and raw materials; the taking of necessary anti-inflationary measures as long as inflationary pressures exist; and the taking of measures, direct or indirect, to regulate at equitable levels and relationships the prices of essential goods.

The question of the financing of economic development is under constant review by the Economic and Social Council and one of its functional commissions, the Economic, Employment and Development Commission. At the Twelfth Session of the Council it was agreed that since subsidiary bodies were making special studies on related problems, definite action by the Council should not be taken until the findings of these bodies were available to governments, and it was therefore decided, after considerable discussion both in plenary session and in committee, that the problem should be deferred until the next session of the Council but that in the meantime the Economic, Employment and Development Commission which is scheduled to meet in May, should be requested to give priority to the consideration of the question of financing of economic development. Moreover, it was agreed that be-

cause of the importance of the subject, and in consideration of the very heavy agenda for the next session of the Council, the Economic Committee should meet one week before the opening of the Thirteenth Session for the specific purpose of examining this problem and drafting recommendations to the Council.

On the social side, the most important action of the Council was to agree to the establishment of a joint UN-ILO commission of enquiry to survey the field of forced labour. The subject of forced labour, which was first introduced by the American Federation of Labor some three years ago, has been on the Council agenda almost continuously since that time and a great deal of convincing evidence pointing to the existence of large-scale forced labour systems behind the Iron Curtain has been produced by the United Kingdom and United States Governments, by the A. F. of L. and subsequently the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. All efforts over the past years to induce the Soviet Union and other countries behind the Iron Curtain to co-operate in an impartial enquiry to establish the true facts by an on-the-spot investigation have failed. As a second-best alternative, the Council at its meeting in Santiago agreed to the establishment of a joint commission composed of three to five members to be appointed by the Secretary-General and the Director-General of the ILO, to conduct studies based first of all on legislative texts and administrative regulations and their application in practice. A great deal of documentary material of this type is already available, and when the Commission has examined these documents it can then determine whether further evidence, including oral testimony, would be useful. Although the most grave charges have been levelled against the Soviet Union and certain governments of Eastern Europe for the maintenance under government sponsorship of large scale forced labour camps, the UN-ILO commission of enquiry will, of course, not be restricted to any particular geographical area in its survey of the nature and extent of forced labour at the present time.

At the Santiago Session, the Council re-elected its President, Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, and its First Vice-President, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar of India, and elected Jiri Nosek of Czechoslovakia as Second Vice-President, all three officers to serve for the year 1951. Canada, which served on the Agenda Committee for the year 1950, was elected to the Council Committee on Non-Governmental Organization for the year 1951.

Collective Measures Committee

The Collective Measures Committee, which was established under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution at the Fifth Session of the General Assembly, held its first three meetings during March. In the course of these meetings the Committee has dealt with such matters as the election of its officers, and has considered in general terms the best way of approaching the tasks allotted to it. Most of its fourteen members have set forth their views on the objectives which the Committee might usefully pursue, and a sub-committee of five members (Brazil, France, the United Kingdom, the United States and Yugoslavia) has been set up to produce a plan of work and to advise on the priority to be given to the various projects before the Committee.

In establishing the sub-committee, the parent body drew attention to certain clearly defined projects which had been specified in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. Among these was the provision in Section C of the resolution whereby member states were to inform the Collective Measures Committee of the military forces which they could make available for United Nations employment against aggression. The sub-committee is to consider the advisability of addressing a communication to member states asking them to report on the steps which they have taken to comply with this provision. A second requirement, which the sub-committee will presumably examine is also specified in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. It relates to the appointment by the Secretary-General of a panel of military experts who could be made available on request to member states wishing to obtain technical advice



—United Nations

UNICEF MILK FOR GUATEMALA

A barrel of powdered milk is supplied to the village of Argueta, Guatemala, by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, as part of its child feeding programme.

on the organization and training of their United Nations contingents. As the Collective Measures Committee is required to approve the appointments made by the Secretary-General, the sub-committee will presumably study the appropriate size of the panel's membership, the range of qualifications needed by its members, and whether recommendations on these details should be drawn to the Secretary-General's attention for his guidance in making the appointments.

In addition to these specific matters on which the sub-committee will be expected to report, is the broader question of sanctions. At the request of the full committee, the Secretariat has prepared a comprehensive list of the possible measures, moral, diplomatic, economic, financial, and military, which might be taken against an aggressor or in support of a victim of aggression. This list has been placed in the hands of the sub-committee, which has been asked to recommend the projects which should be given priority.

It is too early to predict on what particular topics the sub-committee will advise the Collective Measures Committee to concentrate its attention. Such problems as the formation of an international legion, and the question of the relationship between United Nations collective security arrangements and regional defence machinery,

will no doubt come under examination. Even at this early stage, however, it is clear that many members have misgivings as to the practicability of organizing a supranational military legion under the United Nations, and there are similar indications of reluctance to have the Collective Measures Committee enter the realm of strategic planning.

Nevertheless, there seems to be general agreement that the Committee will make a positive contribution to the United Nations collective security system if it can produce a set of papers reviewing the whole field of sanctions as they might be applied in the event of a future breach of the peace. Studies of this kind might serve as a timely reminder to member states of their responsibilities for collective action under the United Nations. Furthermore, with League of Nations research in this field and Korean experience to draw upon, the Committee could perform a valuable function by detailing, for the guidance of member states, the many different spheres in which useful national contributions could be made to United Nations action against aggression.

Location of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly

At a plenary meeting held on March 20, 1951, the General Assembly decided that its Sixth Session would open in Paris not later than November 6.

The Assembly had already adopted on December 14, 1950, a proposal to hold the Session in Europe and had instructed the Secretary-General and the President of the Assembly to select the city most suitable and to make the appropriate arrangements. Canada has voted against this resolution, principally for reasons of economy and administrative convenience.

In accordance with the Assembly's decision of December 14, and after consultation with the President of the Assembly, the Secretary-General personally conducted a survey of facilities in Geneva, Paris, London and a number of other cities in France and the United Kingdom. During his tour he held discussions with the Swiss, French and United Kingdom Governments. Geneva was soon removed from the list of possibilities, and early in February the United Kingdom Government announced its inability to make available London or any other city in the United Kingdom for the 1951 meetings. Meanwhile, the French Government also announced that it had decided against inviting the Assembly to meet in Paris.

Having been unsuccessful in finding a suitable site, the President of the Assembly and the Secretary-General made it known early in February that they favoured abandoning the original plan of holding the Session in Europe. When the Assembly met to discuss the problem on February 13, however, the Bolivian Representative announced that he had information that a resolution had been introduced in the French National Assembly asking the French Government to extend an invitation to the Assembly to hold its Sixth Session in Paris. The General Assembly thereupon decided to withhold final decision until March 10 to give the French Government an opportunity to consider the matter and make its decision known. This interval was later extended by approximately a week on account of the French political crisis. On March 17, the French Delegation in New York informed the Secretary-General that Paris would in fact be available, but on certain specific conditions: the Assembly should not meet before November 6, 1951; in case of a "split Session" the General Assembly should be continued in Paris until its termination in January or February, if necessary; and the United Nations should share the cost of the extra expenditure involved.

On March 20, a meeting of the General Assembly was called to study this new proposal. The President of the Assembly submitted a resolution according to which the Assembly would accept the French invitation to meet in Paris but not later than

November 6, and provided that the total estimated cost of the Session would not exceed the amount of \$2,350,400 already allocated for this purpose in the 1951 Budget, "plus such additional amounts as may be authorized by transfer from other sections of the 1951 Budget". The latter part of the resolution was questioned by a number of delegations on the grounds that it was too vague and did not give adequate assurances regarding the financial implications of holding the Session in Paris. However, the resolution was finally adopted by a roll-call vote of 24 in favour, 17 against (including Canada) and 12 abstentions. Canada did not intervene in the debate but voted against the resolution for the same reasons as it had opposed the earlier resolution of December 14, 1950.*

Trusteeship Council

The Eighth Session of the Trusteeship Council completed its work on March 16, 1951. The proceedings were marked by a less critical attitude on the part of the non-administering members and as a result, except for the usual attacks by the Soviet Representative, the Council has worked in a much improved atmosphere over previous sessions.

The question of granting to Italy, as the authority responsible for the administration of Somaliland, "full participation" in the work of the Council, is perhaps the most important issue which has been raised at the current session. After having voted to admit Italy to participate in the debate on items affecting Somaliland, the Council adopted an Argentine resolution pointing out the desirability of assuring the full participation of the Italian Government in all aspects of its work, and requesting the General Assembly to include the matter in the agenda of its Sixth Session.

Meanwhile the change of administration in the trust territory of Somaliland seems to be proceeding smoothly, and the Italian Administrator has already implemented many of the provisions of the trusteeship agreement. The Territorial Council, which has been appointed by the Administrator from lists submitted by competent bodies and the main political parties, held its first meeting in Mogadiscio on January 29, 1951. The Council is composed of 35 members, of whom 28 are Somalis, two Italians, two Arabs, one is a representative of the Indo-Pakistan community, and two are representatives of economic interests. It is appointed for one year and will hold three sessions, with a permanent committee sitting during the intervals. It will be consulted by the Administrator on all important questions, except foreign policy and defence, and will eventually be replaced by an elective legislature, which, it is intended, will form the nucleus of the future parliament of Somaliland when the territory becomes independent.

Among other steps taken at its recent session, the Council set up a Special Committee to study the prevailing policies, laws and practices relating to the question of land tenure in the trust territories. This problem is a very complex one; and in particular the policy of the administering authorities with regard to the transfer of land to non-indigenous inhabitants has in the past been severely criticized. The new Committee will take into account the present and future needs of the indigenous people as well as the economic requirements of the trust territories, and report before the end of the next session of the Council.

The Council also discussed a series of recommendations made by the Assembly, among them two resolutions concerning technical assistance for trust territories, and the form which the Council's annual reports should take. This latter question, contrary to expectations, was not debated at great length. The problem of corporal punishment in trust territories resulted in longer discussion and led to a debate on

*See *External Affairs* for January 1951, p. 28.

the constitutional relationship between the Council and the Assembly. The Soviet Representative availed himself of this opportunity to raise once more the question of whether the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly were binding on the Trusteeship Council. He stated that in his view the administering authorities were obliged to carry out the terms of the Assembly resolution on the abolition of corporal punishment. The representative of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, however, took exception to his interpretation and he then reversed his statement to say that "the U.S.S.R. had never taken the position that the Assembly resolutions were obligatory." The Council merely took note of the Assembly resolution.

The Council decided on the itinerary and composition of the visiting mission which will go this year to the trust territories in East Africa (Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika and Italian Somaliland). The mission will include representatives of the Dominican Republic, New Zealand, Thailand and the United States, and will probably visit the territories between August and October 1951. China, New Zealand, Thailand and the United States were appointed to serve on the Council's Standing Committee on Administrative Unions, established in July 1950.



—National Defence

SPECIAL FORCE AT FORT LEWIS

Six thousand troops of the Canadian Army Special Force led by Brigadier J. M. Rockingham, Commanding Officer of the 25th Infantry Brigade, took part in a ceremonial parade held at Fort Lewis, Washington, for Lt. General G. G. Simonds, Chief of the General Staff.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

**Canada and the United Nations, 1950, Department of External Affairs, Conference Series 1950 No. 1.
The King's Printer, Ottawa, Canada. (Price 50 cents).**

Canada and the United Nations, 1950 is a comprehensive survey of the activities and accomplishments during 1950 of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, and of the participation by Canada in their work. It contains articles on each of the main political, economic and social subjects dealt with by the General Assembly and the Security Council. There are also articles on each of the Specialized Agencies, on the commissions of the Economic and Social Council and on legal, administrative and financial matters. The report is designed to give the reader an understanding of the kind of problems with which the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies have been faced during 1950; of the policies followed by Canadian representatives with respect to those problems; and of the reasons for the policies and the significance of the decisions reached. This book has been written as much for the general reader, who does not have a wide knowledge of United Nations affairs, as for the student or specialist.

Canada and the United Nations, 1950 opens with an analytical preface by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs. In this preface, Mr. Pearson assessed the achievements of the United Nations, as well as the limitations under which it operated during 1950, the most difficult period through which it has passed in its short lifetime. He concludes with these words:

In this time of crisis in the United Nations, it is essential that the Free World maintain its principles, while at the same time recognizing and making allowance for the limitations upon its power and resources. We must make clear that we are firmly opposed to aggression of all kinds and that if at times we are unable to meet aggression with the firmness we would wish, it is because we do not yet possess the arms to do so. We should not be ashamed to profess at the same time that the principal purpose of the United Nations is to make peace rather than wage war, and that we must, therefore, no matter how strong we may become, be prepared with patience and imagination to prolong our efforts to reach a settlement.

Undoubtedly the aggression in Korea, which directly affected the lives of so many people, has made the general public much more aware of the United Nations. Canadian troops are fighting in Korea side by side with those of many other countries. In its leading article on Korea this book tries to explain the background of the Korean crisis and the political and military developments which took place from the morning of June 25 until the end of 1950. Following the Korean article, there are articles on such subjects as Formosa, the former Italian colonies, Palestine, Greece, Spain and Kashmir. The first chapter of the report also includes a comprehensive article entitled "Peace and Security Proposals" which deals with the measures which the General Assembly took during its Fifth Session to ensure that the ultimate responsibility of the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace will not be abdicated because of the failure of the Security Council to agree on collective measures to resist aggression.

Chapter II of the report is concerned with economic and social matters. It opens with a survey of the work of the Economic and Social Council and this is followed by articles on what the United Nations has done, or is planning to do, to help the victims of the Korean war; to help other under-developed countries, through technical assistance and other means, to raise their standard of living; and to help to feed and clothe the children of poorer countries through the International Children's Emergency Fund.

The Specialized Agencies are each given individual treatment in an effort to show the reader how much valuable and often little-publicized work is being done

by these autonomous bodies operating within the United Nations system. The report is rounded out with chapters on dependent territories, and on the legal, administrative and financial questions with which the United Nations has been concerned during the past year. The appendix contains some of the more important resolutions and extracts from statements by Canadian representatives. In addition, there is a chart showing the structure of the United Nations and a list of members of the more important organs. To enable the reader to follow the Korean article, a map has been reproduced in the appropriate section. There are also maps of Kashmir and the former Italian colonies.

The French language version entitled "Le Canada et les Nations Unies" will be reviewed in the May issue of *Affaires Extérieures*.

Other Publications

(Obtainable at the King's Printer at the price indicated).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 5: Convention between Canada and the United States of America for the Extension of Port Privileges to Halibut Fishing Vessels on the Pacific Coasts of the United States of America and Canada. Signed at Ottawa, March 24, 1950. Price, 10 cents. (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 14: Agreement between Canada and New Zealand relating to Air Transport. Signed at Wellington, August 16, 1950. Price, 15 cents. (Bilingual).

Treaty Series, 1950, No. 15: Exchange of Notes between Canada and the United States of America giving Formal Effect to the "Statement of Principles for Economic Co-operation". Signed at Washington, October 26, 1950. Price, 10 cents. (Bilingual).

Canadian Representatives Abroad and Representatives of Other Countries in Canada, March 15, 1951. Price, 25 cents.

The: The King's Printer, Ottawa, Canada

I wish to receive (Copy) of:
(Copies)

- Canada and the United Nations, 1950, Conference Series, 1950, No. 1
(Price 50c.)
- Canada and the United Nations, 1949, Conference Series, 1949, No. 1
(Price 50c.)
- Canada and the United Nations, 1948, Conference Series, 1948, No. 1
(Price 50c.)
- Canada and the United Nations, 1947, Conference Series, 1947, No. 1
(Price 50c.)

I enclose a remittance in the amount of \$, payable to the Receiver-General of Canada.

Name

Mailing Address

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. J. R. McKinney was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation in Yugoslavia, effective March 18, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Mr. Alfonso Arias-Schreiber, Third Secretary, Embassy of Peru, February 22. Mr. Arias-Schreiber is married.

Captain Luis J. Cornes, Naval Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, March 2.

Mr. D. R. Kawatra, Third Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for India, March 9. Mr. Kawatra is married.

Departures

Mr. B. P. Adarkar, Commercial Counsellor, Office of the High Commissioner for India, February 28.

Vice-Admiral Luis F. Merlo Flores, Naval Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, March 1.

Colonel José Kahl, Jr., Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, March 15.

Mr. Mikhail V. Degtiar, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, left Ottawa on February 29 for the Soviet Union on leave. During his absence, Mr. Leonid Teplov, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

For reasons of economy, the office of the Commercial Counsellor to the High Commissioner for India located in the Royal Bank Building, Toronto, was closed effective March 1, 1951. Trade matters are now being dealt with by the High Commissioner's Office in Ottawa.

CONSULAR

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Dr. Joachim-Friedrich Ritter as Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Ottawa, March 12.

Dr. Wolf-Dietrich Weiss as Vice-Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Ottawa, March 12.

Mr. Cyrus B. Follmer as Consul of the United States of America at Calgary, March 14. Mr. Follmer was previously Consul at Ottawa.

Mr. Charles Francis Stoppani as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, March 14.

Mr. George A. Berkley as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, March 14. Mr. Berkley was previously Vice-Consul at Hamilton.

Mr. Warren L. Swope as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Saint John, N.B., March 20.

Mr. José Luis Ceron as Consul of Spain at Montreal, March 29.

Departures

Mr. William A. Mitchell, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Saint John, N.B., March 2.

Mr. Stanley T. Hayes, Vice-Consul of the

United States of America at Montreal, March 6.

Mr. J. William Henry, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, March 13.

Mr. Alfredo Teixeira Valladao, Consul of Brazil at Toronto, end of March.

Mr. Arnaldo Caviglia resumed his duties as Vice-Consul of Argentina at Halifax, March 2. Mr. Jose Vicente Ayestaran who was in charge of the Consulate during Mr. Caviglia's absence has returned to Quebec City and resumed his duties there as Vice-Consul.

Mr. Jorge Romero, Consul General of Peru at Montreal, left on March 10 for a period of three months on leave. During his absence, Mr. Mariano de Yturralde, Consul General of Spain in that city, will look after the consular interests of Peru.

Mr. Guillermo F. Mejia, Vice-Consul of Argentina at Montreal will be in charge of the Consulate General in that city pending the appointment of a successor to Mr. Pedro Bonnefon, former Consul General.

The address of the Consulate General of the Federal Republic of Germany at Ottawa is now: 580 Chapel Street, telephone number 2-1102.

New Appointment

Mr. B. B. Rae, Trade Commissioner for New Zealand at Montreal, March 7.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of March 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier Conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs").

CONTINUING BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1951, for a complete List of Continuing Boards and Commissions).

CONFERENCES ATTENDED IN MARCH

1. *Multilateral Tariff Negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.* Torquay, England — September 28-April 21. L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, Chairman; H. B. McKinnon, Canadian Tariff Board, Deputy Chairman; J. J. Deutsch, W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarrett and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.
2. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris — February 15. Observer: Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Mission, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
3. *Twelfth Session of ECOSOC.* Santiago—February 20-March 21. Representative: J. D. Kearney, Canadian Ambassador to Argentina; Alternate: J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Embassy, Washington; Principal Adviser: Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs; Advisers: G. V. Beaudry, Canadian Embassy, Santiago; A. R. Crépault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York, Secretary.
4. *Standing Committee on Copper, Zinc and Lead.* Washington — February 26. Representative: S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; Alternate: M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy Washington.
5. *United States-Canada Discussions on Frequency Assignment Plans for Bands Below 4000 kc.* Washington—February 26-March 9. Chairman: C. J. Acton, Department of Transport; A. J. Dawson, Department of Transport; Lt. R. M. Dunbar, R.C.N.; Capt. L. H. Wylie, Canadian Army; Flt. Lt. W. D. Benton, R.C.A.F.; G. E. Cox, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
6. *114th Session of the Governing Body of ILO.* Geneva — February 26-March 10. Delegate: A. H. Brown, Department of Labour; Alternate: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
7. *Standing Committee on Sulphur.* Washington — March 1. Representative: S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; Alternate: M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
8. *North American Wildlife Conference.* Milwaukee, Wis.—March 4-7. Dr. H. F. Lewis, Chief, Canadian Wildlife Service; Dr. V. E. F. Solman, Canadian Wildlife Service; D. G. Colls, Dominion Wildlife Officer for Manitoba and Saskatchewan.
9. *Standing Committee on Cotton and Cotton Linters.* Washington—March 5. Representative: S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
10. *Study Groups Nos 9 and 10 of the International Telegraph Consultative Committee.* Geneva—March 6-22. Head of Delegation: K. B. Ralph, Department of Transport; J. R. Lamb, Canadian Overseas Telecommunications Corporation; T. D. Merrigan, Representative of C.N.R. and C.P.R.

11. *Standing Committee on Manganese, Nickel and Cobalt*. Washington—March 12. Representative: S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; Alternate: Mr. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
12. *First South American Congress on Petroleum*. Montevideo—March 12-16. C. S. Bissett, Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires. (Observer).
13. *Inter-American Conference on Social Security*. Buenos Aires—March 12-31. Delegate: Col. J. G. Bisson, Unemployment Insurance Commission; Alternate: L. Roy, Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires.
14. *Extraordinary Conference of Directors of International Meteorological Organization*. Paris—March 15. Dr. A. Thomson, Department of Transport, Toronto.
15. *Seventh Session of the Social Commission of United Nations*. Geneva—March 17. R. B. Curry, Department of National Health and Welfare.
16. *First Congress of World Meteorological Organization*. Paris—March 19. Delegate: Dr. A. Thomson, Department of Transport, Toronto; Alternate: Dr. J. Patterson, Department of Transport; Adviser: O. G. Stoner, Canadian Embassy, Paris.
17. *International Materials Conference (Central Group)*. Washington—March 21. Representative: J. H. English, Canadian Embassy, Washington; Alternate: S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce.
18. *Special Session of Contracting Parties to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*. Torquay—March 29-April 21. L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, Chairman; H. B. McKinnon, Canadian Tariff Board, Deputy Chairman; W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarrett and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.

CONFERENCES TO BE HELD IN APRIL AND MAY

1. *First Meeting of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission*. Washington—April 2-14.
2. *Ninth Session of the Executive Committee of IRO*. Geneva—April 4.
3. *Seventh Session of the General Council of IRO*. Geneva—April 9.
4. *Meeting of Special Committee to Study Draft International Sanitary Regulations (WHO)*. Geneva—April 9.
5. *International Conference on Rubber*. Rome—April 9.
6. *Sixth Session of the Narcotic Drugs Commission*. New York—April 10-May.
7. *North Atlantic Treaty Organization—Conference of Experts on Information*. London—April 12-14.
8. *Eighth Session of the International Rubber Study Group*. Rome—April 16.
9. *Ad Hoc Committee on Organization and Operation of ECOSOC*. New York—April 16-27.
10. *Sixth Session of the Administrative Council of ITU*. Geneva—April 16.
11. *North Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping*. London—April 23.
12. *Fourth Session of the Coal Mines Committee of ILO*. Geneva—May 7-19.
13. *78th Annual Meeting of the Conference of Social Work*. Atlantic City, N.J.—May 13-18.
14. *Third World Petroleum Congress*. The Hague—May 28-June 6.
15. *Fifth Annual Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers*. Mexico—May 28-June 8.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY CANADA

France

Convention between Canada and France for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on incomes. Signed at Paris on March 16, 1951.

Convention between Canada and France for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to succession duties. Signed at Paris on March 16, 1951.

United States of America

Convention between Canada and the United States of America relating to the operation by citizens of either country of certain radio equipment or stations in the other country. Signed at Ottawa on February 8, 1951.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

**World Report 1949-1950* (Preliminary edition)—Prepared by the Secretariat; 29 January 1951; document 1/1910; 392 p.

a) *Review of Economic Conditions in Africa*; 5 February 1951; document E/1910/Add.1; 229 p.

b) *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East*; 31 January 1951; document E/1910/Add.2; 135 p.

Progress made by the United Nations in the field of social activities in 1950 (January to December 1950)—Report by the Secretariat; 17 January 1951; document E/CN.5/240; 49 p.; Annex 32 p.

(b) Printed Documents:

**Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during the period 19 September to 15 December 1950*; document A/1775; 80 p.; 80 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Fifth Session, Supplement No. 20.

**Review of International Commodity Problems 1950* (Interim Co-ordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements); January 1951; document E/1907; 63 p.; 70 cents; Sales No.: 1951.II.D.1.

**Training for Social Work—An International Survey*; 23 October 1950; document E/CN.5/196/Rev.1; 248 p.; \$2.00; Sales No.: 1950.IV.II. (Department of Social Affairs).

**Methods of Social Welfare Administration*; 25 October 1950; document E/CN.5/224; 299 p.; \$2.50; Sales No.: 1950.IV.10 (Department of Social Affairs).

**Yearbook of the United Nations 1948-49*; 1171 p.; \$12.50; Sales No.: 1950.I.11.

Statistical Yearbook 1949-50; (Second Issue); bilingual; 555 p.; \$6.00; Sales No.: 1950.XVII.3 (Department of Economic Affairs).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 51/8—*The International Joint Commission*, an address by General A.G.L. McNaughton on the International Joint Commission, with particular reference to the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project, delivered to the Electric Club of Toronto on February 28, 1951.

No. 51/10—*The Universities and International Understanding in the Free World*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, at a special Convocation at the University of Western Ontario, London, on March 7, 1951.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 51/7—*Canada's Role in the Defence of the Free World*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, delivered to the Commercial Club of Chicago, on February 27, 1951.

adian Economy, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, delivered to the Joint Annual Meeting of the Association of Municipal Electrical Utilities and the Ontario Municipal Electric Association, in Toronto, on February 27, 1951.

No. 51/9—*Hydro-Electric Power in the Can-*

*French version not available until noted in future issue of "External Affairs".

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations, Secretariat, Lake Success, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE KOREAN CRISIS

EARLY in the morning of April 11 an announcement was issued on behalf of the President of the United States that General Douglas MacArthur had been relieved of all his military commands, including that of the United Nations Forces in Korea. In his statement to the public the President declared:

With deep regret I have concluded that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is unable to give his wholehearted support to the policies of the United States Government and of the United Nations in matters pertaining to his official duties. In view of the specific responsibilities imposed upon me by the Constitution of the United States and the added responsibility which has been entrusted to me by the United Nations, I have decided that I must make a change of command in the Far East. I have, therefore, relieved General MacArthur of his commands and have designated Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway as his successor.

The President's communication to General MacArthur was as follows:

I deeply regret that it becomes my duty as President and Commander in Chief of the United States military forces to replace you as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers; Commander-in-Chief, United Nations Command; Commander-in-Chief, Far East; and Commanding General, U.S. Army, Far East.

You will turn over your commands, effective at once, to Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway. You are authorized to have issued such orders as are necessary to complete desired travel to such place as you select.

President Explains Action

The same evening President Truman explained his action and enunciated United States policy in the Far East with particular emphasis on Korea. He expressed the government's policy, in the simplest terms, as the prevention of a third world war; to this end it was the Government's aim to localize the Korean War, repel aggression, and restore peace. He made it clear that the United States Government would not take the initiative in extending the war but said that it might be spread by the Communist rulers: "they have that choice, and with it the awful responsibility for what may follow". He said that the door was always open to the Communists for a settlement of the Korean conflict on the basis of an end to the fighting, insurance against its resumption, and an end of the aggression. On these terms he declared the way would be open for the unification of Korea and withdrawal of all foreign troops.

For some time it had been apparent that there was a wide difference of view between General MacArthur and his Commander-in-Chief. Widespread surprise had been evoked by the General's statement of March 24, which was interpreted to mean that United Nations military operations would be extended to China if his offer to discuss an end to the fighting was rejected, and which asserted that the Korean problem should be settled apart from other Far Eastern issues.

Uncertainty Increased

Early in April the general uncertainty was increased by two or more indications of General MacArthur's opinions. On April 5 Representative Joseph Martin, Republican Leader in the House of Representatives, published a letter written to him by the General on March 20. In it General MacArthur advocated the use of the Chinese Nationalist forces on Formosa to open a second front on the Chinese mainland. He went on to say:

It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefield; that here we fight Europe's

war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to communism in Asia the fall of Europe is inevitable; win it and Europe most probably would avoid war yet preserve freedom.

The special significance of this statement lay in its direct opposition to the decision of the United States Government that Western Europe should be considered the main front to be defended against Communist imperialism.

The publication of General MacArthur's letter to Representative Martin was followed two days later by the publication of an interview with the military correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph in which General MacArthur was reported as having said that if the politicians would "take the wraps off", the United Nations forces could defeat the Chinese Communists easily enough; that there should be a naval blockade of the coast of the Chinese mainland and attacks on the Chinese railway system; and that Russian intervention in such circumstances would be improbable.

Secretary-General's Statement

Without commenting directly on General MacArthur's statements, the Secretary-General of the United Nations emphasized at a press conference on April 6 that the United Nations had two objectives in Korea "and only two", firstly, to repel aggression and to restore peace and security, and secondly to make possible a united, independent, free and democratic Korea. He declared that the purpose of the United Nations in its armed struggle with the enemy was to diminish, not to increase, the danger of the conflict widening into a third world war. He asserted that the military commitment ended with the first objective; in the second it was replaced by the peaceful means of negotiation, conciliation and economic assistance.

A few days after General MacArthur's removal the North Korean Government sent a communication to the United Nations denouncing United States and South Korean atrocities in the same way as in its seventeen preceding communications. Apart from this major theme there was a minor reference to the means by which a peaceful settlement could be found for the Korean dispute, the chief points being withdrawal of United States and other armed forces, discussion of Far Eastern problems by the five major powers, and peaceful settlement of the Korean dispute by the Korean people themselves. The Asian-Arab group at the United Nations held several meetings to study the communication in the hope that its mention of peaceful settlement and its timing so soon after General MacArthur's dismissal might signify a desire to negotiate.

President's Policy Defended

President Truman's Far Eastern policy was defended before the United States public in an address by General Bradley, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on April 17, in Chicago, and in another by Mr. Acheson, the Secretary of State, the following evening in Washington. General Bradley warned that there was no early end in sight to the Korean war, he reaffirmed the Government's intention to limit the fighting to Korea, if at all possible, and thus prevent a third world war. Mr. Acheson likewise opposed extension of the war by United States initiative. He said that "it will be clear to the world that if there is an expansion of the conflict in Korea or if a world conflict should result from it the responsibility will rest square on the Kremlin and its agents in Peking".

MacArthur Addresses Congress

In addressing a joint session of both Houses of Congress on April 19 General MacArthur repeated the views which had brought about his dismissal and went a step further by claiming that the Joint Chiefs of Staff shared them. He advocated

the bombing of Manchurian bases, a naval blockade of the Chinese coast, an increased economic blockade, air reconnaissance along the coast, and support of an attack by the Chinese Nationalists on the mainland; he was emphatic that under no circumstances should Formosa fall under Communist control.

For the first three weeks of April there was little military activity on the Korean front. Lest the enemy's failure to launch its long-heralded spring offensive should produce a relaxation of effort in the United Nations and by its forces, General Ridgway, the United Nations Commander-in-Chief, warned in a statement of April 10:

The Communists won't call this thing off. As far as they are concerned this is an all-out life and death struggle; though they may vary their timing, tactics and strategy they never vary their objectives. There is no end of the war in sight unless there is a political settlement and I know of no negotiation for that.

During this period there were rumours of an impending offensive from Manchurian bases and some speculation on the counter measures which might have to be taken by the United Nations forces in this event.

Communists Launch Attack

On April 22, the Communist forces launched a heavy ground attack on the central front with supporting action along the entire line. United Nations forces withdrew slowly to prepared positions along and south of the 38th parallel. In view of the heavy casualties being inflicted upon the enemy and the strong resistance to his advance there arose the possibility that the offensive might be enlarged by air attacks from Manchurian bases. Speculation on possible counter measures to be taken increased. In reply to a question in the House of Commons on this subject the Secretary of State for External Affairs expressed the Government's view on April 26.

Some five months ago the government informed the United States Government in response to an inquiry from that government,—they brought the matter up—that, though a strong case could be made under international law that the United Nations Commander-in-Chief had the right to retaliate against any air attacks launched from Manchuria, we considered it important (as indeed did other governments) that no military operations take place outside Korean borders without specific authority from the United Nations.

Since that time various aspects of the Korean operations have been the subject of discussions in Washington, as indeed I have previously indicated in the House, between representatives of the countries having forces in Korea.

So far, however, the Canadian Government has received no request for concurrence in any proposal to authorize United Nations' retaliation upon enemy air bases outside Korea, probably for the very good reason that there has been no massive enemy air bombing from Manchuria. If there is such air intervention, for the consequences of which the Chinese Communists would have to bear full responsibility, it is our view that those countries with forces in Korea and participating in military operations there, should be consulted in regard to the implications of that action, that is air bombing, and in regard to any retaliatory action which may be required to meet it. However, it is of course possible to visualize a situation where immediate retaliatory action which may be required to meet it. However, it is of course possible to visualize a situation where immediate retaliatory action without consultation might be unavoidable in pursuing enemy bombers back to the Manchurian air bases from which they came. The decision on the spot to take such immediate retaliatory action would, presumably, be based on over-riding considerations of military security. In any discussions regarding more general retaliatory action against Manchurian air bases, the decision to authorize such action would, as we see it, have to balance very carefully local military considerations against the risk of precipitating a further extension of the war and the effect of such an extension on the security of United Nations forces in Korea, and the accomplishment of United Nations aims there.

At the end of the month United Nations forces were again south of the 38th parallel, holding a line which ran across the peninsula a few miles north of Seoul.

In the United Nations, the sub-committee of the Additional Measures Committee met on April 17 and again the following day. It agreed unanimously to recommend to the full committee that when new measures were considered against Communist China priority should be given to a study of economic sanctions.



—Canada Wide

ICAO HEADQUARTERS AGREEMENT SIGNED

A Headquarters Agreement formalizing the status and establishment in Canada of the International Civil Aviation Organization, was signed at Montreal on April 14, 1951, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, and the President of the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, Dr. Edward Warner. Above, left to right: Mr. Pearson; Dr. Warner; Dr. Albert Roper, Secretary-General of ICAO; and, behind Mr. Pearson, Dr. E. Pépin, Head of the Legal Bureau, ICAO.

CANADA, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND A TWO-POWER WORLD

Statements made by Mr. L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

The United Nations and World Security*

... As we all know, the comparative harmony between the great powers which existed in the spring of 1945 has been shattered. The problem of what the role of the United Nations should now be in security matters — a problem which is troubling many who sincerely believe in collective action to prevent war as our only hope for peace — springs ultimately from that fact.

The issue has been raised in concrete and almost frightening form by the unprovoked attack on the Republic of Korea which occurred last June. The Soviet Union at that time had absented itself from the Security Council; and that fortuitous circumstance allowed the issue to appear with particular sharpness. We all know what action was taken by the Security Council last June. On the initiative of the United States, the North Korean Government was declared an aggressor. That initiative we honour, but it came, I think, as a surprise to most observers and without it, let us not forget, any effective United Nations action, certainly any military action, would not have been possible or even, I think, attempted. Fifty-three members of the United Nations supported this decision, and resistance to the aggression was organized through the Security Council.

The Dilemma Implicit in Korea

... I am not being cynical, or lacking in admiration for the leadership given at that time, when I say that the United States decision to lead and help organize the United Nations in its resistance to North Korean aggression was perhaps somewhat easier than it might have been because at that time the possible consequences of the course on which we were embarking had not been fully revealed. That was only to happen in November when the intervention of the Chinese Communists showed unmistakably the degree of support which the puppet regime in North Korea could count on from its friends in China, and, indeed, in the Soviet Union. In general, it was possible, even easy to believe in June 1950 that this was *not* a case where a great power was involved or would intervene, and that if the aggression by North Korean forces were defeated those who had encouraged the attack in the hope of increasing the area in the world under Communist domination would be prepared to write off the defeat as a consequence of a miscalculation. Such a triumph for the United Nations in defeating an aggression would have been — and would still be — a tremendous development for security in other parts of Asia and the world. After all, this had happened on at least two other occasions. When the Greek Government had beaten off the attacks made across their borders by neighbouring Communist states and had shown that with financial assistance and arms from the United States and other Western countries they were prepared to resist similar attacks in future, those attacks gradually died away. Also, when the Soviet Union ultimately accepted the fact that they could not starve out Berlin without risking a general war, they abandoned the attempt and a settlement over Berlin became possible. Last spring it was thought that the Soviet Union and its friends and allies were still not prepared to run the risk of World War III. If that were true, United Nations action against

* The following passages are taken from an address delivered by Mr. L. B. Pearson to a meeting of the Canadian Bar Association on March 31, 1951. The complete official text is No. 51/13 of the Department's Statements and Speeches series and may be obtained on application to the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

the North Korean aggressors might be expected to lead to a settlement in Korea, and have a salutary effect throughout the Far East. These calculations, as we now know, were not well founded. But they were widely shared and seemed realistic on the basis of the information available to us at that time. It was only when it became plain towards the end of last year that the Soviet Union and the People's Government of China were prepared to run the risk of a general war over Korea that the dilemma of how far the United Nations could and should go in enforcing by military action collective security in a two-power world became most acute. We are still faced squarely with that dilemma.

The Principles Necessary for a Solution

... Our security machinery is now streamlined so as to circumvent the Security Council veto, and to permit quicker and more broadly based United Nations action, through the Assembly. But we are faced now indeed more directly than ever with the question whether the United Nations should try to take military enforcement measures against a secondary aggressor when that action might either dissipate our strength in the face of the main aggressor or lead to a new world war in which our strength would be so dissipated. What should we do if the main aggressor should exploit the provisions of the Charter for the maintenance of the peace everywhere, in order to weaken us so that one day the peace cannot be maintained anywhere? What can we do to prevent the principle of collective security being used to weaken collective security in practice? There is no doubt that this poses a serious problem and one which we should think over very carefully.

The outlines of a way out of this dilemma, what the role of the United Nations should be in trying to maintain general security in a two-power world, are beginning to emerge. Those outlines require acceptance of the following principles:

- (a) In every situation, our obligation under the Charter to do whatever we can to maintain the principle of collective security should be discharged. In other words, we must recognize unprovoked aggression, whether committed by great or small powers, for what it is, and take appropriate action. This action may have to vary, however, according to circumstances.
- (b) We should never formally condemn an aggressor until the fact of his aggression is clearly proven by impartial evidence, and until the mediatory and conciliatory functions of the United Nations have been exhausted.
- (c) Condemnation of aggression should not mean that in every case economic and military sanctions must follow. The enforcement action to be taken against an aggressor must be related to the practicability of such action; to the general strategic and political situation, and to the possibility of such enforcement action weakening the peaceful and law abiding powers in other areas, thereby tempting another and a far more serious threat to the peace.
- (d) We should recognize our limitations in this way, even when condemnatory action has to be taken. There is nothing immoral in this. It is immoral, however, when passing resolutions at the United Nations condemning aggressors, to give the impression that they will be followed by strong and effective economic and military action, when we know that, in fact, such action will not or cannot be taken. It was not, for instance, the reluctance of the League of Nations to condemn the aggression of Fascist Italy against Abyssinia, which so fatally weakened that organization. That condemnation was easy and it was given in ringing and defiant resolutions and speeches. The wrong done was in giving the impression that these resolutions would be implemented, and then doing nothing about it.

Canada and Communist Chinese Aggression

If we apply these principles to the present situation in Korea, what conclusions do we reach? We were right, I think, in voting for the U.S. resolution of February condemning Communist Chinese aggression. I still think, however, it was unwise to force a vote on that Resolution until we had made a further and final effort at negotiation along lines which would have picked up Peking's ambiguous reply to the Cease-Fire group's proposals, and confronted that government with a detailed and practical programme for implementing those proposals; one which would have had to be rejected or accepted, and which could not have been used for bargaining or delaying purposes.

We were right, I think, in refusing to allow the resolution of condemnation to be followed by immediate enforcement action against the Peking Government. This would not, in my view, have been effective in ending the war in Korea; it would have been effective in extending the conflict to the mainland of China, with all the political and military consequences of such extension. I am not one of those who think that the Peking regime would soon collapse from such a conflict. I *am* one of those who think that Moscow would be its main and possibly only beneficiary. We should not, therefore, in my view, take any avoidable action against China or in Korea which would weaken what is still the main front of the Free World — Western Europe.

The Conditions for a Settlement

From this it follows we should continue to localize the war in Korea and end it as soon as possible. We should do this, if we can, by negotiating terms of peace, which will be honourable and will not be a betrayal of our obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. We must not forget, however, that while one side can begin a war it takes both sides to end it. If negotiation is not possible, we have no alternative but to do our best to stabilize the military position, force the aggressor to pay as high a price as possible for his crime, avoid rash actions and words and unnecessary provocation in doing this, and hope that the Chinese Communists will soon desire to extricate themselves from a dangerous and costly adventure.

The safety of those who are fighting in Korea is a first consideration. It should be possible, however, to maintain our military position in Korea while keeping the door open for every possible opportunity to negotiate a settlement. This means refusing to be stampeded into action, such as a massive attack towards the Manchurian border, if such action were possible militarily but felt to be unwise politically. The chances for a settlement in Korea are also not increased by the kind of talk which weakens the unity of action of those who are participating in that operation.

Two Threats to Unity of Action

There are, I think, two main threats to this unity of action. One is a feeling of impatience and even irritation in the United States, that, while they are bearing the brunt of the fighting, their friends in the United Nations do not give them sufficient backing, even in *Lake Success*. I think that we should recognize this feeling, just as we should gratefully recognize the special responsibility which the United States has accepted and the leadership it is giving in the struggle against Russian Communist imperialism. Such recognition carries with it the obligation to co-operate and to give support. But this support, if it is to have any value, does not mean an automatic response of "Ready, aye ready" to everything that Washington proposes. It may mean constructive criticism of, and even opposition to, courses or proposals which we in Canada may think are unwise and concerning which it is our duty to express our views. I know that such criticism and opposition will be exploited by our Communist

enemies for their own nefarious purposes. Because of this we should put forward our point of view, whenever we can, in private and try to persuade our friends as to its reasonableness. If we succeed, well and good. If we do not, we will have to decide whether to maintain our position in public or whether to abandon it because the acceptance of our view-point may not be so important as the maintenance of the united front.

The other danger to our free world unity arises when those who have been charged by the United Nations with military responsibility make controversial pronouncements which go far beyond that responsibility, and create confusion, disquiet and even discord. It seems to me to be as unwise, indeed as dangerous, for the generals to intervene in international policy matters as it would be for the diplomats to try to lay down military strategy. This is a case, I think, where the specialist should stick to his specialty. Otherwise, unnecessary difficulties are created, and that whole-hearted co-operation between friends which is so essential is hindered.

The Appearance of Disunity: a Comfort to the Enemy

These difficulties are, I hope and believe, only chips off the block of unity. We should try to prevent them, of course, but they cannot destroy or even dangerously weaken the structure itself. Their greatest danger lies in the hopes they may arouse in totalitarian minds, that the free democracies are divided and therefore becoming weaker. Dictators, as we know from grim experience, feed on, indeed often act on, such false hopes. They count on conquest by division. So in our international relations, as in our domestic policies, let us give Communist dictators no more of this comfort than we can help. . . .

Canada in the United Nations*

. . . What should our role be in the United Nations? Indeed, what should the role of the world organization itself be in the present conflict? I have tried to make my own views known in this matter in recent statements, and I do not wish to go over the ground again here. But I would say this: that we must be sure, so far as we can ever be sure, that the United Nations remains the instrument of the collective policy of all its members for the preservation of peace and the prevention or defeat of aggression, and does not become too much the instrument of any one country. I am not suggesting that this has happened or is going to happen, but it is something that we should guard against. If, however, the United Nations is to be such a genuine international organization in this sense, all of its members, except the Soviet Communist bloc who have no interest in it except as an agency for advancing their own aggressive purposes, must play a part in deed as well as in word. We must be careful not to be stampeded into rash decisions which cannot be carried out but we must *all* contribute to the implementation of decisions freely and responsibly made. I do not think that we in Canada have any reason to apologize for the part that we have played in this regard. Our record in the United Nations is a worthy one. However, I do not think that we should be asked, in the United Nations or elsewhere, to support automatically policies which are proposed by others if we have serious doubts about their wisdom. We must reserve the right, for instance, to criticize even the policy of our great friend, the United States, if we feel it necessary to do so. There are, however, two reservations to this. First, we must recognize and pay tribute to the leadership being given and the efforts being made by the United States in the conflict against Communist imperialism, and realize that if this

* The following are extracts from an address made by Mr. Pearson before the Empire and Canadian Clubs of Toronto on April 10, 1951. The complete official text is No. 51/14 of the Department's Statements and Speeches series and may be obtained on application to the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

leadership were not given we would have little chance of success in the common struggle. Secondly, we must never forget that our enemy gleefully welcomes every division in the free democratic ranks and that, therefore, there will be times when we should abandon our position if it is more important to maintain unity in the face of the common foe. This reconciliation of our right to differ and the necessity for unity, is going to be a tough problem for anyone charged with responsibility for foreign policy decisions in this, or indeed in any free country.

Canadian-American Relations

This brings me squarely up against a matter which is very much in my mind, as I know it is in yours, the question of Canadian-American relations in this two-power world of conflict. It is, I think, one of the most difficult and delicate problems of foreign policy that has yet faced the Canadian people, their Parliament and their Government, and it will require those qualities of good sense, restraint, and self-reliance which the Canadian people have shown in the past. It was not so long ago that Canada's foreign relations were of importance only within the Commonwealth, more particularly in our relations with the United Kingdom. These former Canadian-Commonwealth problems seem to me to have been now pretty well solved. At least the right principles have been established and accepted which makes their solution fairly easy. We have in the Commonwealth reached independence without sacrificing co-operation. We stand on our own feet, but we try to walk together. There is none or at least little of the touchiness on our part, which once must have complicated relations with Downing Street, and there is now certainly none of the desire to dominate which we used to detect in Whitehall. We have got beyond this in Canada-U.K. relations, and we deal with each other now, on a basis of confidence and friendship, as junior and senior partners in a joint and going concern. In our relations with the United Kingdom we have come of age and have abandoned the sensitiveness of the debutante. This has been made easier because any worry we once may have had, and we had it, that British imperialism or continentalism might pull us into far away wars not of our own making or choosing, has passed. We now accept wholeheartedly the Commonwealth of Nations as a valuable and proven instrument for international co-operation; as a great agency for social and economic progress, and possibly, at the present time, most important of all, as a vital and almost the only bridge between the free West and the free East. I think also that in the post-war years we have come to appreciate, as possibly never before, the wisdom, tolerance, and far-sighted steadiness of vision of the British people. As their material power has decreased, at least temporarily, because of the unparalleled sacrifices they have made in two world wars, I think that our need for these other British qualities has increased in the solution of international difficulties. This, in my mind, has never been shown more clearly than in the events of the last six months at the United Nations or in the Far East.

The Technique of International Friendship

With the United States our relations grow steadily closer as we recognize that our destinies, economic and political, are inseparable in the Western Hemisphere, and that Canada's hope for peace depends largely on the acceptance by the United States of responsibility for world leadership and on how that responsibility is discharged. With this closeness of contact and with, I hope, our growing maturity goes a mutual understanding and a fundamental friendliness. This makes it possible for us to talk with a frankness and confidence to the United States, which is not misunderstood there except possibly by a minority who think that we shouldn't talk at all, or who complain that if we do, our accents are too English! But we need not try to deceive ourselves that because our close relations with our great neighbour are so close, they will always be smooth and easy. There will be difficulties and frictions. These, however, will be easier to settle if the United States realizes that while we

are most anxious to work with her and support her in the leadership she is giving to the free world, we are not willing to be merely an echo of somebody else's voice. It would be easier also if it were recognized by the United States at this time that we in Canada have had our own experience of tragedy and suffering and loss in war. In our turn, we should be careful not to transfer the suspicions and touchiness and hesitations of yesteryear from London to Washington. Nor should we get unduly hot and bothered over all the pronouncements of journalists or generals or politicians which we do not like, though there may be, indeed *are* some on which we have a right to express our views especially when those pronouncements have a direct effect on action and policy which we have undertaken together. More important, we must convince the United States by action rather than merely by word that we are, in fact, pulling our weight in this international team. But this does not mean that we should be told that until we do one-twelfth or one-sixteenth, or some other fraction as much as they are doing in any particular enterprise, we are defaulting. It would also help if the United States took more notice of what we do do, and, indeed occasionally of what we say. It is disconcerting, for instance, that about the only time the American people seem to be aware of our existence, in contrast say to the existence of a Latin American republic, is when we do something that they do not like, or do not do something which they would like. I can explain what I mean by an illustration. The United States would certainly have resented it, and rightly so, if we in Canada had called her a reluctant contributor to reconstruction in 1946 because her loan to the United Kingdom was only three times as large as ours, while her national income was seventeen or eighteen times as large. In our turn, most of us resent being called, by certain people in the United States, a reluctant friend because Canada, a smaller power with special problems of its own, ten years at war out of the last thirty, on the threshold of a great and essential pioneer development, and with half a continent to administer, was not able to match, even proportionately, the steps taken by the United States last June and subsequently, which were required by United Nations decisions about Korea; decisions which, I admit, caught us by surprise.

A Joint Pursuit of Common Objectives

The leadership then given by the United States rightly won our admiration, and the steps that she has taken to implement them since, deserve our deep gratitude. The rest of the world naturally, however, took some time to adjust herself to a somewhat unexpected state of affairs. Canada, in my view at least, in not making the adjustment more quickly, should surely not be criticized more than, say, Argentina or Egypt, or Sweden.

There may be other ripples on the surface of our friendship in the days ahead, but we should do everything we can in Canada, and this applies especially to the Government, and in the Government particularly to the Department of External Affairs, to prevent these ripples becoming angry waves which may weaken the foundation of our friendship. I do not think that this will happen. It will certainly be less likely to happen, however, if we face the problem frankly and openly of our mutual relationship. That relationship, as I see it, means marching with the United States in the pursuit of the objectives which we share. It does *not* mean being pulled along, or loitering behind.

A Shift of Emphasis

Nevertheless, the days of relatively easy and automatic political relations with our neighbour are, I think, over. They are over because, on our side, we are more important in the continental and international scheme of things, and we loom more largely now as an important element in United States and in free world plans for defence and development. They are over also because the United States is now the dominating world power on the side of freedom. Our preoccupation is no longer

whether the United States will discharge her international responsibilities, but how she will do it and how the rest of us will be involved. You may recall that it was not many years ago that Colonel Lindbergh suggested that Canada should be detached from membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations because that international affiliation of ours might get the United States into trouble by involving the larger half of North America in European wars. That seems a long time ago. There are certain people in Canada (I am not one of them) who think that the shoe, if not already on the other foot, is now being transferred to the other foot.

The Responsibility of the Canadian Citizen

From what I have said, and I have only touched on the subject, you will appreciate that the days have gone when the problems of Canadian foreign policy can be left to a part-time Minister; to a small group of officials; to a couple of hours' desultory and empty debate each session, in Parliament, and to the casual attention of public opinion when it can turn from more important matters such as the Stanley Cup or the stock market. Foreign affairs are now the business of every Canadian family and the responsibility of every Canadian citizen. . . .



PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN GERMANY

Post-War Background

At an early date after the collapse of the Third Reich in 1945, the Western Germans were reintroduced into positions of political responsibility. By 1946 the groundwork had been laid for the growth of civil government at all levels and the forms of democratic government re-established; the first elections were held under Allied control in the Laender (States) throughout that year and in the first months of 1947. Following the unification of the British and the United States zones in 1947 a Bizonal Economic Council was formed. The next step, in the light of the decisions of the London conference of the three Western Foreign Ministers in the spring of 1948, was to entrust a Parliamentary Council with the task of framing a Basic Law or constitution. This Council consisted of representatives of the British, United States and French zones. The Basic Law was finally proclaimed on May 23, 1949 after it had been ratified by all Laender except Bavaria which, however, in accordance with a previous undertaking accepted it as binding. The federal elections were held on August 14, and on September 21 the passage from military government to civilian control was effected with the promulgation of the Occupation Statute and the entry into force of the Charter of the Allied High Commission. For the first time since the days of the Weimar Republic a freely elected German Federal Government was in existence with real, if still limited, powers over 47.5 million people representing almost three-quarters of the population of Germany as a whole.

The Federal System

In drafting the Basic Law, the Parliamentary Council had to find a compromise between the centralist and federalist views of its members. Consideration had also to be given to the fact that the Allies generally favoured a decentralized state and to the fact that the individual Laender governments had had substantial responsibilities for almost three years. On the other hand it was obviously necessary for the central government to have adequate powers to carry out its functions. The formula set forth in the Basic Law was the best that could be achieved in the circumstances.

In the field of economic and financial policy the Basic Law has given wide powers to the Laender. The Federal Parliament votes all important tax laws, but the revenue from direct taxes on income, on corporations and on estates, goes to the Laender. The Federal Government has to be content with the turnover (sales) tax, and customs, excise and transportation taxes. The result is that, to meet its obligations, the Federal Government has had to receive subsidies from the Laender to the extent of one billion deutsche marks out of a budget of thirteen billion in 1950-51 (the deutsche mark being worth approximately 0.25 Canadian dollars). There is a further proposal of the Government at present for the surrender by the Laender of some 30 per cent of their tax revenue, raising Laender contributions to over three billion. The Government's capacity for manoeuvre in economic matters is therefore limited. This also helps to explain that, whatever may be the doctrinal interest in a liberal economic policy as pursued by the Government, it is the one which fits in most easily with the constitutional framework of the Republic.

Although the Federal Parliament otherwise has considerable legislative powers, the interests of the Laender are safeguarded by their representation in the Upper House of the Federal Parliament. The Bundesrat, or Senate, which is composed of forty-two representatives of the eleven Western Laender—three, four or five representatives for each Land according to size — has in legislation an almost equal voice with the Bundestag (Lower House). It can call for consideration of draft bills pre-

sented to it by a joint committee of members of both Houses. If this committee submits amendments, the Bundestag is required to vote on the new text. When the draft bill is again referred to the Bundesrat it can veto it. The Bundesrat can also veto a bill without calling for examination by a joint committee. In both cases the strength of the veto varies with the size of the majority which has decided it. If it has been decided by a majority vote, the Bundestag can override it by a decision of the majority of its members; if it has been decided by a two-thirds vote in the Bundesrat, a two-thirds vote or at least the vote of the majority of the members in the Bundestag is necessary to give effect to the bill. Furthermore, the Bundesrat possesses in effect an absolute veto over amendments to the Basic Law and over certain other types of legislation which affect the powers of the Laender.

The Federal Parliament

The Federal Parliament is in almost permanent session and only recesses for short periods, e.g. Christmas and Easter. It does not actually have as many sittings as the Canadian Parliament. In the course of the first eighteen months, for example, it had only 130 sittings or an average of less than two per week. It is in the innumerable Parliamentary committees that legislation is hammered out after a perfunctory first reading in the Bundestag. As in continental legislatures generally, there is much greater legislative initiative in both German chambers than in the Canadian Houses of Parliament. Initiative rests with members of the Bundestag or Bundesrat, as well as with the Government. As a result it is not uncommon to find motions or proposals presented by individuals or by non-Government parties emerging from committee with almost unanimous approval against the recommendations of the Government.

Despite the latitude that is allowed to individual parties and to their members, the stability of the Government is assured by the requirement that the Bundestag, in order to remove the Chancellor from office, must not only express its lack of confidence in him but also elect a successor by a majority of its members; it then submits a request to the President asking for the dismissal of the Chancellor and his replacement by the approved successor. Governmental stability is also assured by the provision that the Chancellor, if he is defeated on a motion of confidence, may request the President to dissolve the Bundestag. Finally, on the request of the Government and with the approval of the Bundestag, the President may declare a state of legislative emergency for a maximum of six months during which the Government may dispense with Parliamentary approval for legislation. This can only happen once during the term of a Federal Chancellor, and laws put into force during such a period must not affect the Basic Law.

The German Political Parties

The pattern of the parties in the Bundestag, which has 402 members, is continental rather than British or American. The Government coalition comprises the CUD/CSU (Christian Democrats) with 139 members, the FOP (Free Democrats) with 52 members and the DP (German Party) with 17 members. Although the CDU could, like the MRP in France, be considered as left of centre because of its labour wing, the Government is often criticized as a right wing one. This is perhaps due to the conservative nature of the two parties associated with the CDU in the Governmental coalition, and also to the fact that the main opposition is provided by the SPD (Social Democrats) with 131 members, which stands to the left of the Christian Democrats. On the right and left of the Government coalition respectively are the particularist Bavarian Party and the Catholic Centre party, which has lost most of its pre-war supporters, including the Federal Chancellor, to the CDU; with only 10 members in the Bundestag, it is now but a shadow of the former great party of the



Weimar Republic. Several small extreme nationalist parties as well as a small Communist Party complete the picture.

Of the nation-wide parties, the SPD possesses the most highly integrated structure. This is due to its tradition and also to the personality of its leader. It is indicative that an SPD member of the Bundestag was recently designated to become the new Minister-President in Hesse, following the SPD success at the polls there. For most of its strength the party relies on working class votes, and therefore to a large extent on the labour unions. Thus, in the large unified trade union organization — the Association of the German Trade Unions (DGB) which was formed after the war with full Allied approval — the Social Democrats have a preponderant influence.

The CDU only achieved a formal national organization at its Goslar Congress last autumn, when Chancellor Adenauer was elected the first national President of the party. Nevertheless the CSU remains its associate in Bavaria, although on occasion it opposes CDU-sponsored federal measures which seem to it to endanger the decentralized federal conception of the state. The CDU is predominantly Catholic. It derives most of its strength from the Catholic peasantry of the Rhineland and Southwestern Germany; furthermore, through the Catholic trade unions now affiliated with the DGB and through its labour and social committees, the CDU retains a close association with large sections of the labour vote. It has, however, made a point of and succeeded in attracting members of other confessions. The former Minister of the Interior, Dr. Heinemann, was a pillar of the Lutheran Church and his successor, Dr. Lehr, is also high in its councils.

One party in Germany which was not in existence in 1949 has lately been acquiring prominence; it is the BHE, formed by German refugee groups who were dissatisfied with having to press their extensive economic and social demands through the medium of the existing political parties. The BHE has met with success in recent elections in the Laender which contain substantial numbers of the ten million refugees presently in Western Germany. Its potentialities are considerable unless the other parties succeed in solving the grave problems of this important minority.

The Voter

Almost as important as the political parties themselves is the attitude of the individual member of the community towards the system of parliamentary democracy. 78.5 per cent of the eligible voters participated in the federal elections, while similar high percentages were reached in recent Land elections in Hesse, Wuerttemberg-Baden and Bavaria. The relations of the elector with his representative cannot be as close as they are under the Canadian, United Kingdom or United States electoral systems, since only 60 per cent of the members of the Bundestag are directly elected to represent a constituency; the remainder are elected on a Land basis proportionately to the votes cast for the party list in each Land.

The Germans, at least in Western Germany, remember the dangers of the Fuehrer principle. They are well aware of the lot of their fellow countrymen in the Soviet Zone. Against this background, the system of parliamentary democracy has made satisfactory progress. The young Federal Republic continues, however, to be faced with tremendous problems of reconstruction and of security in a dangerous world. It is the task of its political leaders to enlist the wholehearted support of the people, and especially the youth who will be the leaders of tomorrow, in solving these problems through democratic processes.

NATO RE-ORGANIZATION

A press release on this subject was issued in London on May 4, 1951, at a press conference called by Mr. Spofford, the Chairman of the North Atlantic Council Deputies. As the Canadian Government took the initiative in proposing the re-organization of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Canadian Deputy, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, was also present. The following is the complete text of this release:

The North Atlantic Council Deputies announce today the adoption by their governments of new terms of reference for the North Atlantic Council, which will hereafter incorporate the Defence Committee and Defence Finance and Economic Committee, and thus becomes the sole Ministerial body in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Council Deputies announce at the same time the creation of a Financial and Economic Board, located in Paris.

The North Atlantic Council, as originally established, was composed of the Foreign Ministers of the nations party to the North Atlantic Treaty. Two other Ministerial committees were organized, a Defence Committee composed of Defence Ministers, and a Defence Finance and Economic Committee composed of Finance Ministers. The only full-time agencies functioning during the early months of NATO were the Standing Group (made up of representatives of the Chiefs of Staff of France, the United Kingdom and the United States) and the permanent working staffs of the Defence Finance and Economic Committee and of the Military Production and Supply Board, a subordinate agency of the Defence Committee.

Experience soon demonstrated the need for a central, continuously functioning body to ensure co-ordination between the work of the various treaty agencies and to facilitate the implementation of agreed plans. The Council in May 1950 therefore established the Council of Deputies, who first met in July of that year.

The Canadian Proposal

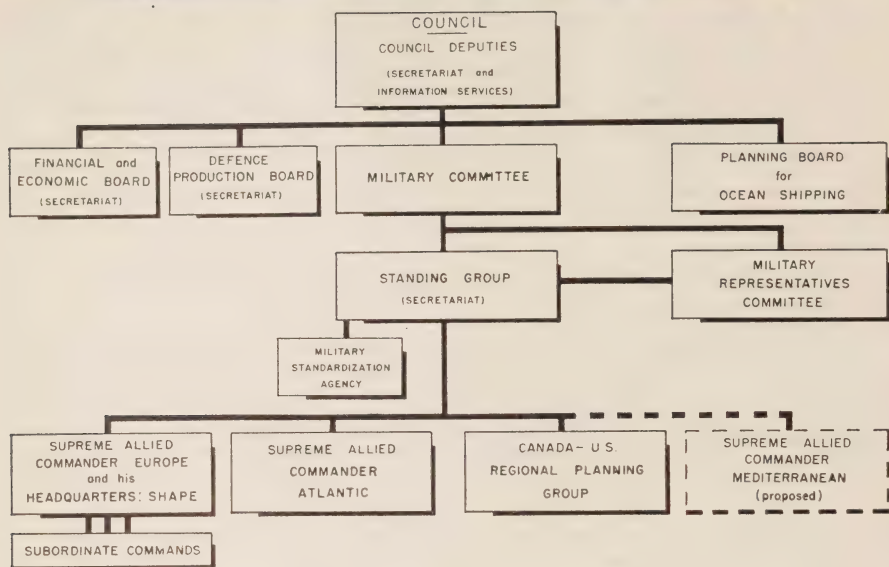
Experience also demonstrated the need, particularly as emphasis shifted from planning to the implementation of plans, for a simpler organization with clear lines of authority, for fewer committees and more full-time operating agencies. In the autumn of 1950 the Canadian Government proposed re-organization of NATO to meet this need, and in December the Council authorized the Deputies to study and recommend the necessary changes. The result is the structure announced today.

The Re-organized Council

As before, the Council is the principal body in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and is "charged with the responsibility of considering all matters concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty". The re-organized Council, however, incorporates not only the Council envisaged by Article 9 of the Treaty but also the Defence Committee referred to in the same Article and the Defence Finance and Economic Committee. The latter cease to exist as separate entities. The Council will continue to be composed of persons of ministerial rank, although in exceptional circumstances member governments may be represented by other persons duly designated for the purpose. Heads of governments may attend meetings of the Council in person. Otherwise, governments will be represented by their Minister for Foreign Affairs and/or the Minister of Defence, or by other competent Ministers, especially by those responsible for financial and economic affairs, according to the nature of the agenda.

The Council will meet annually in ordinary session and such other times as may be deemed desirable by the majority of the parties.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION



Location of Sessions

Location of each session will be determined by the Chairman after consultation with other parties. For general convenience, the ordinary annual session will normally be held at about the same time and in the same geographic area as the annual session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Other ordinary sessions will normally be held at some convenient location in Europe.

Chairmanship

The Chairmanship of the Council will continue to rotate in alphabetical order. Monsieur Paul Van Zeeland, Foreign Minister of Belgium, is the present Chairman.

The Council Deputies

In order that the Council may effectively carry out its responsibilities and exercise them continuously, each government is represented by a Council Deputy. Each Deputy represents all Ministers concerned with NATO matters in his government and is responsible to such Minister or Ministers as his government may determine. The Council Deputies constitute the permanent working organization of the North Atlantic Council.

When the Council is not in session, the Deputies carry out its policies, recommend to governments the measures necessary to this end, formulate issues requiring decisions by the Council or by member governments and otherwise constitute a body which may register the approval of their governments on matters before them for consideration.

The Deputies will also:

(a) Be responsible among other things for co-ordinating the activities of and giving guidance to all other permanent organs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization;

(b) Exchange views on political matters of common interest within the scope of the Treaty:

(c) Promote and co-ordinate public information activities in furtherance of its objectives.

The Chairman of the Council Deputies, in addition to presiding at their meetings, is responsible for directing the Permanent Working Staff of the Organization.

Military Structure

With the exception of the incorporation of the former Defence Committee into the Council, the military structure remains unchanged. The Council Deputies will deal directly with the Military Committee and, when that body is not in session, with the Standing Group on political matters having military implications. It will provide those bodies with political guidance upon which strategic decisions should be based. The Standing Group will maintain close liaison with the Council Deputies and provide that body with advice on military matters.

Defence Production Board

The Defence Production Board, which was established last December and has its headquarters in London, replaced the Military Production and Supply Board and the subsidiary agencies of that committee. It has as its general objectives the achievement of the maximum production of military equipment in the most efficient manner, at the least cost, and in the shortest time to meet the military material requirements of NATO. These objectives will be sought by co-ordinating national production programmes so that they will together fulfil NATO-wide production objectives. The Board is directed to concentrate its activities on those aspects of military production and procurement which involve major problems of international co-operation among the NATO members. A unified international staff has been organized to serve the Board under a Co-ordinator of North Atlantic Defence Production, who is ex-officio a member of the Defence Production Board.

Creation of the FEB

The creation of the Financial and Economic Board (FEB) is another step towards simplifying and making more effective the executive organization of NATO. In this respect it follows the precedent established in the setting up of the Defence Production Board.

According to its terms of reference, the new FEB "shall be responsible for considering and making recommendations upon financial and economic problems arising in connection with NATO defence programmes and upon the best use of financial and economic resources in member countries in support of the common defence effort. It shall advise the other NATO bodies under the Council Deputies on all relevant economic and financial questions arising out of their work." The FEB will ordinarily address its recommendations to the Council Deputies, but in specified cases these may be sent direct to member governments.

The FEB will succeed to the functions and responsibilities previously belonging to the Permanent Working Staff of the Defence Financial and Economic Committee, the Advisory Group on Raw Material Problems, and the Economic and Financial Working Group, which was set up some months ago in Paris. Among its other tasks, it has been assigned the duty of reporting to the Council Deputies on the financial and economic aspects of the progress of defence programmes in member countries. It will also "maintain close contact with the work of other international organizations dealing with financial and economic problems and in particular with the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), having in view the need to avoid duplication of effort".

The FEB will be based in Paris so that it will be able to draw on the experience and skills of the OEEC. It is expected that governments will be represented in the FEB by senior members of their delegations to OEEC, so that close co-ordination of the activities of these two bodies will be assured.

MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF AMERICAN STATES

A Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States was held in Washington, March 26-April 7. Such Meetings of Consultation are provided for in the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS) and are an integral part of the Organization.

The Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held in Buenos Aires in 1936 and the eighth International Conference of American States held at Lima in 1938 established a procedure under which the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of each of the 21 American Republics, or their personal representatives, should consult together whenever a state of emergency existed or whenever the peace of the Western Hemisphere was threatened. Because of the very nature of the meetings they are not held at regular intervals but are subject to call by the Chairman of the Council of the OAS or at the request of any member state to consider problems of an urgent nature and of common interest to the American States. The recent meeting was requested by the United States with a view to co-ordinating the common effort of the American Republics against "the aggressive activities of international communism". It was the fourth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in the history of the Pan-American System.

The agenda of the Conference was limited to three main topics: political and military co-operation for the defence of the Americas; strengthening the internal security of the American Republics; and emergency economic co-operation.

Declaration of Washington Signed

At the close of the Conference on April 7 the representatives of the 21 American Republics signed the Declaration of Washington in which they reaffirmed their solidarity in the present emergency, their faith in the principles set forth in the Charter of the Organization of American States and other inter-American Agreements and their support of the United Nations as the most effective agency for maintaining the peace, security and well-being of the peoples of the world.

Among the principal resolutions adopted were the following: a resolution on the preparation of the defence of the American Republics and support of the action of the United Nations; a resolution on inter-American military co-operation; a resolution on the strengthening of internal security; and a resolution on economic development.

The first of these resolutions includes the provision that "each of the American Republics should immediately examine its resources and determine what steps it can take to contribute to the defence of the hemisphere and to United Nations collective security efforts in order to accomplish the aims and purposes of the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution of the General Assembly". This resolution also recommends that "each of the American Republics, without prejudice to attending to national self-defence, should give particular attention to the development and maintenance of elements within its national armed forces so trained, organized and equipped that they could, in accordance with its constitutional norms, and to the full extent that, in its judgment, its capabilities permit, promptly be made available, (1) for the defence of the hemisphere, and (2) for service as United Nations unit or units, in accordance with the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution".

The resolution on inter-American military co-operation reiterates the determination of the American Republics to strengthen and maintain in a state of readiness for collective hemispheric defence at any time, those of their armed forces best adapted to such a task. Under the same resolution the Meeting called upon the Inter-

American Defence Board to prepare "as vigorously as possible" the military planning of the common defence for the consideration and decision of the governments.

As regards the strengthening of internal security the American Republics, after reaffirming their resolve to condemn the methods of every system tending to suppress political and civil rights and liberties, agreed on the necessity of adopting laws and regulations against subversive activities and particularly of exercising an effective control over the coming and going of subversive elements from one national territory to another. The resolution also instructed the Pan-American Union (Secretariat of the OAS) to prepare technical studies for the information of the American governments with a view to facilitating the drafting and co-ordination of the desired legislation. Upon request by any one government, and following a favourable decision by the Council of the OAS, a special conference may be called by the Pan-American Union to develop further this specific aspect of inter-American co-operation.

Collaboration Necessary

On the question of economic development the main resolution, as embodied in the Final Act, expresses the common desire of the republics to adjust their economies to both their emergency needs and their long-term aspirations. It recognizes the desirability of collaborating actively in the programme of economic development and technical co-operation with a view to building economic strength and increasing well-being in the under-developed regions of the Americas. Subject to necessary allocations and priorities the American states undertake to supply one another with machinery, mechanical equipment and other materials needed to increase their respective productive capacity and diversify their production and distribution. During the present emergency period first preference among economic development projects shall be given to projects useful for defence purposes and those required to satisfy the basic requirements of the civilian economy. Steps are to be taken by each American state to co-ordinate individual programmes for economic development with the emergency economic plans.

Another resolution in the economic field recommends the increase of production and processing of basic and strategic materials. To this end the American Republics will extend to one another technical and financial aid and will be prepared "to enter into long-term or medium-term purchase and sale contracts at reasonable prices for these basic and strategic materials. . ." Under another resolution the American Republics undertake "to co-operate fully with one another in the adoption of effective measures of economic defence and security controls in the field of their international economic relations" and will consider means of increasing "the availability of products in short supply to the countries of the free world". The Foreign Ministers also approved a resolution recommending the adoption by member nations, in consultation with one another, of price stabilization measures to counteract inflationary tendencies which might endanger the defence programme and the economic stability of the Americas. Such measures should apply "so long as the threat of serious inflation persists" so that the purchasing power of the various member states be maintained for inter-American trade purposes. A number of other resolutions were adopted on such specific questions as co-operation with existing international agencies for the production and distribution of raw materials and other scarce essential products, transportation, shortage and distribution of newsprint, etc.

In expressing satisfaction at the results of the meeting, President Truman told the representatives of the 21 American Republics: "... in the signing of the final act of your meeting, you have proclaimed that the American Republics and their peoples will act in concert to mobilize the moral and spiritual, military and economic strength of this hemisphere. Further, you have affirmed our common determination to aid freedom-loving peoples everywhere who work for the defeat of communist tyranny."

DEDICATION OF UNITED NATIONS CEMETERY IN KOREA

On April 6 the Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Japan flew from Tokyo to Pusan to take part in the dedication of the first permanent United Nations cemetery in Korea, where twenty-five Canadian soldiers already lie buried. Lieutenant-General Matthew B. Ridgway, then Field Commander of U.N. Forces in Korea, had asked the heads of diplomatic missions in Japan of countries supplying forces in Korea to fly over to Pusan to join in the dedication ceremonies.

The flight to Pusan was made in three and one half hours in General MacArthur's aeroplane *Bataan*. 8th Army Rear Headquarters is located about a mile from the Pusan airstrip, and there the war in its Korean setting seemed relatively close at hand. Fighter planes were coming in from the front to refuel and load up with ammunition. In the bay, ships hung at anchor discharging cargo into barges. Truck convoys rolled along the muddy roads. The mountains descend abruptly into the sea at Pusan, giving the impression of the difficult terrain U.N. forces must contend with there. In the fields, Korean peasants in their traditional white garments toiled with hoes, while along the road womenfolk in colourful garments trudged barefooted through the mud carrying tubs of vegetables on their heads and children on their backs. National guard units of Korean young men straggled along roads on training route marches. Everywhere there are military supply dumps, motor pools and encampments.

The cemetery is located about five miles northeast of Pusan on the level crest of a small hill overlooking the sea. An honour plateau rises five feet above the rest of the cemetery. On this raised area fifteen equal-sized plots are marked out in military precision for the fifteen countries now contributing forces in Korea. Before each plot is a flagpole for the national flag of the country represented there. In front is a spot for the U.N. flag representing the common effort of these countries.

Ceremony Simple

The ceremony was a simple one. On the terrace below the honour plot, American and Republic of Korea honour guards were lined up. Visiting officials formed four rows facing these honour guards. In the front row were Lieutenant-General Ridgway, President Syngman Rhee of the Republic of Korea, James Plimsoll, Chairman of the U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, John J. Muccio, U.S. Ambassador, the Chief of Staff of the ROK Army and Colonel Hodgson, Head of the Australian Mission in Japan and Senior U.N. diplomatic representative there.

After the raising of the national flags of the contributing countries, wreaths were laid by chaplains representing the various national forces. Then Lieutenant-General Ridgway stepped forward to raise the U.N. flag and to deliver the dedication remarks. He said:

Surrounded by this scene of earth and sky, fashioned of Korea by our Creator, lie our comrades of land and sea and air forces.

Proudly they served, fearlessly they died, defending to the last the dignity of the individual, the rock on which our fight for freedom rests.

We have fought with heart and hand to add for them what we could of simple beauty to this sacred spot.

We seek today to express the honour in which they are held. We shall seek through all the future to keep the faith they so fully kept, and having kept, passed on to us in trust.



UNITED NATIONS CEMETERY NEAR PUSAN

—United Nations

After this, there was a minute's silent prayer. Then a firing party fired three volleys in honour of the fallen heroes. Two British buglers ended the ceremony by playing Taps.

The Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry was represented at the ceremony by Chaplain Captain Cunningham and three soldiers, proud to have been given this opportunity to take part in the dedication of this U.N. Cemetery. The sacrifices of their brothers-in-arms were an intimate experience for each of them.

In seeing his national plot of graves, each United Nations representative had brought home to him the cost of the fight to repel aggression in Korea. Five thousand American graves are marked in the cemetery. Many more are buried elsewhere. And in the Korean hills are the graves, often unmarked, of countless Koreans who died in defence of their national freedom. All these died to support the principles for which the United Nations stands, principles which have been given greater meaning by their sacrifices.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

Visit of the President of the Republic of France

The President of the French Republic, Monsieur Vincent Auriol, on April 5 addressed the members of the House of Commons and the Senate in the House of Commons chamber. His speech was broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. In welcoming the President, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, after extending the greetings of the people of Canada to both Madame Auriol and Monsieur Schuman, the Foreign Minister of the French Republic, as well as to the President, said that he welcomed Monsieur Auriol not only on behalf of those "of my race and yours . . . but also on behalf of Canadians who from the Atlantic to the Pacific now make up a people bound by common national aspirations". The North Atlantic Treaty now united France with Canada and ten other countries more intimately than ever before in time of peace. The times through which the two countries were passing were difficult because "one of the great powers (was) bent on extending the domination of its dictatorial measures". Monsieur Auriol had come to Canada after spending a few days in the United States, and the President could not have failed to have been impressed by the "strength of that great country". "Canada is, I think, the best evidence, permanent and historic evidence, of the peaceful purposes of the United States". Speaking in English and then in French, Mr. St. Laurent proceeded:

These confident, friendly and co-operative international relations which we enjoy with our great southern neighbour we wish to share ultimately with the whole world, and in the meantime we expect to share them with all the nations of the North Atlantic community. We know we can count upon the people of France, and we wish to assure you the people of France can count upon the good will and effective co-operation of all the people of Canada.

I know that you share our convictions as to the means of warding off the danger which threatens us. This means is none other than the pooling of our forces in the face of any possibility of aggression and of any attempted domination or even intimidation.

As I have just pointed out, our generation has twice already seen Canadian soldiers fight as brothers-in-arms with French soldiers. Thousands of them rest side by side in the vast cemeteries of France.

It was not only your homeland that our Canadian soldiers went to defend, it was also their own, their physical as well as their spiritual homeland. Similarly, your own soldiers fought for an ideal greater than the defence of French territory. Neither you nor we could watch with indifference the fate of the glorious heritage which they preserved for us at the cost of their lives. Without a doubt, we wish to do everything possible to prevent a new disaster from sweeping down on our peoples, but we shall never give up the right to defend ourselves; we shall never try to escape the duty of helping to defend those who, like yourselves, are more immediately exposed than we.

Upon your return home, you may tell your compatriots that here in Canada you have met men of good will, a people anxious not only to prevent the iron curtain from falling on the shores of the Atlantic, but eager to ensure that the tricolour shall ever wave in the air of freedom, because the Canadian people realize that the free world would no longer be free if ever France or the Europe from which our ancestors came should lose their freedom . . .

The North Atlantic Treaty

The second anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty at Washington was marked on April 4 by the following statement made by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent:



—NFB

THE PRESIDENT OF FRANCE ADDRESSING MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF COMMONS AND SENATE.

... Today is the second anniversary of an historic event, the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on April 4, 1949. We entered into the treaty because we believed it was necessary for the continuing preservation of the freedom and the heritage of the Atlantic nations. It was necessary because the Soviet Union had prevented the Security Council of the United Nations from discharging its primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace, and because a grave atmosphere of disillusion, anxiety and tension had been created by the enforced transformation of one eastern European state after another into a satellite of the Soviet Union.

Against this background of the growing threat of communist imperialism, the North Atlantic Treaty was concluded. In the two years of its existence, by increasing the ability of the Atlantic powers to resist aggression, important steps have been taken to lessen the likelihood of war. In the military field an integrated force has been established under General Eisenhower as Supreme Commander Allied Powers, Europe. The principle of mutual aid has been revived, and Canada has shared in the mutual aid programme by transferring military equipment to a number of our European allies and by providing places for our North Atlantic partners in our military and air training establishments.

The strength and determination of the North Atlantic allies to resist aggression have been increased with the growth of their deterrent military strength and of their feeling of a community of interests, political, economic and cultural. While the primary purpose of the treaty is security, the development of mutual understanding which is taking place serves a deeper purpose which has a special appeal for Canadians: the ultimate creation of a great community of free nations working together for a lasting peace.

Korea

Certain newspapers on April 26 published a report of an announcement attributed to a spokesman for the United States Delegation at Lake Success to the effect that enemy air bases in Manchuria would be attacked if the Chinese communists used heavy air power against United Nation troops. Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar) asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs whether Canada, as a participant in military action in Korea and as a member of the United Nations, had been consulted regarding that announcement. Mr. Pearson's reply is quoted in the article "The Korean Crisis", p. 152 above.

Mr. Gordon Graydon (PC, Peel) then asked:

Is there any continuing conference of representatives of nations whose forces are engaged in Korea, through which these matters can be cleared at very short notice; or do they have to go through the long procedure of conferring among the governments of the various countries?

Mr. Pearson replied:

No; the representatives of governments contributing forces to the Korean campaign meet almost daily in Washington, and on a level high enough to make it possible to get a decision almost immediately in respect of these matters.

The Canadian Offer of Wheat to India

On April 9 Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar) addressed the following question to the Secretary of State for External Affairs:

In view of the decision of the Indian government not to accept the offer of Canadian wheat with strings attached tying it up to the Colombo Plan, will the government consider making an outright gift of low grade wheat to the Indian government?

Mr. Pearson replied:

The Canadian offer of wheat to India under the Colombo Plan had no strings attached, nor has India refused our offer. The only wheat now available for export from Canada is of low grade, No. 5 and 6 Manitoba. As this quality is unsuitable for India, where wheat is used directly in the government rationing system, the Indian government has preferred to wait until our next crop year when a better grade may be available.

This subject was again referred to by Mr. J. G. Diefenbaker (PC, Lake Centre) on April 18 when Mr. Pearson indicated that the position remained substantially the same as indicated above. Mr. Diefenbaker then asked whether the Indian government had agreed to accept wheat from Canada later in the year as part of the Colombo Plan. Mr. Pearson stated that "they have agreed to accept wheat as part of the Colombo Plan, the proceeds from the sale of which would go into capital development in India".

Pacific Relations

Mr. Gordon Graydon (PC, Peel) on April 2 referred to an announcement which had been made by Mr. John Foster Dulles regarding a proposed treaty of peace or treaty of rearmament with respect to Japan. Mr. Pearson said:

... He (Mr. Dulles) spoke on behalf of the United States Government, and not on our behalf or, so far as I know, on behalf of any other government. It is quite true, however, that a draft treaty of peace with Japan has been worked out by the United States Government after informal consultations with certain other governments. That draft treaty has now been submitted to the Canadian Government and other governments for their consideration, and in due course we shall have some comments to make on it. So far, however, the consultation has been entirely informal, and the draft represents the views of the United States only.

Mr. Graydon then asked whether the draft referred to was what Mr. Dulles described in his speech as a "series of pacts". Mr. Pearson replied:

No, I was referring to the draft treaty of peace with Japan. However, during his speech I believe Mr. Dulles made reference to certain other possible security and mutual assistance arrangements between the United States and Australia and New Zealand. That may have caused some confusion in the minds of those who read press reports of his speech.

In response to a further question by Mr. Graydon, Mr. Pearson stated that he did not think these arrangements would be the forerunners of a defence pact for the

Pacific area, and went on to say that "this would be an arrangement that covered only the three governments I have just mentioned".

On April 17 Mr. L. T. Stick (L, Trinity-Conception) asked the Secretary of State for External Affairs whether he had anything to add to the foregoing. Mr. Pearson replied:

I have only this to add, that we have received a draft treaty from the United States government, and we have made a careful study of it. The observations of the Canadian government with respect to it will be forwarded shortly to Washington. I might also say at this time that there is a broad measure of agreement between our views and those of the United States government on the basic issues of the treaty. It is our expectation that after the views of the governments concerned have been submitted to the United States government there will be further consultation, with the object of concerting future procedure.

Mr. Gordon Graydon (PC, Peel) then asked whether it was the intention to have any kind of conference among the powers in connection with this matter, and Mr. Pearson said:

It has not yet been decided whether the Japanese treaty will be signed at a formal conference, or will be signed separately by governments, with the Japanese government, as a result of negotiations among themselves.

The following exchange then took place:

Mr. W. J. Browne (PC, St. John's West): I should like to ask a supplementary question. In today's *Ottawa Citizen* there is a statement to the effect that the United Kingdom had submitted a draft treaty to the United States. Has that also been submitted to Canada, and can the minister say whether the Government of Canada is in agreement with the terms of that draft treaty?

Mr. Pearson: I understand that the comments of the United Kingdom Government on the American draft have taken now the form of another draft treaty submitted by the United Kingdom Government. That United Kingdom draft has been submitted to us, but I have not yet had an opportunity to see it. In fact I am not sure whether it has actually arrived in the department.

. . .

Mr. Howard C. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra): Is the question of a Pacific defence pact included in these discussions?

Mr. Pearson: No, not in discussions of the Japanese peace treaty.

A further enquiry as to a security agreement by the United States, Australia and New Zealand was made on April 19 by Mr. Green, who brought to the attention of the House the fact that on the previous day President Truman had announced plans for working out such an agreement which apparently was to lead a full-scale Pacific pact comparable to the North Atlantic alliance. Mr. Pearson then spoke as follows:

The statement which was made by President Truman yesterday in Washington—and I believe statements were also made in New Zealand and Australia—referred to a proposed arrangement between the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and the United States for mutual security pursuant to articles 51 and 52 of the United Nations Charter. The Canadian Government has been kept closely informed of those negotiations, and we have already indicated to the Governments of Australia and New Zealand that we welcome them as an important contribution to the defence of freedom by increasing stability in the area to be covered by these arrangements. That area was referred to by the Australian Minister for External Affairs in a statement to the House of Representatives in Canberra on March 14 last, when he said — and I am quoting from Mr. Spender's statement:

The objective has been to obtain an arrangement which will benefit the whole of the western Pacific area, guaranteeing friendly aid and protection in the event of a renewed threat of attack.

Yesterday in his statement President Truman did say that these arrangements constitute initial steps, not, as I understood him, necessarily to a Pacific pact, but initial steps in the consolidation of peace in that area. If these negotiations are ex-

tended to cover anything like a Pacific pact analogous to the North Atlantic Pact, naturally the Canadian Government would be interested; but we have received no indication that these additional negotiations are going to take place.

General MacArthur

On April 3 Mr. Alistair Stewart (CCF, Winnipeg North) asked the following question:

Is it the intention of the government to take any official action over the latest rebuke by General MacArthur to the elected representatives of the people?

Mr. Pearson replied:

There may be some statements of General MacArthur which have been controversial in character, but I do not know of any particular statement of the General which could be considered a rebuke to the elected representatives of the people; therefore I am not able to deal with the question.

Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar) then asked this supplementary question:

Has the minister seen the letter that General MacArthur wrote to representative Martin regarding the Korean situation? If so, has he any comment to make on the proposals made by the general in that letter?

To this Mr. Pearson answered:

Yes, I have seen the letter, and have read it with considerable interest. Our views on the matters contained therein, and other relevant matters, have already been conveyed informally to the United States government, and I do not feel that I should say anything more at this time on the subject.

On April 11 Mr. E. G. Hansell (SC, Macleod) stated that the recall of General MacArthur on presidential authority raised the question as to whether Canada as one of the nations supplying United Nations forces in Korea should have been consulted. Mr. Pearson spoke then as follows:

I have no desire at this time, or even tomorrow, to comment on the nature of the action taken by the President of the United States in this matter. I can, however, briefly outline the procedure under which that action was taken.

When the Security Council, by its resolution of July 7, 1950, established a Unified Command to conduct the military operations in Korea, it requested the United States to designate the commander of the United Nations forces there. In response to this request of the Security Council, President Truman the following day designated General MacArthur as the commanding general of the military forces placed by the members of the United Nations under the Unified Command. I understand that the President of the United States has now decided that the conduct of the military operations in Korea should be entrusted to other hands, and, acting under the mandate given to him by the Security Council resolution to which I have referred, has appointed General Ridgway as the United Nations commander in place of General MacArthur. This decision is clearly one which falls within the sphere of authority which has been given to the President of the United States by the United Nations itself.

Reference was made by Mr. J. C. Diefenbaker (PC, Lake Centre) on April 16 to an address delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs in Toronto on April 10 and Mr. Diefenbaker enquired whether Mr. Pearson had been aware at the time of his speech of the fact that General MacArthur was going to be dismissed. Mr. Pearson said:

I can answer that question very quickly — and I am glad to have the opportunity to answer it, because of reports which have appeared in the press. I had no knowledge whatsoever of General MacArthur's dismissal before that dismissal was announced in the newspapers.

Reported Arrest of Missionaries in China

Various members expressed their interest in the report that five Canadian missionary sisters had been arrested in Canton and on April 16 the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made the following statement:

The Canadian Government has learned with grave concern that five Canadian nuns of the Order of the Immaculate Conception, who have been operating with selfless devotion an orphanage in Canton, have been detained and that their orphanage has been taken over by communist Chinese authorities. The most atrocious and fantastic crimes have been attributed to the five sisters by press reports and radio broadcasts emanating from China. The Canadian Government deeply regrets that irresponsible accusations which, it is sure, are unfounded have been given so much publicity.

In the absence of a Canadian diplomatic mission in China the Canadian Government has availed itself of the good offices of the United Kingdom Chargé d'Affaires in Peking. This officer has been informed of the great concern of the Canadian Government for the five sisters and has assured us that he will lose no opportunity to do anything he can to help them.

There is no evidence that formal charges have so far been laid by the Chinese authorities. The agitation against the five sisters at the present time seems to be chiefly local. As I have already said, it is inconceivable that they could be considered guilty of the crimes which they are alleged to have committed, and the local communist officials must surely know this. I hope, therefore, that the Central People's Government will allow the sisters to return freely to Canada.

It may take considerable time before the case of these sisters can be cleared up, and the Canadian Government is anxious that nothing should be done or said at this time which could conceivably worsen their position.

I should like once again to assure the House that the Government is doing everything it can to watch over the interests of these five unjustly accused sisters, and to assure the House further that everything is being done and will be done which will help them without increasing the danger to them.

In response to a question asked by Mr. Gordon Graydon (PC, Peel), Mr. Jean Lesage, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, provided on April 20 the following information:

The Department has no information as to the total number of Christian missionaries in China. However, there are now known to be 370 Canadians in continental China, of whom 332 are missionaries and their dependents.

On April 24 Mr. Lesage stated in response to a question which had been asked by Mr. E. D. Fulton (PC, Kamloops) that the Department of External Affairs was not in possession of any information on the reported arrest of further Canadian missionary sisters. "I have made thorough enquiries" Mr. Lesage said, "and find there is no information to that effect".

Passport Regulations

On April 24 the following question and reply were recorded:

Mrs. Ellen L. Fairclough (PC, Hamilton West): In the absence of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, I should like to direct a question to the Prime Minister, in view of the announcement made on the radio today and in the morning paper with reference to statements of Benjamin Gitlow in the United States un-American activities probe. I wonder if the Prime Minister would give assurance that conditions which prevailed a few years ago, and which permitted Gitlow to procure a Canadian passport, although he was a United States citizen, do not now exist, and that such a thing could not now happen? Is there sufficient surveillance of applicants for passports so that this situation could not recur?

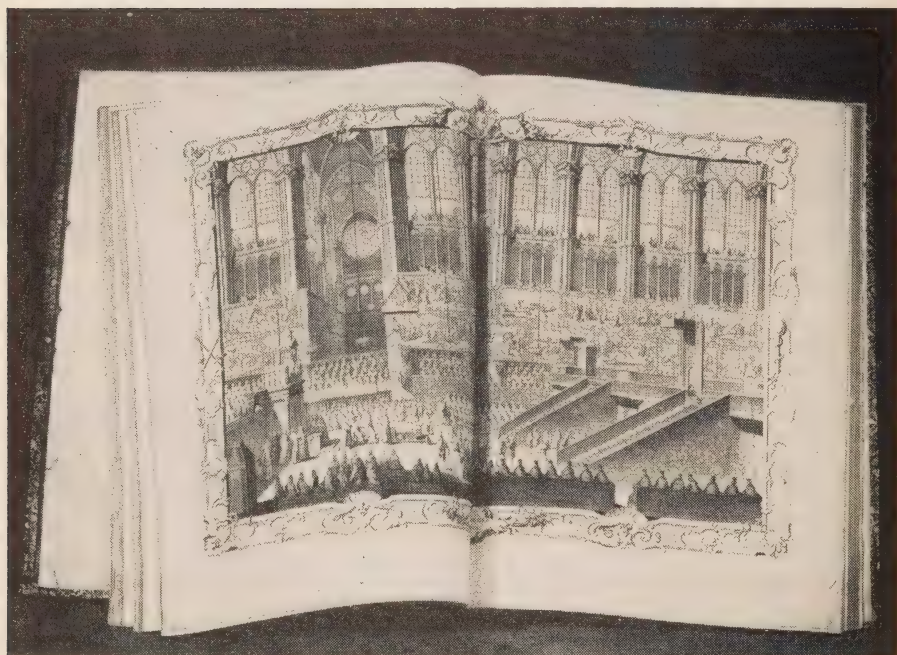
Mr. L. S. St. Laurent (Prime Minister): I do not know just what may have happened a few years ago but I know that for the last four or five years close attention

has been given to tightening up the regulations with respect to the issuing of passports. I would hope that we have now closed all the loopholes that were discovered in the regulations which were in effect some years ago. I think that we now have pretty strict control, and the general indication is that in any case of doubt about an application the Secretary of State for External Affairs himself should be consulted.

Tabling of Reports

On April 2 Mr. Lesage tabled, on behalf of the Secretary of State for External Affairs, a report entitled *Canada and the United Nations 1950*.* A report on Canada's share in the work of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations during the year ended March 31, 1951, was similarly tabled by Mr. Lesage on April 6.

* See *External Affairs* April 1951, page 143.



—Capital Press

PRESIDENT AURIOL'S GIFT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

The President of the Republic of France, M. Vincent Auriol, during his visit to Ottawa in April, presented to the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, a gift of an 18th century volume describing the coronation of Louis XV. The text is adorned with rich borders and engraved cartouches and fleurons; it also contains several engraved plates representing, among other scenes, the king going to church, the coronation of the king, the king led to the throne, and, above, the ceremony of the anointment. Upon learning of M. Auriol's gift to Mr. St. Laurent, a French retired soldier from Champey (Haute-Saône), very kindly offered to the Prime Minister a medal of the Coronation of Louis XV, which had been a family heirloom for over two centuries.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Collective Measures Committee

On April 12 the Collective Measures Committee, acting on recommendations made by a sub-committee, decided upon its programme of work and on methods by which it would approach the various items on its agenda. It approved the text of a communication to be sent to all member states of the United Nations inviting them to report on the steps which they had taken to designate units of their armed forces which could be made available to serve under the United Nations against an aggressor. This communication, which has now been despatched to member governments, is phrased in general terms. It does not specify a time limit by which replies should be sent, but it asks member states to reply with the least possible delay in order that the material received may be collated by the Committee and presented to the General Assembly and the Security Council by September 1, as required in the "Uniting for Peace" resolution.

The Committee also established three sub-committees to examine other items on its agenda. Representatives of Canada, France and Turkey were appointed as a working group to consider the nature and general functions of a panel of military experts, the members of which can be made available on request to member states wishing to obtain technical advice regarding the organization, training and equipping of their United Nations units. This sub-committee, on which Canada is represented by Mr. J. W. Holmes, Acting Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, began work on April 25, but by the end of the month had not completed its examination of the size and terms of reference of the Panel.

The other two working groups of the Collective Measures Committee were assigned to broader fields of study. Representatives of Australia, Egypt, the Philippines, the United States and Venezuela were appointed as a sub-committee to consider the economic and financial measures which might be employed against an aggressor state or in support of a victim of aggression. Representatives of Belgium, Burma, Mexico, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia were appointed as a sub-committee to consider political measures which might be employed under the aegis of the United Nations in case of aggression. There was general agreement that in approaching these assignments the two sub-committees should address themselves to the working out of techniques and procedures for the co-ordination by the United Nations of national policies in these fields and not to the relative efficacy of particular measures. This rule of guidance conforms to the view of the majority of members of the Collective Measures Committee that its work should be directed towards formulating general principles and methods of co-operation rather than towards establishing a collective security system with specific headquarters, bases and forces. In the view of the majority it would be for the General Assembly or the Security Council to give application to these principles in particular situations.

These, then, are the immediate targets at which the Collective Measures Committee is aiming. There remain further tasks which may eventually require similarly detailed examination. The Committee will, for example, be required to collate the offers of military forces made by member states; and it may also be suggested that it study the methods by which national military contributions could be satisfactorily co-ordinated under the United Nations. Some general guidance will also be required for the Panel of Military Experts to assist its members in performing their duties, and consideration will have to be given to the question of whether the Collective Measures Committee itself should be perpetuated as a standing body of the United Nations. These, however, are problems the solution of which must await the results of the studies which have recently been initiated.

International Refugee Organization

The Ninth Session of the Executive Committee and the Seventh Session of the General Council of the International Refugee Organization took place recently at Geneva, concluding on April 13. The Canadian Delegation was headed by the Canadian Minister to Switzerland, Mr. Victor Doré, and included representatives of the Departments of Labour and of Citizenship and Immigration.

As a result of the decisions taken at these meetings, IRO will continue its approved operational programmes for as long as the present resources of the Organization permit, and there remain any refugees within its mandate who require resettlement assistance and for whom resettlement opportunities can be found. The previous cut-off date was September 30, 1951. The Director-General estimates that funds are available to continue refugee resettlement until approximately the end of this year and that the Organization will be liquidated during the first quarter of 1952.

At the same time the Council decided to extend indefinitely the cut-off date of October 1, 1950, established at its last session, for resettlement assistance to eligible refugees in areas of IRO operation in Europe and the Middle East. It was possible to be more liberal in this respect because the number of applicants who had applied since the last session of the Council was substantially below the Director-General's previous estimate. The Director-General is authorized to give this assistance, including the payment of hard-core grants, to additional refugees if they are not already firmly established and if he is satisfied that their resettlement can be carried out without prejudice to the opportunities of those who were previously registered. The additional assistance will be carried out within the existing realizable resources of the Organization, and the Director-General will use the discretion granted to him to minimize the risk of encouraging persons not now in refugee status to enter that status.

Two other items of importance received the Council's attention. Mr. J. Donald Kingsley was invited to continue to serve as Director-General of IRO notwithstanding his appointment as United Nations Agent-General for Korea. Finally, the members of the General Council expressed their gratitude to the Allied High Commission for agreeing to take over the functions of the International Tracing Service, and thus ensuring that the records and the master card index of the ITS will still be available to governments wishing to use this service. The ITS was established over three years ago, on January 1, 1948, for the purpose of co-ordinating international tracing activities, and re-organizing the work of the former UNRRA Central Tracing Bureau. The importance of this humanitarian task of tracing missing persons cannot be over-emphasized and the work of IRO in this field has been the subject of much favourable comment.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. Mayrand has taken up his duties as Ambassador to Chile, effective April 18, 1951.
- Mr. J. A. Strong was appointed from Ottawa to Boston as Canadian Consul General, effective March 22, 1951.
- Mr. S. A. Freifeld was posted from the Canadian Consulate General at New York to Ottawa, effective April 30, 1951.
- Mr. E. R. Bellemare was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General at New York, effective March 31, 1951.
- Mr. E. P. Black was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy in the U.S.S.R., effective April 3, 1951.
- Mr. K. D. McIlwraith was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, effective April 3, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Lieutenant Stokes Lybrand Sharp, Assistant Naval Attaché and Assistant Naval Attaché for Air, Embassy of the United States of America, April 17.

Major R. S. Nicholson, Assistant Army Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, April 24. Major Nicholson is married.

Mr. Georges Aguesse, Attaché, Embassy of France, end of April.

Departures

Mr. S. C. Latif, Counsellor, Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, March 31.

Major K. S. Hamilton, Assistant Army Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, April 24.

Baron Michel de Warengnien de Flory, Attaché, Embassy of France, end of April.

Mr. Alois Mohyla, Second Secretary, Legation of Czechoslovakia, left Ottawa on April 14 for a visit to Prague.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Mr. Hanan Aynor, Vice-Consul of Israel at Montreal, April 21.

Mr. George F. Bogardus, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, April 21.

Mr. John M. Kavanaugh, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Saint John, N.B., April 21.

Mr. Muktar Mokaish, Consul General of Lebanon at Ottawa, April 21.

Mr. Orsen N. Nielsen, Consul General of the United States of America at Toronto, April 21.

Mr. Julio A. Ricord, Jr., Honorary Consul General of Panama at Vancouver, April 21.

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. Knut Sivertsen as Honorary Vice-Consul of Norway at Edmonton, April 2.

Mr. Edward J. Lawler as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, April 3.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Ellis A. Bonnet as Consul of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, April 11.

Baron Kurt F. J. Paumann as Honorary Vice-Consul of Austria at Ottawa, April 16, during the absence of Dr. Frederick Riedl-Riedenstein, Consul in charge of the Consulate General of Austria.

Mr. Horatio Mooers as Consul General of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, April 21. Mr. Mooers was previously Consul in that city.

Dr. Gerardo Zampaglione as Vice-Consul of Italy at Toronto, April 21.

Mr. Stefanos Rockanas as Vice-Consul of Greece at Toronto, April 24.

Departures

Mr. Alexis Anfossy, Consul of France at Vancouver, end of April.

Mr. L. G. Vieira de Campos de Carvalho, Consul General of Portugal, resumed charge of the Consulate General on April 19 on his return from a visit to Europe.

TRADE

New Appointments

Mr. Werner E. P. Gautier, Assistant Trade Commissioner for the Federal Republic of Germany at Ottawa.

Mr. Helmuth Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, Assistant Trade Commissioner for the Federal Republic of Germany at Ottawa.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of April 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs").

CONTINUING BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions).

CONFERENCES ATTENDED IN APRIL

1. *Multilateral Tariff Negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.* Torquay—September 28-April 21. Chairman: L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London; Deputy Chairman: H. B. McKinnon, Canadian Tariff Board; J. J. Deutsch, W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarrett and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.
2. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris—February 15-April. Observer: Gen. C. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Mission, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
3. *Special Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.* Torquay—March 29-April 21. Chairman: L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London; Deputy Chairman: H. B. McKinnon, Canadian Tariff Board; W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. Couillard, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, Paris; Dr. C. M. Isbister, A. L. Neal, B. G. Barrow, H. V. Jarrett and J. P. C. Gauthier, Department of Trade and Commerce; Dr. A. E. Richards, Department of Agriculture; H. H. Wright, Department of External Affairs, Secretary.
4. *First Meeting of the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Commission.* Washington—April 2-14. Commissioners: S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; J. H. MacKichan, General Manager, United Maritime Fishermen, Ltd., Halifax; R. Gushue, Chairman, Newfoundland Fisheries Board, St. John's; Scientific Adviser: Dr. A. W. H. Needler, Director, Atlantic Biological Station, St. Andrews; Adviser: G. E. Cox, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
5. *International Joint Commission (Executive Session).* Washington—April 3-6. Chairman: General A. G. L. McNaughton; Hon. George Spence; J. L. Dansereau.
6. *Ninth Session of the Executive Committee of IRO.* Geneva—April 4-18. Head of Delegation: V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland; Delegates: J. Boucher, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; R. Lamarre, Canadian Labour Officer, Karlsruhe-Durlach; N.F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
7. *Seventh Session of the General Council of IRO.* Geneva—April 9-18. Head of Delegation: V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland; Delegates: J. Boucher, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; R. Lamarre, Canadian Labour Officer, Karlsruhe-Durlach; N.F.H. Ber-

lis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.

8. *Meeting of Special Committee to study Draft International Sanitary Regulations (WHO)*. Geneva—April 9-May 5. Delegate: Dr. H. D. Reid, Department of National Health and Welfare; Alternate: Dr. J. B. Bundock, Canadian Embassy, The Hague.
9. *International Rubber Conference*. Rome—April 9-21. Delegate: R. G. C. Smith, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Advisers: J. R. Nicholson, Polymer Corporation, Sarnia; A. A. Caron and S. G. MacDonald, Canadian Embassy, Rome.
10. *Sixth Session of the Narcotic Drugs Commission*. New York—April 10. Col. C. H. L. Sharman, Canadian Member, Narcotic Drugs Commission.
11. *Eighth Session of the International Rubber Study Group*. Rome—April 16. Delegate: R. G. C. Smith, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Advisers: J. R. Nicholson, Polymer Corporation, Sarnia; A. A. Caron and S. G. MacDonald, Canadian Embassy, Rome.
12. *Sixth Session of the Administrative Council of ITU*. Geneva—April 16-May 12. Delegate: C. P. Edwards, Deputy Minister of Transport for Air; C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
13. *North Atlantic Technical Committee on Civil Requirements and on Shipping Availability*. London—April 16. Chairman: The Hon. Mr. Justice J. V. Clyné, British Columbia Supreme Court; Delegate and Alternate Chairman: L. C. Audette, Canadian Maritime Commission; Advisers: R. P. Bower and E. A. Côté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Lt. Cmdr. F. J. Jones, Department of National Defence.
14. *Regional Congress on Tourism*. Mexico City—April 21. One Observer, Canadian Embassy, Mexico City.
15. *North Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping*. London—April 23. Chairman: The Hon. Mr. Justice J. V. Clyné, British Columbia Supreme Court; Delegate and Alternate Chairman: L. C. Audette, Canadian Maritime Commission; Advisers: R. P. Boer and E. A. Côté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Lt. Cmdr. F. J. Jones, Department of National Defence.
16. *Standing Committee on Pulp and Paper*. Washington—April 30. Representative: S. V. Allen, Department of Trade and Commerce; Alternate: M. P. Carson, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
17. *Meeting of Executive Board of UNICEF*. New York—April 30. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.

CONFERENCES TO BE HELD IN MAY AND JUNE

1. *International Social Security Association (Committee of Experts)*. Geneva—May.
2. *Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe*. Strasbourg—May 5-19.
3. *Sixth Session of Statistical Commission of ECOSOC*. New York—May 7-18.
4. *Fourth Session of the Coal Mines Committee of ILO*. Geneva—May 7-19.
5. *Fourth World Health Assembly (WHO)*. Geneva—May 7.
6. *Meeting of Committee on Commodity Problems*. Rome—May 8.
7. *78th Annual Meeting of the Conference on Social Work*. Atlantic City—May 13-18.
8. *Economic, Employment and Development Commission of ECOSOC*. New York—May 14.
9. *Third Session of the Fiscal Commission of ECOSOC*. New York—May 16.
10. *16th Session of the Joint Maritime Commission (ILO)*. Geneva—May 21-26.
11. *Third World Petroleum Congress*. The Hague—May 28-June 6.
12. *115th Session of the Governing Body of ILO*. Geneva—May 28-.
13. *Conference of Plenipotentiaries — Convention on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons*. Geneva—May 28-June 16.
14. *Fifth Annual Conference of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers*. Mexico City—May 29-June 8.
15. *First Session of the Commission on Improvement of National Statistics*. Washington—June 2-8.
16. *Fifth Session of the Assembly of ICAO*. Montreal—June 5.
17. *34th Session of the Conference of ILO*. Geneva—June 6-July 30.
18. *International Commission of Criminal Police*. Lisbon—June 11-15.
19. *Meeting of Budget Committee of General Conference of UNESCO*. Paris—June 11-17.
20. *4th Session of the Committee of the 1950 Census of the Americas*. Washington—June 11-15.
21. *12th Session of the Council of FAO*. Rome—June 11.

22. *15th Wildlife Conference*. Ottawa—June 15.
23. *13th International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy*. Paris — June 17-23.
24. *Sixth Session of the General Conference*

- of UNESCO. Paris—June 18-July 11.
25. *14th Conference of International Office of Documentation on Military Medicine*. Vichy—June 24-25.
26. *Meeting of Copyright Specialists Committee of UNESCO*. Paris—June.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

Relief and rehabilitation of Korea—Report by the Secretary-General; February 12, 1951; document E/1913; 35 p.

Assistance to Indigent Aliens — Second Report by the Secretary-General — (Resolutions adopted by the Economic and Social Council on March 29, 1947 and July 13, 1950); January 10, 1951; document E/CN.5/235; 87 p.; and Addenda.

Recognition and Enforcement abroad of maintenance obligations (Report by the Secretary-General); January 19, 1951; document E/CN.5/236; 56 p.; and Addenda.

(b) Printed Documents:

†*Probation and Related Measures*; January 2,

1951; document E/CN.5/230; 407 p.; \$3.00; Sales No.: 1951.IV.2 (Department of Social Affairs).

Demographic Yearbook 1949-50; Second Issue; 558 p. (Bilingual: English and French); Sales No.: 1951.XIII.1 (Department of Social Affairs, Population Division and Department of Economic Affairs, Statistical Office of the United Nations).

World Health Organization:

(a) *Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for 1952*; March 1951; 571 p. Official Records No. 31.

(b) *Executive Board, Seventh Session*—Part II: Comments and Recommendations on the Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for 1952; March 1951; 134 p. Official Records No. 33.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 51/11—*Canada and the Atlantic Community*, an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, delivered to the Canadian Club of Montreal, on March 19, 1951.

No. 51/13—*The Role of the United Nations in a Two-Power World*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered to a meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, on March 31, 1951.

No. 51/14—*Canadian Foreign Policy in a*

Two-Power World, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered to the Empire and Canadian Clubs of Toronto, on April 10, 1951.

No. 51/15—*Canadian-American Arbitration*, an address by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, delivered at the Metropolitan Club, in New York, on March 30, 1951, on the occasion of a presentation to Mr. Claxton of an award by the American Arbitration Association.

The following serial number is available abroad only:

No. 51/12—*Air Training Plan*, a statement by the Minister of National Defence,

made in the House of Commons, on March 21, 1951.

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, Lake Success, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.

† French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE KOREAN CRISIS

At a meeting of the Additional Measures Committee of the United Nations on May 7 a draft resolution for a selective economic embargo against the Chinese People's Republic was submitted by the United States Delegation. The draft was clarified at informal meetings of the Committee during the following week and was adopted at a formal meeting on May 14. Three days later it was adopted by the Political Committee and the following day by the General Assembly, the final vote being 47 votes to none with 8 abstentions. The five nations of the Soviet Bloc did not participate in the vote because they contended that the General Assembly did not have the right to deal with the resolution. The abstaining countries were Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Syria, and Sweden.

Economic Measures Recommended

After recalling the General Assembly's resolution of February 1, and noting that the Additional Measures Committee had considered additional measures to meet the aggression in Korea and had reported that certain economic measures would supplement existing independent restrictions and support military action of the United Nations in Korea, the resolution went on to recommend that every state:

(a) Apply an embargo on the shipment to areas under the control of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and of the North Korean authorities of arms, ammunition and implements of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, transportation materials of strategic importance, and items useful in the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war;

(b) Determine which commodities exported from its territory fall within the embargo, and apply controls to give effect to the embargo;

(c) Prevent by all means within its jurisdiction the circumvention of controls on shipments applied by other countries pursuant to this resolution;

(d) Co-operate with other countries in carrying out the purposes of this embargo;

(e) Report to the Additional Measures Committee, within 30 days and thereafter at the request of the committee, on the measures taken in accordance with this resolution.

In the next section of the resolution, the Additional Measures Committee was requested:

(a) To report to the General Assembly, with recommendations as appropriate, on the general effectiveness of the embargo and the desirability of continuing, extending or relaxing it;

(b) To continue its consideration of additional measures to be employed to meet the aggression in Korea, and to report thereon further to the General Assembly, it being understood that the committee is authorized to defer its report if the Good Offices Committee reports satisfactory progress in its efforts.

Finally the resolution reaffirmed the continuing policy of the United Nations to bring about a cessation of hostilities in Korea and the achievement of United Nations objectives there by peaceful means, and requested the Good Offices Committee to continue its efforts.

In explaining the Canadian Government's support of the resolution for a selective embargo, J. W. Holmes, the Acting Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, referred to the fact that Canada had long since taken measures to cut off strategic exports to China, and declared "nevertheless we consider that there are advantages in action by the United Nations to generalize restrictions and require some equality in the sacrifices involved in an embargo". He went on to say "if any

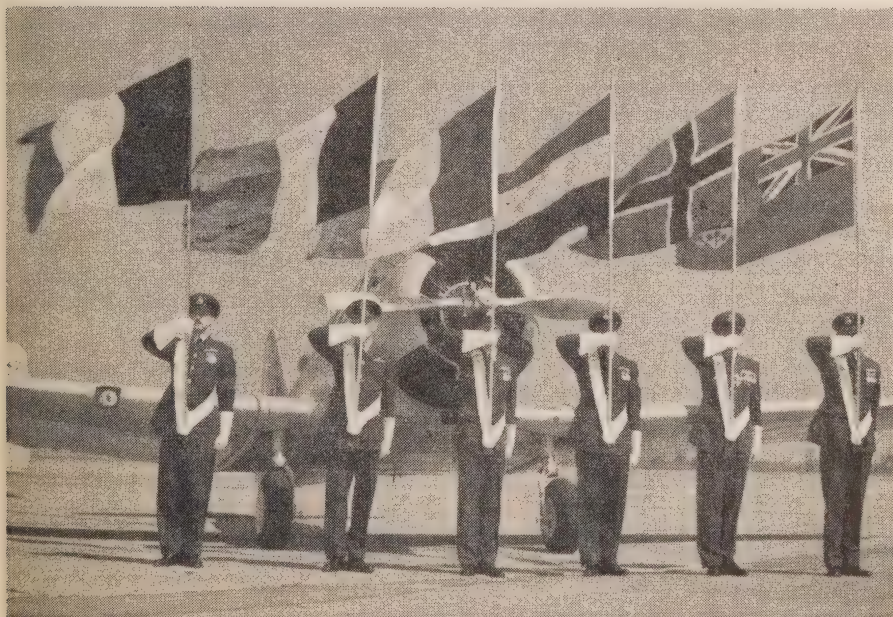
further action should be required we believe that this could be taken by extending or revising this embargo”.

Commonwealth Division Formed

The Minister of National Defence announced in the House of Commons on May 1, that the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group would join other Commonwealth forces in Korea in forming a Commonwealth division to be known as “The First (Commonwealth) Division, United Nations Forces”. In addition to the Canadian unit the division would consist of the 28th and 29th United Kingdom Infantry Brigades, the 3rd Battalion Royal Australian Regiment, the 16th New Zealand field artillery regiment and the 60th Indian field ambulance unit. Mr. Claxton said that the division would be commanded by a United Kingdom officer Major-General A. J. H. Cassels, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., and would have a Canadian, Lieutenant Colonel E. D. Danby, D.S.O., E.D., as its senior staff officer.

Spring Offensive Stopped

The Chinese Communists resumed their spring offensive on May 16. After four days of fighting, United Nations forces stopped the attack and launched a powerful counter offensive which quickly carried them beyond their initial defence positions and over the 38th parallel at several points. At the end of the month they had regained the line held on April 22 when the first phase of the Chinese offensive began.



—RCAF

FIRST NATO WINGS PARADE

Flags of Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Canada were displayed at the RCAF's first NATO wings parade for pilots held at Centralia, Ontario on May 18.

AN ADDRESS BY MR. TRYGVE LIE

Official text of an address delivered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to the Annual Meeting of the United Nations Association, at Ottawa, on June 1, 1951.

I am very glad to be able to come to Canada in response to the invitation of the United Nations Association.

The Canadian Government and the people of Canada have been strong and faithful supporters of the United Nations from its beginnings at San Francisco to the present.

At San Francisco I remember well the important part played by the Canadian delegation under the late Prime Minister Mackenzie King and including in its membership many distinguished representatives of your major parties. Your delegations to successive sessions of the General Assembly under the very able leadership of your Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, and your Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, have always exerted effective influence toward achieving constructive results.

Canada has sent so many able representatives to all the organs of the United Nations that I cannot mention them all.

I do wish, however, to pay a special tribute to your late Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mr. R. G. Riddell, whose untimely death cut short a brilliant career in the service of Canada and of the United Nations cause.

Canada has sought consistently to develop the capacity of the United Nations to prevent war, to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations and to serve as the channel for co-operative efforts to achieve economic and social progress.

As Secretary-General I have shared with you these hopes and these efforts over the past five years. Equally I have shared with you the disappointments, the delays, the setbacks and the growing disquiet of these times.

There are not many people in the world who disagree with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. But there are many people who doubt the power of the United Nations to carry out its principles and to achieve its purposes in the present situation.

As they have watched the growing intensity of the present conflict between the West and the Soviet part of the world, many voices have been heard dismissing the United Nations as a weak reed upon which to lean in such a storm.

Industrial power and armed might, many say, speak with a more compelling voice than the Security Council and the General Assembly.

It is very necessary to make clear, I think, that the choice we must make today in our efforts to maintain peace and preserve freedom is not between the United Nations on the one hand and the use of power on the other hand.

That is not the issue.

The question is this: Will the Governments choose to develop and use their power through the United Nations, using other methods — the methods of direct action — of bilateral dealings — of alliances in support of national interests — not in substitution for the United Nations but in support of its influence and purposes.

Regional pacts and alliances, important as they are in times like the present when the national security of so many countries is felt to be gravely threatened, cannot by themselves alone prevent a third world war. They may be effective deterrents to aggression at particular times and in specified parts of the world.

But if we should ever be left only with these defenses against war, then the outlook would indeed be dim. Alliances alone have in the past led often to competing alliances and thence by stages to armed conflicts.

This is a lesson of history that has been repeated so many times in blood and tragedy, it ought by now to have been learned.

It seems to me, therefore, that the primary purpose of the Member countries in the present situation should be to use their power and influence to the fullest possible extent to preserve and strengthen the United Nations in three directions:

First, to make it work effectively for collective security against armed aggression in every part of the world.

Second, to use it, together with other appropriate methods, for the peaceful adjustment of the many conflicts of national interest that now or in the future endanger peace.

Third, to make it an effective instrument for international action to promote economic development and social progress.

With respect to the first point, it used to be argued that it was impossible to develop collective security within the United Nations because of the present grave conflicts between the majority and the Soviet-led minority.

The unanimity rule prevented the creation of the forces that the Charter said should be at the disposal of the Security Council. It prevented creation of a United Nations system of control of atomic energy and of other armaments.

Therefore, the United Nations was useless for collective security.

This was a short-sighted view.

During the past year we have had two demonstrations of what can be done to make the United Nations a strong force for collective security even in the existing situation of conflict.

The first demonstration is the United Nations action against armed aggression in Korea. The second is the action taken by the General Assembly last fall toward developing the capacity of the United Nations for effective collective action against future aggressions.

When the attack upon Korea was launched a year ago this month, Member Governments found that they could act with collective force under the Charter to meet the aggression. The power was there in the Charter. It had been there all the time, provided the Member Governments were willing to use it.

They have done so, with the United States leading the way and Canada taking an important and enlightened part. Thus, for the first time in history, nations have acted collectively with military force against aggression under the banner of a world organization — the United Nations flag.

This is an historic act of immense significance. As your Minister of External Affairs said last week, the men of 16 nations who are fighting in Korea are, in fact, fighting to prevent a third world war.

By this demonstration that it can act—and act effectively—against armed aggression, the United Nations has taken a great step toward the preservation of peace in the future.

The second demonstration during the past 12 months that the United Nations can become a strong force for collective security was the adoption of the Uniting for Peace resolutions by the General Assembly last fall.

Member Governments have been asked to set aside part of their armed forces for United Nations action in case of any future acts of armed aggression. The possibility of creating a separate United Nations legion composed of volunteers is also being explored.

I have advocated since 1948, the creation of special United Nations forces. As Secretary-General, I feel it is of the utmost importance that the Member Governments agree to provide these forces and that a United Nations Legion also be established, composed of volunteers drawn especially from those countries unable to set aside special United Nations units of their own. These forces should be at the disposal of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Under the Uniting for Peace resolutions, a Peace Observation Committee has also been established to provide an international watch upon troubled borders whenever and wherever needed.

Studies are being undertaken of the problem of assuring overall United Nations direction of national forces committed to such collective actions as the one in Korea.

If the Security Council is unable to fulfil its primary responsibility under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, the General Assembly can hereafter act to use this machinery on 24 hours notice.

It is essential that the promise of the Uniting for Peace resolutions be fulfilled. The responsibility rests with the Member Governments, for the Assembly cannot command them to set aside forces for United Nations action in defense of peace, nor can it compel their use in case of armed aggression.

The Assembly's power of recommendation can, nevertheless, become one of the most effective forces for peace in the world. But the condition is that the Member Governments and their peoples will give the United Nations the place in their foreign policies that their safety and their future clearly demand.

We should not forget that the whole action in Korea has been undertaken in response to recommendations, not commands, first by the Security Council then by the General Assembly.

The second way in which I believe the present crisis demands that a place of first importance be given to the United Nations is in renewed efforts to secure the peaceful settlement of the present conflicts by negotiation, mediation and conciliation.

The United Nations is almost the only place left in this bitterly divided world where all points of view are represented.

The history of the past five years has proved, I think beyond any shadow of doubt, that the best chance of settling conflicts by peaceful means, or at least keeping them within bounds, lies in the United Nations — and this includes Great Power conflicts. The list of cases in which the United Nations has intervened by peaceful means to prevent, settle or stop armed conflicts already is a good one: Iran in 1946, then Greece, Palestine, the Corfu Channel case, the Berlin blockade, Indonesia and Kashmir.

I believe that the time has come for a new effort to end the fighting in Korea. The United Nations forces there — as things stand today — have repelled the aggression and thrown the aggressors back across the 38th Parallel.

If a cease-fire could be arranged approximately along the 38th Parallel, then the main purpose of the Security Council resolutions of June 25 and 27 and July 7 will be fulfilled, provided that the cease-fire is followed by the restoration of peace and security in the area.

We should not forget that the United Nations has three objectives in Korea.

One is the military objective, dating from June 25 last year — to repel the aggression which the North Koreans started and restore peace and security.

The second is the political objective, and under the Charter this can be achieved only by such peaceful means as negotiation and conciliation. This second objective, which dates from 1947 — is the establishment of a free and independent Korea united under a democratic government freely chosen by the Korean People.

The third is the economic and social objective — the restoration with United Nations help of a land as terribly ravaged by war as any in modern history.

We must face the fact that the second objective, which was not accomplished in three years of effort before the attack last June, may take a long time before it is finally achieved.

But the first step, obviously, must be an end to the fighting. That in turn will make it possible to renew the efforts to achieve by negotiation and other peaceful means the unification and freedom of Korea and to begin the United Nations relief and reconstruction programme, for which over \$200,000,000 has already been pledged by the Member Governments.

It takes two sides to make peace. We do not know whether the North Koreans and their supporters are ready to agree to a cease-fire, to be followed by negotiations. Until we do know, the Members of the United Nations must continue to fight in Korea with all the forces that can safely be committed to the action.

If there is no cease-fire in the very near future, I think that it will be the duty of all Members of the United Nations to reconsider the situation and to contribute additional forces.

But the way is open for a cease-fire if the North Koreans and their supporters will now indicate that they are ready to join with the United Nations in stopping the bloodshed.

It is of immense importance for all concerned to bring the fighting to an end as soon as possible. This applies not only to the soldiers on both sides whose lives will be saved, and to the Korean people who have suffered so heavily, but to the world crisis as a whole.

No one can be sure if peace in Korea will open the way to amelioration of conflicts in other parts of the world. But we can be sure that so long as the fighting continues there, the possibility of reducing the present dangerous tensions both in Europe and the Far East is less than it would be if the fighting were ended.

Our desire to be firm in support of collective security against aggression must not lead us to lose any opportunity for honourable negotiation.

We must not confuse peace with appeasement.

We should also be alert to use every opportunity that may present itself inside the United Nations for negotiation and conciliation between majority and minority. If we bear in mind that the world situation is not rigidly static but is constantly subject to the shifting inter-play of all the forces and influences at work, we shall not despair even in the most apparently discouraging atmosphere.

The work for peace must go on in everyone of the many fields in which the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies are engaged.

Time does not permit me today to discuss all these other — and very important — aspects of United Nations work for a peaceful and better world.

But I wish, as Secretary-General, to express my thanks to the Government of Canada and to the Canadian people as a whole for their unfailing and active partici-

pation in all United Nations programmes in the political, economic and social fields.

I wish also to express my admiration for their great contributions toward constructive results.

I know of no Member country of the United Nations that has done so much in proportion to its resources and its population for relief and reconstruction, technical assistance for economic development, aid to refugees and children, and similar United Nations programmes.

Canada has never said "No" to any appeal from the United Nations to bring help to the suffering, the poor and the hungry anywhere in the world.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, may I urge upon all who desire to work for peace that they — as Canada has done — give their active support to all efforts to make the United Nations in fact as well as theory the primary instrument through which the power and resources of the Member countries of the whole world are used for the maintenance of world peace and for economic and social progress everywhere.

No one can be certain at this moment that we shall be able to avoid the disaster of a third world war— an atomic war that might send mankind back to the dark ages.

But we can be sure where lies the best chance of avoiding such a war— and of saving civilization if war should come in spite of all we do to prevent it.

Our best chance lies in preserving and strengthening the United Nations as the foundation of that peaceful world community which it must be our main purpose in this second half of the 20th Century to seek to build.



Amphoto

TRIBUTE TO CANADIAN SOLDIERS

The tradition of an annual tribute to the Canadian soldiers who fell in the liberation of the Netherlands was maintained on May 5 at the Canadian Military Cemetery at Holten on the sixth anniversary of the surrender of the German forces in the Netherlands to the Canadian Army. During the ceremony, children from the neighbourhood placed cut flowers on each grave.

THE TORQUAY CONFERENCE

At the third international tariff conference held since the war, the work done at Geneva in 1947 and Annecy in 1949 was enlarged and extended at Torquay last winter. The results of the Torquay Conference are an integral part of the total result of all three conferences which took place under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The innovation at these conferences of multilateral tariff negotiations between a large group of countries was, in a sense, a by-product of the extensive plans for future economic co-operation conceived during the war. A brief indication, therefore, of this background gives the setting for the work of the Torquay conference and also clarifies the role and status of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, particularly its connection with the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization which is now expected to remain inoperative, since the United States Administration has decided not to submit the Charter to Congress.

Long before the end of the war consideration was given to the establishment of international agencies to deal with postwar problems of currency, investment and trade. The basic instruments for the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund were drawn up at Bretton Woods in 1944. While these steps were being taken the conception of an organization to deal with all matters pertaining to the international exchange of goods was kept clearly in view. After the completion of preliminary work in 1944 and 1945, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations passed a resolution early in 1946 calling for an international conference on trade and employment, and setting up a preparatory committee of eighteen nations to prepare the ground for such a conference.

The Preparatory Committee met first in London, and then in Geneva, to consider a draft charter for an international trade organization. During the London meeting in 1946 the participating governments felt that action to reduce tariff barriers should not be delayed. The basic idea behind the proposed tariff negotiations was that a major step forward in the reduction of tariffs would afford a good basis for the establishment of the new organization. Accordingly it was decided to combine the work of drafting the Charter for an ITO at the second session of the Preparatory Committee with a practical attack on tariff barriers.

Purpose of General Agreement

The tariff conference which followed at Geneva in 1947 led to the conclusion of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) which was framed to give effect to the tariff concessions negotiated. The essential purpose of the General Agreement, which was regarded as an interim affair, was to protect the value of these concessions against measures of indirect protection (quota restrictions, etc.) and "invisible tariffs" (arbitrary customs procedures, etc.) pending the anticipated establishment of the International Trade Organization. Many of the commercial safeguards of the draft Charter were incorporated in the Agreement.

It was not expected, however, that governments would wish to ratify obligations which were still in draft form and liable to be changed at the full-dress 54 nation conference which was to open at Havana in November 1947, for the purpose of drawing up, in final form, the Charter for the International Trade Organization. Governments, therefore, undertook to apply the safeguarding provisions in the General Agreement "to the fullest extent not inconsistent with existing legislation". On the basis of this arrangement it was possible to proceed with the conclusion of the Geneva tariff negotiations, and governments were able to make the agreed rates effective.

The General Agreement was, therefore, brought into being to fill an immediate and practical need. It has also provided a forum for the periodic discussion of commercial policy questions and the settlement of complaints brought before it by mem-

ber governments. These periodic meetings are concerned with commercial policy questions and they do not deal with other aspects of international economic relations which were included in the Havana Charter.

The more positive functions, however, foreseen for the International Trade Organization in fields other than that of commercial policy are now being taken up by existing international organizations. Thus, the Economic and Social Council is giving consideration to the principles of full employment. Economic development is also being dealt with by the Council and by its regional commissions as well as by other international agencies. Another important part of the Havana Charter concerned commodity agreements. The international machinery recently established in Washington to deal with commodity problems may, perhaps, ultimately promote the conclusion of commodity agreements.

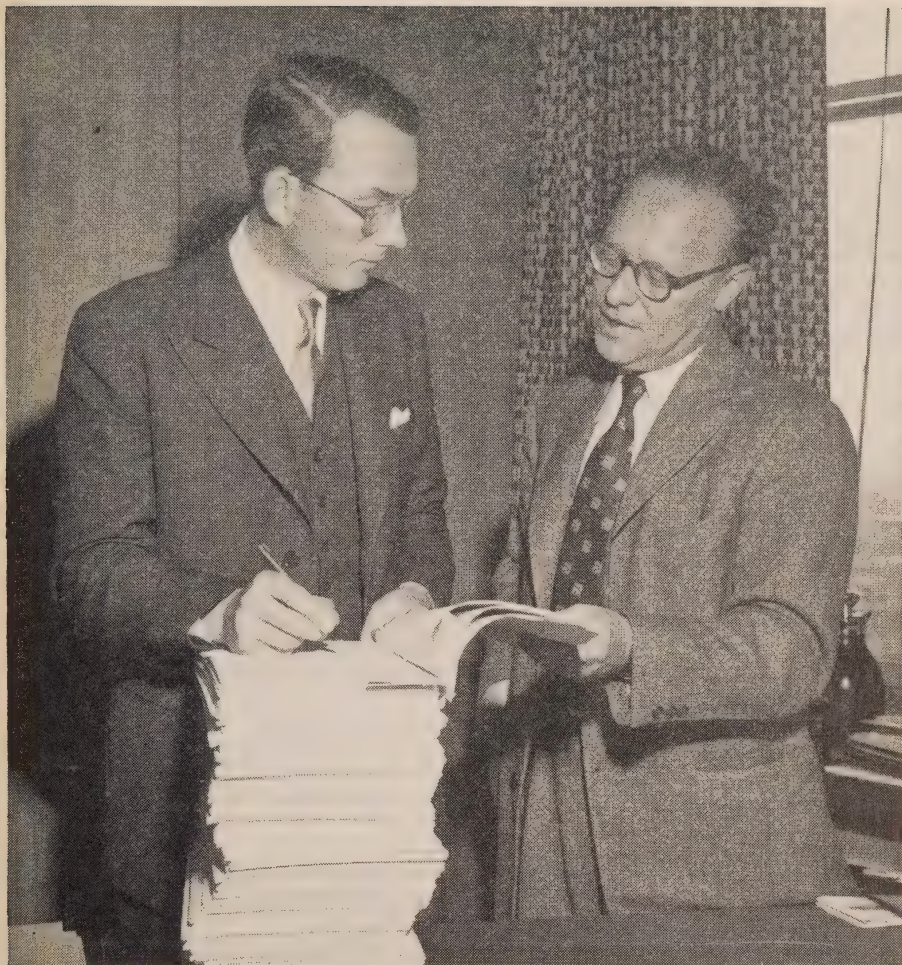
The only important part of the Havana Charter which is not being dealt with by other agencies is that already embodied in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The General Agreement is the sole international instrument in the field of commercial policy. As such, it has provided a code of conduct for the carrying on of world trade; it has served as an international forum for the discussion and settlement of commercial policy questions and, under its provision, three rounds of multilateral tariff negotiations have been concluded.

Value of General Agreement Increased

The tariff negotiations concluded at Torquay are expected to increase the overall value of the General Agreement in a number of important ways. First, arrangements were made to extend the Geneva and Annecy tariff concessions for a further period of three years. Secondly, the General Agreement and concessions under it were expanded to include the following six new members: Austria, the German Federal Republic, Korea, Peru, the Philippines and Turkey. Finally, new tariff negotiations took place between present members to cover a broader range of commodities and to provide for further reductions on many products. The new tariff concessions, together with the Geneva and Annecy concessions, are to remain in force at least until January 1, 1954.

As part of the undertaking to extend the previous agreements for a further period of three years, countries had a right under the General Agreement to make modifications or withdrawals of previous tariff concessions and a few concessions were withdrawn from Canada. In such instances, compensation was made by tariff concessions on other products so that the value to Canada of the previous agreements was not impaired. It is important to note that the original tariff concessions granted by the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and a number of other important countries were maintained in their entirety.

Much importance was attached to the task of preserving at Torquay the structure of the concessions agreed on at Geneva and Annecy, and the Minister of Trade and Commerce said in the House of Commons on May 8 that "while the new agreements made at Torquay provide a signal contribution to Canada's external trade policy, by far the most important accomplishment was the prolongation of the Geneva and Annecy schedules of tariff concessions". The Geneva schedules included concessions on some 45,000 tariff items covering two-thirds of the foreign trade of the twenty-three participating countries. These countries account for three-quarters of total world exports and the Geneva agreements covered world trade to the value of many billions of dollars. Thus the concessions which Canada received at Geneva from the United States alone covered in some fashion almost 95 per cent of the total dutiable imports entering the United States from this country. Following the Geneva Conference some 5,000 further concessions were negotiated at Annecy in 1949. The main purpose, however, of the Annecy Conference was to provide for the accession of additional countries to the General Agreement.



—United Nations

CANADA SIGNS TORQUAY PROTOCOL TO GATT

Mr. John W. Holmes, left, Acting Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, signs the Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. On the right, Mr. A. H. Feller, General Counsel and Principal Director of the United Nations Legal Department.

A specific indication of the actual effect of these two conferences is the percentage reduction which has taken place in the level of United States tariffs in the postwar period. Before the Geneva schedules became effective on January 1, 1948, the United States Government collected in customs duties about 25.5 per cent of the value of all dutiable foreign goods imported. Following the Geneva and Annecy Conferences this figure fell to 14.5 per cent, the lowest point since the Underwood Tariff Act, 1913.

With the rebinding of the Geneva and Annecy concessions and the accession of further governments to the GATT, the combined concessions resulting from the three tariff conferences will apply to some 58,800 items entering into the trade of some 38 countries which among them account for over 80 per cent of world imports and exports.

As the figures show, the largest part of the combined concessions were granted at Geneva. Agreements at Torquay on further tariff concessions on anything like the Geneva scale was never anticipated. In the first place many of the countries had to a large extent used up their bargaining power in 1947 and 1949 and were not in a position at Torquay to reduce their tariffs much further. Secondly, while measures for the liberalization of trade increase the importance of tariff reductions, they also make concessions more difficult to obtain. In addition, the tense international situation coupled with the changing world economic background did not facilitate the work of the Torquay Conference. Finally, the failure of the United States and members of the Commonwealth — with the exception of Canada — to conclude agreements at Torquay attracted much attention and was widely regretted. These negative elements in the Torquay situation did not, however, prevent the conclusion of important new agreements.

Mr. Howe's Statement

Speaking in the House of Commons on May 8, the Minister of Trade and Commerce said: "For Canada, these negotiations have been a marked success. The sixteen new trade agreements which we have made at Torquay will add strength to Canada's commercial position". Of the sixteen agreements to which Mr. Howe referred six were concluded with the new countries already named and the remaining ten with the United States, France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, India and Indonesia. Under the most favoured nation principle the results of these bilateral agreements will be generalized. In this way all the concessions which Canada made are automatically extended to all the members of the group whether or not they were negotiated directly with Canada. Similarly, the concessions of the other countries are automatically extended to Canada.

In his review of the Torquay negotiations the Minister of Trade and Commerce dealt in some detail with the agreement concluded between Canada and the United States. He said:

The most important *single* agreement at Torquay was made by Canada with the United States. The policy of fostering joint trade between Canada and the United States was initiated by the trade treaties of 1935 and 1938, and greatly expanded in 1947 at Geneva. Torquay is now added, as a further and constructive milestone. The United States schedule of new tariff concessions resulting from Torquay contains 400 items of interest to Canadian exporters. Exports to the United States from Canada of goods in these categories amounted to \$120 million in 1949.

United States legislation provides that their tariffs may be reduced, by negotiation, to 50 per cent of the levels which prevailed on January 1, 1945. At Geneva, in 1947, Canada had received from the United States a large proportion of the tariff concessions which were negotiable under the powers of the President. These had included important concessions on agricultural products. The United States Administration still had power, nevertheless, to make a number of additional concessions of value to Canada. From our point of view, the Torquay negotiations were undertaken with the aim of obtaining for Canadian exporters as many of these additional concessions as possible. I am now in a position to inform Honourable Members that in this aim we have been eminently successful. We have, on our part, granted concessions in return . . .

Mr. Abbott's Statement

In supplementing Mr. Howe's statement, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Abbott, referred on May 8 to Canada's position with respect to the Commonwealth preferential system in relation to the Torquay Conference. He said:

It was clearly understood that no preferences need be reduced nor any tariff concessions granted except in return for reciprocal and mutually advantageous concessions, and it was up to each country to decide what constituted a satisfactory agreement from its own point of view.

This government has never taken a rigid or doctrinaire position on the matter of preferences either with respect to their retention or modification. For that matter, as members of the House will recall, Canada took the lead many years ago in granting preferential treatment of Commonwealth countries. As hon. members know, we have used the device of Commonwealth preferences as a device for expanding trade. We have never regarded it as a device for restricting trade.

Our objective has always been to expand trade on as wide a basis as possible. Indeed, this is the only way in which we can find adequate outlets for the products of our expanding economy. For this reason, while the Government continues to attach a high importance to the development of inter-Commonwealth trade, it has never allowed our preferential arrangements to prevent us from taking advantage of new opportunities for expanding Canada's trade. In order to find adequate outlets for the products of the different regions and industries of this country, we must take advantage of such opportunities.



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

A General Statement on International Affairs

On May 7 the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, moved that the estimates of the Department be referred to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons on External Affairs. In opening the debate Mr. Pearson spoke in part as follows:

. . . One of the cardinal facts in the world today is the emergence of the United States to a position of unquestioned leadership in the free world. A great shift of power and influence has occurred within the last few years, with the result that the United States now stands pre-eminent. By any test it is not only the most powerful of the free states of the world; it is immensely the most powerful. We in Canada know the United States so well that we can view this great and historic development without apprehension, and feel indeed relief and satisfaction that power is in the hands of a nation which has such a deeply rooted democratic tradition, whose people have no desire to dominate other countries, and which has shown its good will towards less fortunate peoples on so many occasions by acts of magnanimity and generosity.

This feeling, I think, is increased by a consideration of what our position would be today if the United States had not decided to assume the responsibilities throughout the world which its new position has thrust upon it. We have good reason to believe that it will discharge those responsibilities with conscience, courage, and respect for the interests of others. The predominance of the United States, however, is bound to raise new problems for all those countries which share its values, and which are associated with it, and proud to be associated with it, in the defence of freedom. These new problems must be understood and must be solved if friction is to be kept to a minimum and the forces of freedom are to be strong and united.

In considering, for instance, Canada's relations with the United States it is not enough to take refuge in thoughts or in words, as I see it, in the usual clichés of 135 years of peace or the unguarded boundary. Certainly in my view any spokesman for the Canadian Government or the Canadian people on external affairs has a duty to go deeper than this in the examination of this important question. Such an examination can also lead to a clarification of issues only if it is made within the wider framework of the position of the United States as the leader of our free alliance against the dangers which threaten us. The maintenance, let alone the strengthening, of an alliance of free nations is never easy, and requires tolerance, patience and great understanding. It is not easy in war; it is not easy in times of normal peace. It is especially difficult, I think, in a period such as the present of part war and part peace, with all its frustrations, tensions and anxieties.

Therefore I am sure we all agree that this imposes on the peoples of all free states a special obligation to face the problems of their mutual relationships with candour and frankness, but also with a firm resolve to understand each other's points of view. It seems to me that the unity of the free world would be in real jeopardy if there were no free discussion of our common objectives and of the possibly different means by which they can best be reached. Much of that discussion will and should be carried on confidentially between governments, but the people have a right to be kept informed of the problems involved and the principles of action which the government may think to be necessary for their solution. Therefore honest discussion of the issues before us, so long as it is conducted in cool and reasonable terms, will not weaken the free world. I am convinced on the contrary that it is an indispensable part of the process of developing our united strength, although of course in this kind of discussion one always runs the risk of misinterpretation and the placing of a wrong emphasis on what may have been said.

In all these relations between the governments in our alliance of free countries,

no single government can of course surrender its judgment into the keeping of any other government, however close and friendly that government may be. It may at times, however — and I have said this before, although it is sometimes forgotten — have to yield to the collective judgment of the group reached after discussion and consultation. That is the only way that democracy can be carried on within our own country. It is the only way that democracy can be carried on internationally. The decision when to hold out and when to yield is often a terribly difficult one to make. Yet it is on that decision that the unity and close co-operation among members of our alliance will so often depend; and on that so much else depends. Over-sensitiveness and obstinacy, on the one hand, over the maintenance of national rights and national sovereignty, and arrogance or carelessness, on the other, in over-riding them, might in either case produce serious and even dangerous division among the countries of the world.

The Danger of Disunity

That division, which would lead possibly to disunity and even disruption, gives the foe that threatens us his greatest comfort and his greatest opportunity. Particularly during these times — I am sure we all agree with this — must the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada maintain and strengthen their special ties of friendship within the larger group. It would be folly to think that any one of us can go it alone. It would also be a fatal error, made previously by two dictators, for any potential enemy to think that we intend to take that course, folly also for him to draw wrong conclusions from that mistaken interpretation of our democratic differences of opinion. On the big issues we stand together within our countries as well as between our countries, even though we may sometimes seem verbally separated. It is, I think, as much the responsibility of public and press opinion as of governments to keep these differing voices from resulting in different policies. Policy for the free world must be forged not on a shifting basis of emotion but on the hard anvil of facts. Only in that way can it be well-tempered and strong.

One of the most important of these facts is that of persistent Soviet communist hostility. Another is, as I have said, the new position of power and responsibility of the United States as the leader of the free world. This latter fact, as I see it, means that our own relations with the United States have entered upon a new phase within the last few years. It does not mean that they should not be or cannot be as close and friendly as they have been in the past. Canadians, with very few exceptions, indeed — and those exceptions mostly of the communist persuasion — all hope this will be the case and want to do what they can to make it possible and even easy. Certainly that is the policy of this government, as it has been throughout the years.

Relations with the United States

Well, what is the nature of this change I have been talking about, and not only inside the house? Hitherto questions which from time to time we have had to discuss and decide with the United States were largely bilateral matters between neighbours. They arose from such things as border disputes, differences over the diversion of water and so on, or had to do with commerce back and forth across the boundary. Of course they were often complicated and difficult enough. Now, however, we are not only neighbours but allies. I think perhaps that is the simplest way to indicate the change that has come over the nature of our relations with the United States. We have always been good neighbours, accustomed to settling our differences in a neighbourly spirit. Now we are good allies, and as allies we must do our best to settle, in our customary friendly way, such differences as may exist between us from time to time. But the questions we shall have to discuss in this way will often be of a character arising from our senior and junior partnership in a common association. They will often deal with the policies to be followed by that association in the North Atlantic Pact or within the United Nations, very often indeed within the United Nations.

It is perhaps not unnatural that many people in Canada and the United States have not yet realized this change. It has come about rather suddenly, and I doubt

if in either country we have yet completely adjusted ourselves to it. On Tuesday of last week, I believe, the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) gave an illustration of one of the new categories of subjects under discussion between Canada and the United States when he announced in this House the recommendations of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, which had been accepted by both governments, for the revision of the lease under which the United States holds certain bases in Newfoundland. The discussions on this subject between Canada and the United States were carried on in a friendly and co-operative spirit, as is our habit, and they have resulted in a compromise which I think will commend itself to the House as reasonable in the circumstances. The problem itself arises out of the defence requirements of the United States on Canadian soil, requirements not merely for its own security but for the security of the free world. It also arises, however, out of the necessity of the United States meeting these legitimate requirements in a way which recognizes Canadian jurisdiction and, even more important, Canadian self-respect.

In an age of atomic weapons and long range bombers Canada is obviously now of far greater importance to the defence of North America and the North Atlantic area than ever before. For that reason, and because we are now joined as allies in the North Atlantic Treaty, inevitably from time to time there will be other defence questions of very great importance to both countries which must be discussed. I have no doubt that we shall be able to find satisfactory solutions to those questions as well, but it will be easier to find them if we in Canada continue to remember the very heavy responsibility the United States has shouldered for the common defence, and if the United States continues to appreciate that the alliance in which we are joined with them will not be as strong as it should be unless the various defence arrangements which may be necessary on our soil are worked out in such a way that they will commend themselves wholeheartedly to Canadian public opinion.

Policy in Korea

Another — and I suppose at the moment the most pressing — problem we face with the United States, because it is indeed a phase of United States-Canada relations, though it is also of far wider and deeper significance, involving as it does the whole question of global war or global peace, is the policy to be adopted at the present time in Korea. For the time being I think the role of diplomacy in Korea is secondary, because the scene there is now dominated by the heavy fighting which has been going on for the past few weeks. The first wave of the new Chinese attack has been checked and broken by United Nations forces, but the attack is not yet spent — far from it. This is probably just a lull before another storm. So it seems to me that for some time to come, while this heavy fighting is going on, the task of upholding the purpose and will of the United Nations in Korea must rest upon the fighting men who have withstood so courageously the attacks made upon them by much more numerous enemy forces. One Canadian battalion, as we know, has had an important part in the recent fighting. Additional Canadian troops have now arrived in Korea, and before many more days have passed a full Canadian brigade group will be in action. These men, along with those of the other United Nations forces, and particularly the forces of the United States, will have more effect upon the course of events in Korea over the next few weeks than any diplomatic moves; and I know the thoughts of every one of us will be with them, and perhaps especially with those of our own men who are going into action for the first time.

In those circumstances perhaps it would not be appropriate for me to say too much about the actual situation in Korea, but there are a few things I should like to say. The present Chinese attack must be broken before we can again begin to entertain any hope of a peaceful and honourable settlement there. When it has been broken, as we hope it will be, and with heavy losses to the enemy, the Chinese communists may be in a mood to negotiate an honourable settlement — the only kind of settlement we have ever contemplated — or at least to desist from further attacks. I think it would be quite unrealistic to hold out hope of an early settlement in Korea, or even of an early end to the fighting, nevertheless we should always remember that the United Nations stands ready to negotiate, though not to betray its trust or yield to blackmail. The statement of principles adopted by the General Assembly by an overwhelming majority on January 13 last, which would provide for a cease-fire to

be followed by a Korean settlement and by the negotiation of a wide range of Far Eastern problems, still represents the considered opinion of the United Nations. If the Chinese government and the North Korean government wish to take advantage of the offer contained in that statement, it is open to them to do so. Of their willingness to do so, however, there is no sign. Committees established by the United Nations Assembly have all been rebuffed. The North Korean government, in a broadcast message as late as April 18, has repeated its determination to drive the United Nations forces from the peninsula. We can only hope that the heavy losses which the aggressors are now suffering and will suffer in Korea may produce a more accommodating frame of mind.

The UN Objective

In the meantime, the United Nations forces are heroically and skilfully fulfilling the task which has been given to them, which is the defeat of armed aggression in Korea. This is — and it should not be forgotten — the sole military objective of the forces of the United Nations in Korea, the defeat of aggression so that a free, democratic and united Korea can be established. It is also worthy of note, I believe, that, as Mr. Warren Austin, the United States delegate to the Security Council, said on May 1 — I quote from his statement:

“The United Nations has not declared nor has it ever been asked to declare, that the political objectives — ”

That is, a democratic, free and unified Korea.

“ — must be achieved by military means. In fact, the emphasis has been quite the contrary.”

Furthermore . . . I suggest it is not an aim or objective of the United Nations in its Korean policy to interfere in the internal affairs of any Asian country, to replace one regime by another. Its aim, as I said, is to defeat aggression and so prevent other acts of aggression by proving that aggression does not pay. To some that may seem to be too limited an objective. On this point the well known columnist Mr. Walter Lippmann had this to say the other day — and I quote from his article:

“Only a limited objective can be obtained by a war which is limited. The question now is whether the country — ”

He was referring to his own country, the United States.

“ — will agree with reasonable unity that our military objective in Korea is the limited one of repelling aggression south of the 38th parallel and restoring the South Korean republic. We can, and we should, still hold it as a political and diplomatic objective that Korea should eventually be united by democratic means. But we cannot unify Korea by a war confined to the Korean peninsula, and we shall get nowhere in this controversy until we make the choice of limited objectives out of a limited war or unlimited objectives out of an unlimited war.”

Communism and Aggression

It is also sometimes loosely said that the United Nations forces are fighting in Korea to defeat communism. There is perhaps some colour for this mistake, since the aggression perpetrated is by communist states, and has its roots in the totalitarian communist nature of those states. Free men everywhere must be determined to resist communism. But it is a confusion, I think, of categories to think that communism as a doctrine or form of government must be fought by armed forces, or that such is the purpose of the United Nations military action in Korea. When communism, or indeed fascism, results in acts of military aggression, that aggression should be met by any form of collective action, including military collective action, which can be made effective. But the purpose of such action is to defeat aggression. Communism itself, as a reactionary and debasing doctrine, must be fought on other planes and in different ways; by the use of economic, social, political and moral weapons. As Sir Norman Angell put it in a letter to *The New York Times* the other day:

"The vital distinctions in this matter are not difficult or very obscure. We can overcome, and still better, deter, military aggression with military force But if we use military power to dictate or to appear to dictate to other nations, Asiatic or European, what social or political or economic system they may adopt for themselves, we shall awaken a nationalism which in the end will defeat us."

Since the United Nations objective in Korea, then, is to defeat aggression, it follows, I think, that the methods used should be designed to limit and localize the conflict and not to spread it. As long ago as August 31, 1950, I said in this House that it was not the purpose of this government to support any course of policy which would extend the scope of the present conflict in Korea, a conflict which should be confined and localized if it is in our power to do that; also that United Nations policy should be to avoid giving anyone else an excuse for extending the conflict . . . That is still our view.

One way by which the conflict could be spread would be by authorizing the United Nations commander in Korea to conduct an aerial bombing of China. As I said on April 26 last in the House, it is possible to visualize a situation in which immediate retaliatory action without prior consultation might be unavoidable in pursuing enemy bombers back to, and in attempting to destroy, the Manchurian air bases from which they came. It is our view, however, that the bombing, as well as the blockading, of China should, if at all possible be avoided, since such action would involve grave risk of extending the fighting without, as we see it, any corresponding assurance that such extension would end the war. The history, the position, the social and economic organization, and the political situation in China would not seem to give much hope for any such decisive result from such limited action. Indeed, it may be felt, on the contrary, that this limited action which has been suggested would inevitably develop into unlimited action against China, about the possible result of which the Japanese perhaps are best fitted to give testimony. One result we can, however, expect with some certainty, and that is great satisfaction in Moscow over such a development. It may be that the Chinese communists, by indulging in massive air activity over Korea, will make some kind of retaliation necessary. They have, however, not yet taken such action, and in that sense have not yet conducted an all-out war against the United Nations forces in Korea. As General Bradley put it in an address in Chicago on April 17:

"Communist air intervention has not been a factor in the ground action to date. Neither has it been any serious threat to our air force."

If the Chinese communists change that situation, the responsibility for the consequences would rest entirely with them and not with the United Nations forces.

The Question of Extending the Conflict

I am, of course, . . . aware that this policy of restraint in which all the governments who have forces in Korea concur to the best of my knowledge, may complicate the problems facing the United Nations commanders in Korea. These problems, however, in the opinion of many, would be immensely more complicated if the fighting were extended to China.

The question, I think, above all other questions at the moment, is, in short, whether aerial bombardment of points in China, together with a naval blockade and the removal of all restrictions from Chinese forces in Formosa, would be sufficient to bring China's participation in the war in Korea to an end, without bringing about intervention by the forces of the Soviet Union. It was felt by many last November that if United Nations forces advanced to the very borders of Manchuria and cleared North Korea of the enemy, the war would then end; that there would be little risk of communist China intervening, or, that, if it did, the intervention could be contained and defeated. As we know, and as I said last February in the House, it did not work out that way, for one reason or another. In the light of that experience, we should, I think, before we take any new decisions which will extend the war, be reasonably sure that this extension will have compensating military and political advantages. Let us not forget we would be playing for the highest stakes in history.

Another way in which the conflict could be extended, in the hope that it would be ended sooner, would be by facilitating and assisting the return to the mainland of China of the forces at present in Formosa under the command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. We should remember, of course, that these forces, or forces under the same command, have been driven from China by their own countrymen. The question to be answered, therefore, is this: Is there any reason to believe that these Chinese nationalist forces now in Formosa would have greater success in China than they had previously, unless they were supported by troops and equipment from other countries which could ill be spared for such a hazardous venture, with all its possible long-drawn-out consequences?

The desire to localize the conflict and prevent it from spreading remains, then, our policy, though we must recognize that while it takes only one to start a fight, it takes two to limit, as well as two to settle, a fight.

Formosa

May I now say just a word in conclusion . . . about our views . . . on the situation in Formosa. I believe that this island should be neutralized while fighting is going on in Korea. I have expressed that view previously. Certainly the United States of America cannot be expected to permit the Peking government to take over Formosa while that government is defying, and fighting against, the United Nations. It does not follow, however, that if and when the Korean conflict can be ended satisfactorily, we should refuse to discuss the future of Formosa within the context of international agreements that have already been reached concerning it, and indeed within the context of the United Nations Charter. Any other course would, I think, result in implacable hostility between the United Nations and whatever government was in control of China at the time the war ended.

Until that war ends, however, and China abandons her attack against the United Nations in Korea, there can be, I think, no question of even discussing whether Formosa should be handed over to the Peking regime; at least that is our view. The same, I think, applies to recognition of that regime in Peking. There can be no question even of considering it while the Chinese defy the United Nations in Korea and fight against our forces there.

Nor do we think it realistic or right, while communist China is fighting in Korea, to include the Peking government in the current discussions of a Japanese peace treaty. In this regard, as in the case of the disposition of Formosa, the decision as to who shall talk and sign for China might well, I think — and even any discussion of this matter — be postponed until the Korean war is ended.

These are two questions which I know are uppermost in our minds these days. What is going on in the Far East? What is the policy of the alliance which has been built up, and which is getting stronger every day, to meet the dangers ahead, and within that alliance what is the relationship of a junior partner like Canada to its neighbour and its very senior partner in this association, the United States of America? It is not easy these days to be too optimistic about the course of events; but time is going on, and while time is going on we are getting stronger. In that sense, but only in that sense, time may be said to be on our side if we take advantage of it. If we do take advantage of it, and if we grow stronger militarily, economically and in every other way, then I think, as I have said before, that we have no reason to regard the future with panic or despair. But the remedy . . . rests with us.

The debate was subsequently joined by the following members of Parliament:

Mr. George A. Drew (Leader of the Opposition)

Mr. Gordon Graydon (PC, Peel)

Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar)

Mr. Solon E. Low (SC, Peace River)

Mr. J. M. Macdonnell (PC, Greenwood)

Mr. L. T. Stick (L, Trinity-Conception)

Mr. Rodney Adamson (PC, York West)
Mr. H. W. Herridge (CCF, Kootenay West)
Mr. Howard C. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra)
Mr. Stanley Knowles (CCF, Winnipeg North Centre)
Mr. George H. Hees (PC, Broadview)
Mr. W. J. Browne (PC, St. John's West).

Aspects of Canadian Policy

The debate which had been initiated on May 7 was resumed on May 14. On this occasion it was joined by Mr. George Drew, Leader of the Opposition; and the following members of Parliament:

Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar)
Mr. W. J. Browne (PC, St. John's West)
Mr. H. R. Argue (CCF, Assiniboia)
Mr. H. A. MacKenzie (L, Lambton-Kent)
Mr. John Decore (L, Vegreville)
Mr. E. G. Hansell (SC, Macleod)
Mr. Howard C. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra)
Mr. J. M. Macdonnell (PC, Greenwood).

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, closed the debate and spoke in part as follows:

Formosa and the Recognition of Communist China

The policy of the Government of Canada in regard to these matters has been made clear more than once in this House, outside this House and at the United Nations. . . . I would repeat . . . because I think it describes in a nutshell our policies in regard to these matters — the last paragraph of the statement of principles adopted by fifty-two members of the United Nations, including the United States of America. It deals with the Far East problem in general, Formosa and recognition in particular. We are bound by this paragraph because we accepted this statement of principles. The last paragraph read as follows:

As soon as agreement has been reached on a cease-fire, the General Assembly —

That is, the General Assembly of the United Nations

— shall set up an appropriate body which shall include representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the People's Republic of China, with a view to the achievement of a settlement, in conformity with existing international obligations and the provisions of the United Nations Charter, of Far Eastern problems, including among others those of Formosa (Taiwan) and of representation of China in the United Nations.

Iran

. . . This would be one occasion, I think, when it would be inappropriate and inadvisable for one in my position to talk about this particular subject at this particular moment. It is one of the most difficult and dangerous problems, affecting not only Iran but many other countries as well. I think it would be unwise on my part to say anything about it at this time, except to express the hope that these problems can be settled in a way which would be consistent with the national aspirations of the Iranian people and the legitimate interests of other people who have ministered to the well being of Iran, in administering the oil industry of that country which they have been instrumental in developing.

. . . I should like to refer to the policy guidance paper communicated by the Department of External Affairs to the International Service of the CBC, under which these broadcasts to the behind-the-iron-curtain countries are being operated. I should like to quote a few sentences from this hitherto confidential paper, in order to deal with this point, because I know of no other way of dealing effectively with it than to quote from the policy guidance paper which is supposed to guide the operations of the CBC International Service in this field. In this paper it is stated that one of the purposes of these broadcasts is:

Unmasking the hypocrisy of communist democracy in elections, trade unions, labour camps and religion and the hypocrisy of Soviet peace propaganda and its inconsistency in view of Soviet aggressive foreign policy, rearmament and concentration on heavy industry to the detriment of the Soviet standard of living.

That is a quotation from the policy paper. Another one is as follows:

Keeping alive and if possible increasing a knowledge of and appreciation of democracy, the code of ethics which we have derived from Christianity and western civilization and thought.

Those are the general lines along which the international services are proceeding or are attempting to proceed in regard to the broadcasts to the behind-the-iron-curtain countries.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

. . . We want to see this enterprise brought to completion as a power and navigational project by the co-operation of the two governments most concerned; but we want to see it completed. If it cannot be completed on an international basis, naturally we shall have to examine the situation and see what other way it might be done. In discussing this matter the hon. member for Peel (Mr. Graydon) asked whether there were any treaty obligations which would prevent our charging discriminatory tolls on non-Canadian vessels as a way to pay the cost of construction of the canal and the power installations, if they were a Canadian enterprise exclusively. There are . . . no treaty obligations binding on Canada which would be an obstacle to the imposition of tolls on Canadian canals in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system. There are treaty provisions, however, which affect Canada's ability to establish toll schedules discriminating between ships of Canada and those of another country, or between the ships of different foreign countries; so, as I understand, discriminatory tolls would not be possible.

The Colombo Plan and Technical Assistance

During our discussion, . . . a good many members of the House made reference to international relief and rehabilitation problems, more particularly with reference to the Colombo Plan and to famine assistance for India. I announced in this House not so very long ago that the Government would ask Parliament to appropriate \$25 million as its contribution to the first year of the plan, provided that it was clear that other contributing countries would make appropriate contributions so that the broad objectives of the plan might be realized. Since that time we have been taking steps to make arrangements with recipient countries for the purpose of ensuring that so far as Canada is concerned the momentum of the plan is sustained.

The Colombo report contains in its appendices lists of projects for financing under the plan; and without waiting for the working out of the details of the plan, indeed without waiting for the plan to come into operation, we have asked the Indian and Pakistan governments to send over technically qualified representatives to discuss with our officials on a bilateral basis the projects in which we might assist, having in mind those items which Canada is best fitted to undertake; and in this connection we are doing all the preparatory work that we can to keep this movement going.

In the broader field of technical assistance we have played, I think, a useful part. We have participated, either through the headship of, or membership in technical missions, in United Nations missions to Bolivia, Ethiopia, Burma, Colombia, Egypt and India, and the filling of requests for technicians received from Libya, the Philippines, Indonesia and Ceylon under the United Nations programme is now currently under consideration; but it is not of course under present circumstances very easy to find suitable Canadian technicians for this purpose.

No technicians have yet been supplied under the Colombo Plan, but approximately 50 requests have been received from India, Pakistan and Ceylon, and are now being examined by the Technical Assistance Service. More has been accomplished in making Canadian facilities available for trainees from abroad.

We have notified the Bureau on Technical Co-operation in Colombo that we are prepared to accept twelve trainees from India, ten from Pakistan and six from Ceylon at an early date for placement in the following fields: road building, electrical engineering, pulp and paper, rail transportation and agriculture. The bureau in Colombo is being notified that we will accept three technical missions for a six to eight week tour of Canada during the summer in the fields of hydro-electric power, road building and agriculture respectively.

During the February meeting of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee in Colombo the member countries were informed by our delegation that Canada was prepared to grant fellowships to interested recipient countries in such fields as agriculture, engineering, forestry, education and medical research. Subsequently we made a specific offer of sixty scholarships and fellowships to the countries of South and South-East Asia.

Famine Conditions in India

Then there is the question . . . of assistance to India to deal with the very distressing and developing famine situation there. So that the facts on this matter might be clear, I should like to put into the record that the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, announced on May 10 that 50 thousand tons of wheat, purchased on a cash basis from the Soviet Union, were on their way to India; 50 thousand tons only, purchased on a cash basis. He added that negotiations for the purchase of an additional 500 thousand tons of other wheat in exchange for certain Indian commodities were in progress. China has sent 50 thousand tons of rice as part of a barter deal, China receiving Indian jute in exchange; and India has also purchased from China 50 thousand tons of milo.

This afternoon reference was made to the United Kingdom contribution. It is true that the United Kingdom agreed to the diversion to India of some cargoes of Australian wheat out of its own purchases in Australia. Some 42 thousand tons of wheat have been so diverted to India and paid for by the Indian Government. It was suggested this afternoon that the Government were negligent in their appreciation of the terrible famine situation in India. It was suggested by an hon. member of the Opposition that we should make a contribution of \$100 million for famine relief to be spent in Canada, and that we could do it if we wanted to . . . It would be very difficult at this particular moment — and I am not sure that it would be the best way to proceed at this particular moment — to make any such contribution to India for famine relief. Hon. members will recall that the Government recognized as long ago as February of this year that a famine in India was likely to occur. At that time we offered wheat to India under the Colombo Plan, and the purpose and meaning of that offer has led to some misunderstanding. The only wheat of this year's crop that was not already fully contracted for by purchasers was grade 5. The Indian Government advised us last month that it wished to accept our offer of wheat under the Colombo Plan but that it preferred to wait until our next crop was harvested before obtaining the wheat in the hope that a better grade would be available.

I should like to assure the House of Commons at this time that the Government, as indicated by the Prime Minister (Mr. St. Laurent) the other day, (May 2), is giving the closest attention to what Canada can do to ameliorate famine conditions which are rapidly developing in India. We are exploring every avenue, including some of

the helpful suggestions which have been made during the course of this discussion, through which help might be given. I am very hopeful that we shall be successful in finding a number of ways in which we can contribute to the relief of starvation and suffering in India.

Pacific Relations

. . . I should like to point out that the arrangements which are being negotiated now in the Pacific between Australia, New Zealand, the United States of America and possibly the Philippines do not constitute a Pacific pact of that type (i.e. along the lines of the North Atlantic Treaty), and we have not been asked to participate in those arrangements.

We have not asked to be allowed to participate in this arrangement for reasons I have already indicated in the House. The situation in the Pacific at this time is not exactly the same as that in the Atlantic. It is not the same, in many ways. And the fact that we have participated in the Atlantic pact is no reason that we should take the initiative in working out a Pacific pact at this time. Those who would be most concerned with that pact do not feel that that would be the best way to proceed. I am thinking of the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia.

They have decided to work out their own arrangements under Articles 51 and 52 of the Charter of the United Nations, with the object of bringing about a mutual guarantee and security pact. We welcome those arrangements as a furtherance of general security. But I assure members of the House, though no assurance is needed, that this does not mean that we are not alive to the importance of general security in the Pacific. Our participation in the Korean campaign is surely sufficient evidence of that fact.

The Objectives in Korea

. . . I turn to consider once again what are our objectives in Korea and how those objectives can be reached . . . I realize that in such a confused situation as does exist in Korea it is difficult to have a clear objective or to see the objective that we have clearly. It is now more important than ever that we should have as exact an idea as possible of what we are trying to accomplish in Korea, along with other members of the United Nations. The Canadian brigade group will shortly be in action, so not only they but every other Canadian will want to know what is their purpose in Korea and what is the policy of the Canadian Government in regard to achieving that purpose.

Before I try to answer once again this crucial question, I should like to draw to your attention . . . the advantages which have already accrued to the cause of freedom from the United Nations action in Korea. In the first place, . . . the military danger to many other areas in Asia has been greatly reduced as a result of the courageous and skilful campaign which has been carried on in Korea. Many of the best formations of the Chinese communist army have been committed to battle in Korea and have suffered very heavy losses in the process. As a result, the number of trained troops facing Indo-China, Formosa, Hongkong, Burma and Malaya has been reduced, and the danger of successful attacks in those areas is now I think less than it was — although of course it has certainly not by any means been eliminated.

In meeting the onslaught of the Chinese communist forces, then, the United Nations forces in Korea have suffered heavy losses but they have inflicted immensely heavier losses on the enemy. They can take pride in the fact that their heroic resistance has lessened the danger in other parts of Asia. I believe that is something that has already been accomplished by way of benefit to the cause of freedom.

Another way in which the cause of freedom has benefited through United Nations action in Korea is that the whole of the free world is now aroused and alerted to the danger so that more rapid progress is now being made in increasing the armed forces in being in the free world. We have now some reason to believe that before long these forces may be large enough to deter any would-be aggressor. This improvement in our position we owe, I think, largely to the sense of urgency which the war in Korea brought us, and also to the energetic leadership of the United States of America.

This war in Korea has also been the occasion of another discovery which must be encouraging to free men everywhere. It is that collective military action against aggression is possible, and can be effective. It is certainly true even yet that three-quarters of the United Nations forces now fighting in Korea, apart from the South Koreans themselves, are being provided by the United States. But I think equally remarkable is the fact that no fewer than sixteen countries are now contributing contingents to the United Nations forces, and that all those contingents are being welded together in a strong and dependable United Nations army. It may be objected that all this is very well, but that if the United Nations army in Korea has not a clear mission which it can hope to fulfil, this whole grand exercise in international co-operation is futile. What, then, is the United Nations mission in Korea? Essentially, I think, . . . to defeat aggression, and by the lesson of that defeat to help prevent the outbreak of World War III.

If the aggression in Korea had been allowed to succeed without any attempt being made to resist it, other acts of aggression would certainly have followed. The strength of the free world would have been nibbled away piecemeal in accordance with the master plans of the Politburo. Eventually, a stage would have been reached when the remaining countries which were still free and independent would have realized that they had either to wage war with fewer resources and with much slighter hope of success, or else be engulfed under a wave of Soviet tyranny. Since they would certainly have chosen war rather than slavery, a third world war in those circumstances would have been inevitable.

✦ To the infantrymen slogging over the muddy fields of Korea, it may seem odd to hear someone say that his mission is to prevent a third world war. He may well be forgiven for not seeing very much difference between a world war and the bloody business in which he is now engaged. I certainly sympathize with that view. But it is necessary to remember that in the present circumstances a new world war will be very different from the campaign now being fought in Korea. It would be an atomic war which would result in the death of hundreds of thousands of people at one stroke, and which would leave the earth pockmarked and infected with radioactivity for years to come, even if it did not, as is conceivable, result in something far worse. That is the nightmare we are trying by every means in our power to avoid. When viewed in that light I believe that our soldiers in Korea, and the soldiers from other countries of the United Nations, will see that their task, however disagreeable and dangerous it may be, is supremely worthwhile.

A Definition of "Communism"

. . . Communism is a dogma, a type of society and a military danger — all three. The dogma has influenced the type of society which has been created in Russia, in other Cominform countries and in China. The totalitarian nature of Soviet society has facilitated and perhaps even necessitated acts of aggression. But communism as a dogma, I repeat once again, in my view, cannot be destroyed in Korea or elsewhere by military means. If we think it can, and if we think it should be attempted, we should have intervened in Czechoslovakia when the communists took over there. Such armed intervention at that time, however, or in Greece, or in connection with the Berlin blockade, could have and would have received no sanction of any kind from the United Nations. Communism as a dogma must be fought with other weapons and in other ways. But when its noxious doctrines, and when its perverted form of society takes arms and commits aggression against other peoples, then we must answer the communists with collective action including, when it can be made effective, collective military action; and that is what we are doing in Korea today.

What we are fighting in Korea and what we may have to fight in other parts of the world is what William Pitt the younger called "armed opinions", but armed opinions which have expressed themselves in armed aggression. I therefore hope that it will now be understood what I mean when I say that the United Nations' objective in Korea is not, by arms, to fight communism as an idea. Our objective there is to offer successful resistance to communist aggression and thereby to prevent, we hope, a third world war.

The Great Debate

. . . What can we do about the present situation in Korea? If we do not adopt additional measures, how can we ever hope to win? At the present time the advantages of two alternative methods are being urged. That is, indeed, the great debate. On the one hand it is said that total military victory is indispensable and that it can be achieved by permitting the bombing of China, by imposing a naval blockade and by employing Nationalist Chinese forces outside Formosa. I do not want to repeat at this time why I believe that that policy would be a profound mistake — but I want to state my view that such a policy would not end the war in Korea at this time but might, on the contrary, lead from limited action to unlimited action, the result of which might bring in the U.S.S.R. If it did not, in my view it would almost certainly engulf us in a full continental war with 450 million Chinese people. I cannot myself think that that is the best way of ending the war in Korea. We would be playing for high stakes indeed if we took this kind of limited action in the hope that by such limited action we could end the war in Korea without going on, if it did not succeed, to unlimited action or without bringing in anyone else.

. . . It may be that, in spite of all our efforts, the catastrophe of a third world war may not be avoided. It may be that, in spite of all our efforts, this conflict will extend to (continental) China. We may not have the control of that extension. But if the conflict is so extended, let the responsibility for the error, the anguish and the devastation that it will cause rest in other hands than ours.

. . . What is the alternative policy? It is for the United Nations forces to continue inflicting heavy losses on the aggressors, as they are doing at the present time, and at the same time to avoid any measures which are not absolutely necessary from a military point of view, and which might lead to the spreading of the conflict.

The Possibility of a Negotiated Settlement

As I said a few days ago in this place, there have been no recent indications that these Chinese communists are in any mood to negotiate. I cannot believe, however, that the Chinese Government in Peking can be so blind to Chinese national interests as to continue indefinitely suffering the very heavy losses which are now being inflicted on their forces. So we must hope that a day will come when they will realize that it is not China but Russia which is being served by the aggression in Korea in which they have participated.

If that time comes, they may then be ready to enter into negotiations leading to a settlement in Korea and also to a settlement of other Far Eastern issues. Then, as now, the United Nations will stand ready to negotiate, as has been made clear many times, and most notably by the General Assembly when it approved overwhelmingly the statement of principles drawn up by the United Nations' cease-fire committee . . .

But it is necessary to remember . . . that all the recent efforts of the United Nations . . . have been, to say the least, rudely rebuffed by the Chinese communist regime. The approaches made by the Good Offices Committee have been rebuffed, and unofficial feelers by individual countries have not been any more successful. The hon. member for Kootenay West (Mr. Herridge) suggested that we might propose to the Indian Government that they contact the Peking Government with a view to entering into negotiations. The Canadian Government has kept in constant touch with the Indian Government on this question, and the Indian Government in its turn has been vigilant in watching for any sign that the Peking regime might be willing to discuss a settlement in Korea and in the Far East generally on any terms that we could even consider. Although it would certainly be improper for me to reveal what the Indian Ambassador in Peking has been reporting to his own government, I can say that his inquiries in Peking have not given any grounds for believing that the Chinese communists are yet ready to negotiate on any terms that could conceivably be acceptable to the United Nations. And that is what I meant when I said that for the time being, especially while the Chinese military offensive is going on, it would appear that there are no further steps that could be taken either by the United Nations collectively, or by any other members individually, to bring the Chinese communists to the conference table on any conditions that we would consider.

. . . The possibility of securing an honourable settlement by negotiation is never being overlooked by any of the governments, any of the free governments, which are concerned with this matter; we will all continue to search for any indications that the Peking regime may be ready to discuss a settlement, and we will be energetic in taking advantage of any opportunity that we might be able to discover. Meanwhile, however, I can only repeat what I said the other day, namely, that until we get that indication in some form from Peking, and while the battle is going on, diplomacy must for the time being take a second place to arms. We can only hope that the use of those arms by the United Nations will be so effective and do so much damage to the forces of communist aggression that before long they will see reason. It may then be possible to negotiate with them on United Nations terms, and the danger of a third world war arising in that part of the world will, at least, have been avoided.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

The 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group

The Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, on May 4 made the following statement:

. . . Last December the twelve nations who were partners under the North Atlantic Treaty decided to set up an integrated force in Western Europe to deter communist aggression. General Eisenhower was appointed Supreme Commander.

As a party to the North Atlantic Treaty and in the interest of the defence of Canada, our government indicated in the Speech from the Throne, that Parliament would be asked to authorize Canadian participation in the European integrated force.

In furtherance of this objective, I stated in the House on February 5 that it was proposed, if Parliament approved, to place in the integrated force in Europe elements of the Canadian army. The statement went on as reported at page 95 of Hansard:

The force we propose to send will initially be a brigade group or regimental combat team, and we hope that it may arrive at about the same time as the additional U.S. forces, but this may depend on events in Korea.

Since then developments in Korea resulted in the decision to send the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group to Korea. The situation in Korea does not warrant any assumption that that formation could be released to form part of the integrated force within a reasonable period.

Keeping our force in Korea up to strength will obviously continue to be the number one army priority so long as any of our troops are engaged in actual combat.

We are further expanding the Canadian army to meet that priority and other army tasks, including, subject to the approval of Parliament and the completion of firm arrangements in that regard with our North Atlantic associates, the provision of a force for Western Europe.

This expansion will include the formation of an additional Canadian Army Brigade Group with supporting units.

The new formation, to be known as 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group, will be recruited around the framework of some of our famous reserve army units. It will be part of Canada's regular forces and its officers and men will serve under active force terms of service and conditions and thus will be eligible for service anywhere . . .

Mr. Claxton then described the composition of the new brigade group and listed the units of the reserve army which would participate. Later, in answer to a question asked by Mr. Howard C. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra) regarding the size of the new brigade group, Mr. Claxton said that "a brigade group of the kind described means from 5,500 to 6,500 men. It is a self-contained unit about one-third of a division".

The North Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping

On May 28 Mr. Howard C. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra) stated that announcements in the press had indicated that Canada and the other nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had completed plans for a shipping pool in the event of war. Mr. Green then asked whether the Minister of Transport, Mr. Chevrier, had a statement to make with regard to those plans. Mr. Chevrier on May 31 referred to Mr. Green the official communiqué which had been issued by the North Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping after its meeting in London the latter part of April 1951. This communiqué is reproduced on page 220 of this issue of *External Affairs*.

The Leased Bases in Newfoundland

On May 1 the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, tabled in the House the recommendations made by the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, regarding a modification of the Leased Bases Agreement between the Governments of Canada and the United States. Mr. St. Laurent spoke in part as follows:

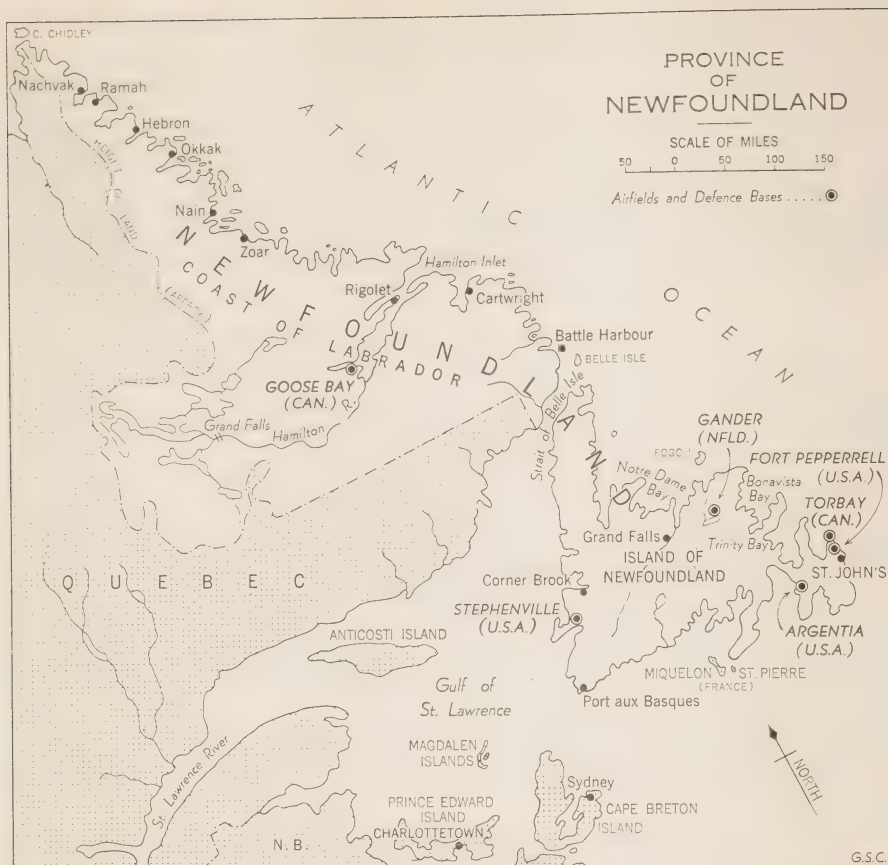
. . . In March 1941, . . . the United Kingdom leased to the United States for ninety-nine years land for naval and air bases in several colonies and territories including Newfoundland. This leased bases agreement empowered the United States to establish and operate naval and air bases, and also provided extensive rights and privileges for the United States forces to be stationed at these bases. These rights related to such things as the jurisdiction of courts, customs and excise taxes, income tax, and military postal facilities. Pursuant to this agreement the United States established and still maintains four bases in Newfoundland. These are: Pepperrell air force near St. John's; Harmon air force base near Stephenville; McAndrew air force base at Argentia; the naval operating base at Argentia.

On February 10, 1949, in the course of the debate on union with Newfoundland, I made a reference to these leased bases. It might be useful if I repeated what I said then. It is as follows:

If and when Newfoundland becomes a part of Canada, those leases will still be valid leases affecting the lands described in them. They contain provisions which go beyond the provisions to which the Canadian Government has agreed with respect to anything done by the United States Government in the territory of Canada, and we hope that it will be possible to get the Government of the United States to agree that it will not exercise those rights in a manner that would offend against our rights of sovereignty in Newfoundland. But that is something that will have to be brought about by negotiation and agreement with the Government of the United States. The situation is the same as if the hon. member, having a farm, leased a building lot on it for ninety-nine years and then sold his farm. The acquirer would have to take the farm and respect the agreement the hon. member had made with regard to the building lot. But he could go to the man who had the lease on the building lot and try to make a new deal with him. That is what we intend to try to do with the Government of the United States. But if they are not disposed to make any change in the arrangement, we shall be obliged to respect the rights that exist there, just as we shall be obliged to respect as a fact the existing situation in the territory of Newfoundland.

Before the union with Newfoundland we informed the United States Government that the Canadian Government hoped the United States would consider relinquishing some of the extraterritorial rights conferred by the 1941 agreement on United States forces in Newfoundland. The Canadian request said, in part:

In the opinion of the Canadian Government the prospective change in the status of Newfoundland justifies a modification of the 1941 bases agreement in respect of the Newfoundland bases in order to bring that agreement into accord with the principles which, for many years, have governed the defence relations between Canada and the United States.



Thus the joint statement issued by the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of the United States on February 12, 1947, refers to the "underlying principle" that "all co-operative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory", and the recommendation of November 20, 1946, of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, which has been accepted by both governments, states that defence co-operation projects in either country should be agreed to by both governments, should confer no permanent rights or status upon either country, and should be without prejudice to the sovereignty of either country.

In seeking the modification of provisions of the lease, the Canadian Government recognized, as I have indicated, that we were asking the United States to give up legal rights of undoubted validity. As is customary in our discussions with the United States, the request was considered by the United States authorities on a higher plane than the plane of strict legality.

Our two governments decided to ask the Permanent Joint Board on Defence to examine and report on the Canadian request. The Board undertook an exhaustive study of the complex questions involved, and the United States members, on behalf of their governments, co-operated in a spirit of friendship in the search for a solution.

In March 1950 the Board formulated a recommendation which has now been officially approved by both governments. This approval, which it is proposed to incorporate in an exchange of notes, will constitute a modification of the leased bases agreement. I am sure that all hon. members will share the appreciation felt by the Government of the decision of the United States to give up voluntarily certain rights which were legally conferred for ninety-nine years by the 1941 agreement, before Newfoundland became a province of Canada.

The recommendation of the Joint Board is in four parts which relate to income tax, customs and excise, postal privileges and the jurisdiction of the courts. I shall now table the recommendation and give a brief explanation of the effect of each part.

First: Income tax. On June 12, 1950, a new double taxation convention between Canada and the United States was signed. It has been approved by the Parliament of Canada but is awaiting ratification in the United States. When it comes into force it will replace certain exemption provisions now in the bases agreement. In addition the Board recommends that the United States waive the exemptions given by the bases agreement on contractors' profits, on United States civilian employees of such contractors and on the families of these employees. This part of the recommendation will place income tax exemption of United States personnel in Newfoundland on the same basis as in the rest of Canada.

Second: Customs and excise. The United States will also waive duty and tax exemptions given by the bases agreement on: (a) contractor-owned equipment; (b) personal belongings and household effects of contractors and their United States employees other than on first arrival, and (c) individual purchases in Canada by United States personnel.

Customs and excise exemptions for post exchanges and service clubs will continue, it being understood that the United States authorities will endeavour to increase purchases for these institutions in Canada and will take special steps to prevent abuse of privileges continued under the agreement.

Third: Postal privileges. Originally Canada asked for replacement of United States military postal facilities by Canadian post offices. Although the United States authorities were not prepared to accede fully to this request, under the Board's recommendation the United States will not establish normal civilian postal offices and will limit the use of their army post office system strictly to mail destined to United States territory or to other United States army post offices.

Fourth: Jurisdiction of the courts. This part of the recommendation covers four matters:

(i) The United States waives all rights of jurisdiction permitted under the bases agreement, over British subjects and over aliens other than United States citizens;

(ii) The United States suspends for five years exercise of rights of jurisdiction over United States civilian personnel and all other rights conferred by article IV of the bases agreement, subject to revival on notice thereafter or in event of war or other emergency;

(iii) The Canadian Government will seek to amend the Visiting Forces (United States of America) Act to permit of compulsory attendance of witnesses at United States courts martial;

(iv) The Canadian Government will seek legislation to protect security interests of the United States forces in Canada, as required under the bases agreement.

The recommendation that the United States give up or suspend jurisdictional rights under article IV of the bases agreement is conditional upon the Canadian Government, with the concurrence of the Newfoundland Government, giving to the United States Government assurances that the new arrangements will in practice give United States officials in Newfoundland a degree of jurisdiction comparable to that which they have in fact exercised up to now. The Attorney General of Newfoundland has been consulted and he advises that there will be no difficulty about giving these assurances because, in fact, the United States officials have exercised in a reasonable manner their jurisdictional rights under the bases agreement. They have not, for example, attempted to exercise the jurisdiction over Canadian citizens which the bases agreement gave them.

What the condition and the assurances mean is that, in practice, members of the United States forces in Newfoundland will generally be dealt with by United States courts, which is a reasonable and sensible arrangement in the circumstances. Corresponding treatment is in fact given to Canadian forces which may be stationed from time to time in the United States.

The Board's recommendation will provide the occasion for the extension of the Visiting Forces (United States of America) Act as revised to Newfoundland and remove what is perhaps the most objectionable feature of the bases agreement, namely, the right of jurisdiction by United States courts over Canadian citizens.

Referring to the recommendation as a whole, it meets most of the specific requests which the Canadian Government originally put forward. Obviously a negotiation of this kind required a willingness on both sides to give and take. In the view of the Canadian Government, the recommendation removes the features, most objectionable to us, of the taxation and jurisdictional rights conferred by the leased bases agreement.

The Government will in due course be making to the House five legislative proposals flowing in whole or part from the recommendation.

In connection with the customs tariff it has already been proposed, in the budget speech, that item No. 708 of the customs tariff should be revised. At present it deals with customs privileges for the United Kingdom Government only.

In connection with military post offices, an enabling clause will be included in the proposed bill to amend the Post Office Act.

In connection with the recommendation for security legislation, there will be two measures. First, a bill along the lines of the Official Secrets Act is proposed for the protection of allied governments. Second, a new section in the Criminal Code for the protection of property of allied forces is also under consideration.

It is proposed to add to the Visiting Forces (United States of America) Act a new section under which the Governor in Council would have authority to provide by regulation for compulsory attendance of witnesses before United States courts martial, in the same manner as now applies to courts martial of the Canadian forces. This amendment will, for convenience, be included in a Canadian forces bill which will deal with a number of other subjects related to defence.

Of the five proposed legislative measures, only one will refer expressly to United States forces, and that is the amendment to the Visiting Forces (United States of America) Act. When the time comes to examine the other four it will, I think, be agreed that, quite apart from the recommendation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, they are useful and possibly necessary measures to enable Canada to discharge obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty.

The Government believes that on consideration, hon. members will agree that the solution which has been recommended by the Board is a reasonable compromise in an admittedly unprecedented situation . . .

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Canada participated in tariff negotiations at Torquay which were concluded on April 21, 1951. On May 8 the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Howe, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. Abbott, made statements regarding the trade agreements which had been concluded. On May 14 the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, gave notice of a motion to refer the subject matter and results of the Torquay negotiations to the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce. This motion was put by the Prime Minister on May 21 when Mr. Abbott made a further statement. An article on the subject of the Torquay agreements appears on page 193 of this issue of *External Affairs*.

Trade Conferences

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Howe, made the following statement on May 29:

Last week . . . a meeting of the Canada-United Kingdom Continuing Committee was held here in Ottawa, and during the week-end my colleague, the Minister of Ex-

ternal Affairs (Mr. Pearson), issued a short summary of the profitable discussions which took place. Discussions with the British West Indies followed the United Kingdom talks and are now completed.

A delegation of officials of the French Government arrived in Ottawa this morning to discuss a number of problems pertaining to trade between our two countries. Members of this delegation spent yesterday in Toronto at the International Trade Fair, where they were welcomed as honoured guests and were able to see the merchandise of many countries now on display there. This afternoon the French delegation will begin meetings with officials of government departments concerned. It is expected that these discussions will be carried on for two or three days. The tariff agreement completed recently at Torquay between Canada and France was evidence of the desire which exists on both sides to create opportunities for trade.

Tomorrow, May 30, the Minister of Customs of New Zealand, who is also the Associate Minister of Finance of that country, will arrive in Ottawa to discuss trade problems with the Canadian Government. We welcome this timely visit of a distinguished minister of the Crown from a sister Commonwealth country. Canada has traditionally enjoyed valuable trade relations with New Zealand, and we hope that the groundwork will be laid at the present meetings for further expansion.

Conference of Commonwealth Defence Ministers

An announcement regarding plans for this Conference was made by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, on May 31, who spoke in part as follows:

The Government of the United Kingdom has today issued the following announcement . . .

It has been agreed to hold a conference of Defence Ministers from the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia. The Ministers have decided that London will be a convenient meeting place and the conference will open there on June 21. It will consider certain defence problems arising in regions of common concern to these countries including the Middle East and also consequential questions of equipment and training which are of mutual interest to them. Canada will be represented at the conference by an observer.

. . . The desirability of holding such a conference was discussed on the occasion of the meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London last January. It was then the feeling of the Governments of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia that it would be helpful to hold a conference of the Defence Ministers of those countries to consider problems arising in regions of special concern to them, including the Middle East.

Canada has, of course, special and direct defence responsibilities in the North Atlantic region. Our interests in the regional defence problems which will be under discussion at the forthcoming conference are less direct than those of the other Commonwealth countries which will be represented there. The Government has accordingly decided that it would be appropriate to be represented at the conference by a civilian and a military observer. Our position in this respect is fully appreciated by other Commonwealth governments concerned.

The Composition of Canadian Delegations to the United Nations

On May 28 the following questions and answers were reported:

Mr. G. A. Cruickshank (L, Fraser Valley):

1. When Opposition Members of Parliament are selected as delegates to the United Nations, who selects them?

2. What duties and responsibilities have they as delegates at the United Nations?

3. Do they serve on committees? If so, have they voice and vote?
4. Have Opposition Members of Parliament the right to initiate discussions and formulate policy?
5. Are they obliged to make any kind of report to the Government when they return from a United Nations meeting?
6. What remuneration do they receive by way of (a) *per diem* allowance; (b) living allowance; (c) transportation allowance?

Mr. Jean Lesage (Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs):

1. The Government. At the time of the San Francisco conference it was decided that the Canadian Delegation should be selected on an all-party basis. Accordingly, Opposition Members of Parliament were appointed by the Government, with the approval of the party leaders concerned, to serve in the capacity of delegates to the conferences. In August 1947, prior to the Second Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the practice of designating Opposition Members as "delegates" was discontinued on the ground that it was unfair to place members of Opposition parties in a position where they would appear to be acting as spokesmen for the Government. From that time Opposition Members appointed to Canadian delegations have been designated as "parliamentary advisers" and have thus been absolved of any appearance of responsibility for the formulation or expression of Canadian policy. In accordance with this arrangement Opposition Members of Parliament, selected by agreement with the party leaders concerned, have served as parliamentary advisers to the Canadian Delegations to the Second and Fifth Sessions of the General Assembly in 1947 and 1950 respectively.

2. Their function is to observe the proceedings of the General Assembly, to attend meetings of the Canadian Delegation, and to convey to the chairmen of the Delegation such views as they may care to express on matters before the Assembly.

3. They do not serve on committees and thus have no voice or vote.

4. They have the right to initiate and participate in informal discussions within the Canadian Delegation, but the responsibility for the formulation of policy rests with the Government.

5. No.

6. (a) Nil; (b) normal actual and reasonable hotel expenses, including meals; (c) first-class transportation to and from site of conference.

Strategic Exports to China

On May 7 Mr. G. J. McIlraith, Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Trade and Commerce and the Minister of Defence Production, in response to a question asked by Mr. G. K. Fraser (PC, Peterborough West) produced a statement showing exports from Canada to China during the period July 1950 to March 1951 inclusive. Mr. McIlraith said:

At the end of July 1950, all outstanding applications to export strategic material to communist China were reviewed and cancelled, and no further export permits have been issued since that date. Communist China is not separately classified in export trade statistics. The statement . . . shows Canadian exports to China, including Formosa, by commodities, during each month from July 1, 1950, to March 31, 1951. It is presumed that any commodity which might be considered strategic material was sent to Formosa.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Canadian Forces for United Nations Service

In the resolution entitled "Uniting for Peace", which the General Assembly adopted on November 3, 1950, at its Fifth Session, member states were asked to maintain within their national armed forces elements so trained, organized and equipped that they could promptly be made available for service under the United Nations in the event of need. A further provision of the same resolution established the Collective Measures Committee, a body consisting of representatives of fourteen states, including Canada, and requested members to furnish the Committee with information on the forces which they could hold available for United Nations service.

Canadian Reply to Communication

On April 16, 1951, the Collective Measures Committee circulated a communication to member states asking them to supply this information with the least possible delay. Canada was the first country to reply in substance to this request. The Canadian Note, which is quoted in full below, was handed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs to the Secretary-General of the United Nations at the time of the latter's visit to Ottawa on June 1, 1951.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and has the honour to refer to the letter of April 16 from Colonel Katzin asking him to inform the Secretary-General of the measures taken by the Canadian Government in implementation of paragraph 8 of resolution 377(V) (Uniting for Peace) adopted by the General Assembly on November 3, 1950.

The Secretary-General will recall that in a Note dated September 26, 1950, the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations referred to the recruitment and composition of the Canadian Army Special Force and stated that its use for service with United Nations forces in Korea had been authorized. This force has already been in action in Korea under the operational control of the Unified Command. As announced recently, it has been arranged that the Canadian Army Special Force should become a part of the 'First (Commonwealth) Division, U.N. Forces', under the Unified Command. Reinforcements for the Special Force are being maintained in Canada for use as they become necessary.

The Canadian Army Special Force has been provided and will be maintained for combat service with United Nations forces in Korea. A recommendation by the Canadian Government for the employment of the Force in any other capacity or in any other area outside the territory of Canada would of course require the approval of Parliament.

The Canadian Army Special Force is the only element of the Canadian Armed Forces which has been specifically recruited and trained for service with the United Nations and which has been made available to the United Nations in accordance with the terms of resolution 377(V) of the General Assembly. In addition, however, the Canadian Government considers that the Canadian naval and air units, which are now serving under the Unified Command in Korea, have been provided in accordance with the intent of the resolution.

While, in view of its commitments in Korea and its obligations to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Canadian Government does not at present contemplate the recruitment and organization of further units of its armed forces specifically for service with the United Nations, the Secretary-General may be assured that Canada will continue, to the extent that its military resources and its existing defence obligations permit, to co-operate with other member states of the United Nations in collective action against breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

The World Health Organization

The World Health Assembly, which is the main constituent organ of WHO, held its fourth annual session in Geneva from May 7 to May 25, 1951. The Assembly was attended by 64 countries out of a total membership of 74, and by observers from several United Nations Agencies and non-governmental organizations interested in the work of WHO. Canada was represented by a small delegation headed by Dr. E. A. McCusker, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

The nine Cominform states (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Roumania, the Ukraine and the U.S.S.R.), at one time active members of WHO, and Nationalist China, were absent. All the above states, with the exception of Poland, signified their decision to withdraw from the Organization a year or more ago. However, the third World Health Assembly, in 1950, resolved that while the resumption by the members concerned of full co-operation in the work of the Organization would always be welcomed, no further action at that stage was desirable. The fourth Assembly adopted a similar resolution with respect to Poland, which served notice of withdrawal in August 1950. The attitude of the Assembly on this question was largely based on the fact that the Constitution of WHO contains no provision for withdrawal from the Organization. This fact is interpreted by many members as an implicit recognition of the principle of universality of participation which underlies effective international action in the field of health.

Three new members, Spain, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany, were admitted to WHO by the fourth Assembly. The Allied High Commission in Bonn and General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Tokyo have provided assurances that Germany and Japan are fully responsible for the conduct of their international relations in matters of health and consequently will be able to fulfil their obligations as WHO members. Following their admission, the three countries formally accepted the constitution of WHO, and accordingly became full members.

Annual Report Examined

The fourth Assembly also examined the annual report of the Director-General, Dr. Brock Chisholm, on the activity of WHO in 1950 and approved a programme and budget for the year 1952. The Director-General's report reviews by fields of activity, regions and countries, the projects undertaken by the Organization in 1950. It shows, for instance, that close to 100 countries benefited during that year from the technical services and assistance rendered by WHO such as the statistical and epidemiological intelligence services, health surveys, the organization of study groups and training courses, the award of fellowships, and the carrying out by teams of consultants and experts of health demonstration projects in under-developed countries. Several delegations expressed before the Assembly their appreciation of the advice and help which had been extended to member governments and their gratification for the substantial progress made by the Organization since its inception.

The 1952 programme adopted by the fourth Assembly represents the first integrated international health programme. It will be financed by the regular budget of the Organization, by supplementary funds which WHO expects to receive as its share in the expanded programme of technical assistance of the United Nations, and by the allocations which will be placed by UNICEF at the disposal of governments to assist them in developing their health and welfare programmes for children. The regular budget of WHO for 1952 was established at the gross figure of \$9,077,782.

This will represent an effective working budget of \$7,677,782, if, as expected, the inactive members fail to pay their assessments. Even in that event, it will constitute an increase of more than 20 per cent over the effective budget for 1951.

One of the most important achievements of the fourth Assembly was its unanimous adoption of new international sanitary regulations. These regulations consolidate and replace numerous existing international conventions designed to prevent the spread of infectious diseases by sea or air traffic. They will come into force on October 1, 1952. By that date all member governments will be automatically bound by the regulations unless they have notified the Organization of their reservations within nine months after the adoption of the regulations by the Assembly.

Finally, the Assembly elected Cuba, Belgium, Lebanon, Liberia, Ceylon and Greece to serve on the Executive Board for a term of three years in replacement of Brazil, India, the Netherlands, Poland, South Africa and Yugoslavia, who are due to retire in 1951.



—Capital Press

CHANDELIER PRESENTED TO CANADA

A chandelier presented to Canada by the United Kingdom Government as a token of the friendship between the two countries has been hung in the ballroom of Government House in Ottawa. The chandelier, a ton and a half of crystal and bronze, is made up of 12,650 pieces of crystal and has 80 lights. It was formally presented on Victoria Day by Sir Arthur Bromley, of the Commonwealth Relations office, in the presence of Their Excellencies The Governor General and Lady Alexander, and was accepted on behalf of the Government of Canada by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

NORTH ATLANTIC PLANNING BOARD FOR OCEAN SHIPPING

(The following information was released simultaneously in Washington and London on May 25, 1951.)

In accordance with its directive from the North Atlantic Council, the North Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping has agreed on an outline plan for the mobilization of ocean-going shipping in a single pool and its allocation on a world-wide basis in time of war or war-time emergency and for the establishment in such circumstances of an international organization of a civilian character to be named the Defence Shipping Authority.

The objective of the Defence Shipping Authority would be to ensure that shipping is so organized as to achieve the greatest possible economy in its employment and to render it effectively and readily available to meet the needs, both military and civil, of the co-operating nations according to approved priorities.

The main principles which would govern the operation of the Defence Shipping Authority are that each participating Government should in war or wartime emergency take all the ocean-going merchant ships of its own flag under its own control and place them in a central pool for allocation to employment by the Defence Shipping Authority. Each Government would ensure that the ships under its control carry out the tasks allotted to them by the Defence Shipping Authority. The arrangements between each Government and its shipowners would be the domestic concern of that Government, but would be of such a nature that individual owners would have no direct interest in the financial results of the employment to which their ships were allocated.

For the purposes of day-to-day operation two Branches would be established, one in Washington and one in London, with all participating Governments having the right to be represented in both Branches. While the pool of shipping would be operated as a single unit, the Branch in Washington would deal primarily with shipping and the demands for shipping services of the Western Hemisphere and the London Branch would deal primarily with shipping and the demands for shipping services of the Eastern Hemisphere.

It is intended that, should the Defence Shipping Authority be brought into being, non-NATO countries which participate in the common effort should be invited to place their ocean-going merchant ships in the pool and become members of the Authority

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. J. B. C. Watkins was posted from the Canadian Embassy in the U.S.S.R. to Ottawa, effective May 15, 1951.

Mr. A. F. Hart was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation in Poland, effective May 24, 1951.

Mr. J. A. Dougan was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy in Peru, effective May 15, 1951.

Mr. K. C. Brown was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy in Cuba, effective June 1, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Dr. Americo Cruz Fernandez, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Embassy of Cuba, May 1. He succeeds Mr. Orlando de Lara.

Mr. José Carlos Ribeiro Campos, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, May 9.

Colonel Jack Bollerud, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, May 9.

Mr. H. Mason Wade, Attaché (Public Affairs), Embassy of the United States of America, May 11.

Sir Andrew Jones, C.M.G., Adviser (Food), Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, May 26.

Mr. G. H. Bowler, O.B.E., Adviser (War Pensions), Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, May 26.

Captain Elbio G. Amorin, Naval Attaché, Legation of Uruguay, May 28.

Commander Julio C. Fisas, Naval Attaché, Legation of Uruguay, May 28.

Departures

His Excellency G. B. Holler, Minister of Denmark, relinquished his duties May 15. Pending the arrival of his successor, Mr.

Theodor Schultz, Consul of Denmark at Montreal, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Mr. Alois Mohyla, Second Secretary, Legation of Czechoslovakia, May 1.

Mr. Caio de Lima Cavalcanti, Commercial Counsellor, Embassy of Brazil, May 4.

Mr. Pedro Rocha, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, May 9.

Mr. Svend Aage Holler, Attaché, Legation of Denmark, May 15.

Lieutenant Colonel Fazil Ciloglu, Military Attaché, Embassy of Turkey, was also appointed Naval and Air Attaché, April 28.

Mr. Zdenek Roskot, Second Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Legation of Czechoslovakia, left on May 14 for a vacation in his country. During his absence Mr. Vaclav Piech is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim. Mr. Piech was promoted from Third to Second Secretary on May 1.

Mr. Eugeniusz Markowski, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Legation of Poland, left on May 24 for a visit to his country. During his absence, Mr. Zygfryd L. Wolniak, Second Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Mr. José Luis Ceron Ayuso, Consul of Spain at Montreal, May 30.

Mr. Horatio Mooers, Consul of the United States of America at St. John's, Nfld., May 30.

Miss Louise Schaffner, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, May 30.

Mr. Robert L. Smyth, Consul General of the United States of America at Vancouver, May 30.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Ernest de W. Mayer as Consul of the United States of America at Quebec, May 4. Mr. Mayer was previously Consul at Montreal.

Miss Dorothy M. Barker as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, May 4.

Mr. Vernon V. Hukee as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, May 4.

Mr. Guy Radenac as Consul of France at Vancouver, May 5.

Dr. Hans Christian Halter as Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Montreal, May 18.

Mr. Ernesto Anselmo Nogues as Consul of Argentina at Montreal, May 19.

Mr. Helmuth Vitzthum von Eckstaedt as Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Ottawa, May 30. He was previously Assistant Trade Commissioner.

Mr. Werner E. P. Gautier as Vice-Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Montreal, May 30. He was previously Assistant Trade Commissioner at Ottawa.

Departures

Mr. Marcel Duranthon, Consul General of France at Quebec, May 10.

Mr. Hector J. Freytes, Vice-Consul of Venezuela at Vancouver, May 21.

Dr. Francisco Villagran, Consul General of Mexico at Montreal, left on May 2 for a holiday in Mexico. During his absence Mr. Paul R. Spindola, Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of May 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences are listed in previous issues of "External Affairs".)

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs", January 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions.)

Conferences Attended in May

1. *Sixth Session of the Narcotic Drugs Commission.* New York—April 10-May 25. Col. C. H. Sharman, Canadian Member, Narcotic Drugs Commission.
2. *Sixth Session of the Administrative Council of ITU.* Geneva—April 16-May 12. Delegate: C. P. Edwards, Deputy Minister of Transport for Air; C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
3. *Meeting of Programme Committee of UNICEF.* New York—April 30-May 4. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
4. *International Social Security Association (Committee of Experts).* Geneva—May 1. Dr. J. B. Bundock, Canadian Embassy, The Hague (Observer).
5. *Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.* Strasbourg—May 5-19. Hon. T. C. Davis, Head of Canadian Mission, Bonn; A. J. Andrews, Canadian Mission, Bonn (Observers).
6. *Sixth Session of Statistical Commission of ECOSOC.* New York—May 7-18. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician.
7. *Fourth Session of the Coal Mines Committee of ILO.* Geneva—May 7-19. Government delegates: H. S. Johnstone and L. MacKinnon, Department of Labour; Employers' Delegates: J. A. Brusset, West Canadian Collieries Ltd., Alberta; J. M. Davidson, Lethbridge Collieries Ltd., Alberta; Workers' Delegates: R. Livett, United Mine Workers of America, Calgary; F. Jenkins, United Mine Workers of America, Glace Bay, N.S.
8. *Third Session of Fiscal Commission of ECOSOC.* New York—May 7-16. Representative: Dr. A. K. Eaton, Department of Finance.
9. *Fourth World Health Assembly (WHO).* Geneva—May 7. Head of Delegation: Dr. E. A. McCusker, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Health and Welfare; Alternates: Dr. P. Gauthier, M.P.; Dr. F. D. Mott, Dept. of Public Health, Regina, Sask.; Advisers: Dr. J. B. Bundock, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Miss E. MacCallum, Department of External Affairs.
10. *Economic, Employment and Development Commission of ECOSOC.* New York—May 14-25. H. Wolfson, Alternate

- Delegate, and S. D. Pollock, Adviser, Department of Finance.
11. *Programme Committee of UNICEF*. New York—May 17-18. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 12. *Air Standardization Co-ordinating Committee on Maps and Charts*. London—May 20-27. B. W. Waugh, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
 13. *Canada - United Kingdom Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs*. Ottawa—May 21-25. Chairman, W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; J. G. Taggart, Department of Agriculture; J. J. Deutsch and D. H. Fullerton, Department of Finance; A. F. W. Plumptre, Department of External Affairs; D. Harvey, C. M. Isbister and G. Smith, Department of Trade and Commerce.
 14. *Executive Board of UNICEF*. New York—May 22-25. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 15. *Meeting of Committee on Commodity Problems (FAO)*. Rome—May 22. W. Van Vliet, Canadian Legation, Copenhagen.
 16. *Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science*. Brisbane—May 23-30. Dr. L. E. Howlett, National Research Council.
 17. *B.W.I. Trade Liberalization Plan Conference*. Ottawa—May 25-29. A. H. Newman, Department of Trade and Commerce; R. G. C. Smith, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; M. B. Palmer, Canadian Trade Commissioner, Jamaica; T. G. Major, Canadian Trade Commissioner, Port-of-Spain.
 18. *115th Session of the Governing Body of ILO (and Committees)*. Geneva—May 28. N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
 19. *Canada - France Economic Committee*. Ottawa—May 29-31. M. W. Sharp, Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; A. F. W. Plumptre, Department of External Affairs; J. Léger, Department of External Affairs; C. M. Isbister, H. A. Gilbert, J. P. Manion, R. W. Rosenthal and M. Schwarzman, Department of Trade and Commerce; P. Pelletier, Privy Council Office, Secretary.
 20. *Conference on Civil Defence*. Brussels—May 21. Dr. E. A. McCusker, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Observer).

Conferences to be held in June and July

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted.)

1. *First Session of the Commission on Improvement of National Statistics*. Washington—June 2-8.
2. *Fifth Session of the Assembly of ICAO*. Montreal—June 5.
3. *34th Session of the Conference of ILO*. Geneva—June 6-30.
4. *26th Session of Executive Board of UNESCO*. Paris—June 7-16.
5. *International Congress of Actuaries*. Scheveningen—June 7-13.
6. *International Commission of Criminal Police*. Lisbon—June 11-15.
7. *Fourth Session of the Commission of the 1950 Census of the Americas*. Washington—June 11-15.
8. *12th Session of the Council of FAO*. Rome—June 11-25.
9. *The President's Highway Safety Conference*. Washington—June 13-15.
10. *15th Wildlife Conference*. Ottawa—June 15-16.
11. *13th International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy*. Paris—June 17-23.
12. *Sixth Session of the General Conference of UNESCO*. Paris—June 18-July 11.
13. *Meeting of Copyright Specialists Committee of UNESCO*. Paris—June 18.
14. *14th Conference of International Office of Documentation on Military Medicine*. Vichy—June 24-25.
15. *Conference of Plenipotentiaries re Convention on Refugees and Protocol on Stateless Persons*. Geneva—July 2.
16. *Ninth International Management Conference*. Brussels—July 5-11.
17. *Commonwealth Survey Officers' Conference*. London—July 9-20.
18. *General Assembly of International Union of Pure and Applied Physics*. Copenhagen—July 10-14.
19. *Fourth International Congress of the Sea*. Ostend—July 20-22.
20. *13th Session of ECOSOC*. Geneva—July 30.
21. *Sixth International Lifeboat Conference*. Ostend—July.
22. *International Institute of Welding*. London—July.
23. *North Atlantic Council*. Rome—July.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY CANADA

Multilateral

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade — Schedule V to Annex A to the Torquay Protocol. Signed by Canada at New York on May 7, 1951.

Third Additional Supplementary Protocol to the Brussels Agreement of December 5, 1947, relating to the Resolution of Conflicting Claims to German Enemy Assets, to the First Protocol, signed in Brussels on February 3, 1949, and to the Second Protocol signed in Brussels on May 10, 1950, additional to that Agreement. Signed in Brussels on January 24, 1951.

ICAO

Agreement regarding the Headquarters of the International Civil Aviation Organization. Signed at Montreal on April 14, 1951.

Sweden

Agreement for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Establishment of Rules for Reciprocal Assistance in the Matter of Income Taxes. Signed at Ottawa on April 6, 1951.

Turkey

Exchange of Notes constituting an Agreement on the Issuance of Multi-Entry Visas to Diplomatic Representatives and Officials. Signed at Ottawa on February 9, 1951.

U.S.A.

Exchange of Notes providing for the Renewal of the Arrangement of 1942 for the Exchange of Agricultural Labour and Machinery. Signed at Ottawa on March 15 and 16, 1951.

Exchange of Notes constituting an Agreement on Civil Defence Co-ordination. Signed at Washington on March 27, 1951.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

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| <p>No. 51/16—<i>Canada and the United States: Neighbours and Allies</i>, an address by the Deputy Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Escott Reid, delivered to the opening meeting of the Conference on Canadian-American Affairs, at the University of Maine, on April 19, 1951.</p> <p>No. 51/17—<i>Communism and the Peace Campaign</i>, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered to the Sudbury and District Chamber of Commerce and Kiwanis Club, on April 20, 1951.</p> <p>No. 51/18—<i>Some Thoughts About Canadian-</i></p> | <p><i>American Relations</i>, an extract from a speech by the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. H. H. Wrong, to the St. George's Society of Baltimore, on April 23, 1951.</p> <p>No. 51/19—<i>Canada-United States Relations</i>, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered to the Kiwanis Club at Ottawa, on April 27, 1951.</p> <p>No. 51/20—<i>A Statement on Canadian External Policy</i>, a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons on May 7, 1951.</p> |
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CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS*

A SELECTED LIST

Mimeographed Documents:

Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance—Second Report of the Technical Assistance Board to the Technical Assistance Committee; January 24, 1951; document E/1911; 82 p.

Plight of survivors of concentration camps (Progress Report by the Secretary-General); January 6, 1951; document E/1915; 50 p.

†*Report of the Transport and Communications Commission (Fifth Session) March 19-28, 1951; April 6, 1951; document E/1980, E/CN.2/117; 44 p.*

Report of the Social Commission to the Economic and Social Council (Seventh Session); April 14, 1951; document E/1982, E/CN.5/254; 113 p.

Economic Commission for Latin America, June 1948-March 1951 (Statement prepared by the Executive Secretary); March 15, 1951; document E/AC.34/6; 64 p.

Economic Commission for Europe, May 1947-February 1951 (Statement prepared by the Executive Secretary); April 6, 1951; document E/AC.34/12; 83 p.

†*Implementation of Full Employment Policies* (Replies of governments to the employ-

ment questionnaire covering the period 1950-51, submitted under resolutions 221 E (IX) and 290 (IX) of the Economic and Social Council and relating to full employment standards, economic trends and objectives, economic policies and balance of payments problems and policies); 26 March 1951; document E/CN.1/81; 243 p.

Women in Public Services and Functions (Report of the Secretary-General); January 23, 1951; document E/CN.6/158; 16 p.

Economic Commission for Europe (Sixth Session)—Reports of the Committees to the Commission on their activities over the past year, and a Note by the Executive Secretary; April 24, 1951; document E/ECE/127; Reports A to H.

Report of the administration of the British/United States zone of the Free Territory of Trieste, January 1 to 31 December, 1950 by Major General T. S. Aiery, K.C.M.G., C.B., C.B.E., Commander British/United States zone of the Free Territory of Trieste; March 29, 1951; document S/2062; 42 p.

Decisions taken and resolutions adopted by the Security Council during the year 1950 (Prepared by the Department of Security Council Affairs); February 1, 1951; document S/INF/4; 24 p.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

(Obtainable from the King's Printer, at the price indicated.)

Diplomatic and Consular Representatives in Ottawa, May 15, 1951. Price, 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1951, No. 6: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—Schedule V to Annex A to the Torquay Protocol. Signed by Canada at New York on May 7, 1951. Price, 15 cents. (Bilingual).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 3: Treaty between Canada and the United States of America, concerning the Diversion of the Niagara River. Signed at Washington on February 27, 1950. Price, 15 cents. (Bilingual).

* Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.

† French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Melbourne (83 William Street)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Casier Postal 373)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (46, rue Montoyer)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (P.O. Box 1006)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.)
China.....	Consul General.....	Shanghai (27 The Bund)
Colombia.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bogota (Edificio Columbiana de Seguros)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida de las Misiones No. 17)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Head of Mission.....	Bonn (Zittelmannstrasse, 14)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Commonwealth House)
“.....	Consul.....	Frankfurt (145 Fuerstenbergerstrasse)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (No. 20, 4th Avenue South)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong Bank Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	A/Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers)
Japan.....	Head of Mission.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plaas 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
“.....	A/Commercial Secretary.....	“ (The Cotton Exchange, McLeod Road)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (Hotel Bristol)
Portugal.....	Acting Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103)

Singapore.....	A/Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Minister.....	Berne (Thunstrasse 95)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (43 St. Vincent St.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (211, Ayranci Baglari, Kavaklidere)
“	Commercial Secretary.....	Istanbul (Istiklal Caddesi, Kismet Han 3/4, Beyoğlu)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24, Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok)
“ “	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Glasgow (200 St. Vincent St.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“ “	Consul.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“ “	Consul.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“ “	Trade Commissioner.....	Los Angeles (Associated Realty Bldg.)
“ “	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“ “	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (503, 120 Exchange Street)
“ “	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (8° Peso Edificio America)
Yugoslavia.....	Minister.....	Belgrade (Sv. Markovica, 20)
	Chargé d'Affaires, a.i.	
*OEEC.....	Representative.....	Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Delegate.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“ “	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

CBC INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

DAILY SHORTWAVE BROADCASTS FROM CANADA

Schedule effective July and August, 1951 (Subject to Change)

Greenwich Mean Time	Programme		Call-signs	
		TO EUROPE		
1600-1630	Czech & Slovak	Daily	CKNC	CKCX
1730-1745		"	CKNC	CKCS
2200-2230		"	CKCS	CHOL
2300-2330		Sat. & Sun.	CKCS	CHOL
1940-2000	Danish	Daily	CKNC	CKCS
1645-1700	Dutch	"	CKNC	CKCS
1815-1845		"	CKNC	CKCS
1700-1730	English	"	CKNC	CKCS
1845-1900		"	CKNC	CKCS
2230-2300		"	CKCS	CHOL
1445-1530	Finnish	Sunday	CKNC	CKCK
1745-1815	French	Daily	CKNC	CKCS
2130-2200		"	CKCS	CHOL
1630-1645	German	"	CKNC	CKCS
2000-2032		"	CKNC	CKCS
2315-2330		Mon.-Fri.	CKCS	CHOL
2030-2045	Italian	Daily	CKNC	CKCS
2045-2100		"		CKCS
1920-1940	Norwegian	"	CKNC	CKCS
1415-1445	Russian	"	CKNC	CKCX
2100-2130		"	CKCS	CHOL
1530-1545	Swedish (to Finland)	Sunday	CKNC	CKCX
1900-1920		Daily	CKNC	CKCS

UNITED NATIONS

The transmitting facilities of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, International Service, are placed at the disposal of the United Nations at the following times:

1400-1415	Daily except Sat. & Sun.	CKNC	CKCX
1445-1530	" " " " "	CKNC	CKCX



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE KOREAN CRISIS

Desire for Cease-Fire Near the 38th Parallel

In an address before the United Nations Association in Canada at Ottawa on June 1, the Secretary-General of the United Nations made a suggestion which was later commented upon favorably by a large part of the Canadian press. Mr. Lie said:

I believe the time has come for a new effort to end the fighting in Korea. The United Nations forces there, as things stand today, have repelled the aggression and thrown the aggressors back across the thirty-eighth parallel.

If a cease-fire could be arranged approximately along the thirty-eighth parallel then the main purpose of the Security Council resolutions of June 25 and July 7 will be fulfilled, provided that the cease-fire is followed by the restoration of peace and security in the area.

The next day the United States Secretary of State referred to the same aspect of the Korean problem in his testimony before the Senate Armed Services and Foreign Relations Committees investigating the dismissal of General MacArthur from his Far Eastern commands. In answer to questions on the United Nations objectives in Korea, Mr. Acheson recalled that the military objectives were to repel the armed attack and to restore peace and security in the area. He went on: "You have not restored peace and security if there are people on the other side of the parallel going over and fighting you . . . If the aggression would end and you had reliable assurances that it would not be resumed . . . I think that you have a real possibility of working out a stable situation".

The same day the Commander of the Eighth Army in Korea issued a statement in which he said:

The Eighth Army's pursuit phase has now ended with the clearing, again, of enemy units from southern Korea—less those in the former border area west of the Imjin River. The Eighth Army will continue, however, to stop the enemy's unwarranted aggression against South Korea and will, when necessary and profitable, meet such threats within North Korea.

On June 8, Mr. Lie told the United Nations Correspondents Association that he had been pleased with the response of the United Nations delegates to the suggestion he had made in Ottawa that a cease-fire should be arranged near the 38th parallel. He continued:

But, of course, a cease-fire cannot be brought about unilaterally. I have heard no expression from the other side—not so far.

We do not know what is in the minds of the North Koreans and their supporters. We do not yet know whether they would welcome or reject a cease-fire. In these circumstances the question arises as to what further steps, if any, the United Nations might take now towards bringing the fighting to an end.

This is, of course, a matter for the member governments to decide. I know they are consulting about the situation and I have had a number of talks with delegates about it too.

Malik Proposes Peaceful Settlement

The first indication of the attitude of the Communists to the announced desire of the Western nations for a cease-fire near the 38th parallel came in a United Nations radio broadcast by the Permanent Delegate of the U.S.S.R. to the United Nations on June 23. At the end of a vituperative attack on the Western nations along the customary lines Mr. Malik said:

The Soviet Union will continue its struggle to strengthen peace and avert a new world war. The peoples of the Soviet Union believe that this is possible to defend the cause of peace.

The Soviet peoples further believe that the most acute problem of the present day—the problem of the armed conflict in Korea—could also be settled.

This would require the readiness of the parties to enter on the path of a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The Soviet peoples believe that as a first step discussions should be started between the belligerents for a cease-fire and an armistice providing for the mutual withdrawal of forces from the thirty-eighth parallel.

Can such a step be taken? I think it can, provided there is a sincere desire to put an end to the bloody fighting in Korea.

I think that, surely, is not too great a price to pay in order to achieve peace in Korea.

The official reaction of the United States Government to Mr. Malik's proposal was announced the same day in the following statement from the State Department:

If Mr. Malik's broadcast means that the Communists are now willing to end the aggression in Korea, we are as we have always been ready to play our part in bringing an end to hostilities and in assuring against their resumption.

But the tenor of Mr. Malik's speech again raises the question as to whether this is more than propaganda. If it is more than propaganda adequate means for discussing an end to the conflict are available.

Without mentioning Mr. Malik or his proposal specifically, President Truman referred to the question of a peace settlement in Korea in an address of June 25 on the first anniversary of the Korean war. He said:

We are ready to join in a peace settlement in Korea now as we have always been. But it must be a real settlement which fully ends the aggression and restores peace and security to the area and to the gallant Korean people.

In Korea and in the rest of the world we must be ready to take any steps which truly advance us toward world peace. But we must avoid like the plague, rash actions which would take unnecessary risks of world war or weak actions which reward aggression.

Mr. Lie's Statement

The Secretary-General of the United Nations was in Norway at the time of Mr. Malik's broadcast. Mr. Lie immediately issued the following statement:

In recent weeks, the qualified spokesmen of many of the governments whose forces are participating in the United Nations action in Korea and I, as Secretary-General, have expressed hope for a military cease-fire in Korea in the vicinity of the 38th parallel. The Delegate of the U.S.S.R., Deputy Foreign Minister Jacob A. Malik, now has also expressed his hope for such a cease-fire.

The United Nations forces have been fighting in Korea to uphold peace and security under the United Nations Charter. From the outset, the United Nations have made it clear again and again that the first step to the restoration of peace in Korea must be a cease-fire. Such a cease-fire should involve only the military arrangements necessary to stop the fighting and to ensure against its renewal.

I urge that negotiations for a military cease-fire now be entered into at the earliest possible date.

If such a cease-fire can be attained, the political issues involved in the restoration of peace and security in Korea can be appropriately discussed in the competent organs of the United Nations.

The general reaction in most Western capitals was reported to be that Mr. Malik's statement should be fully explored as a possible first step in ending the Korean fighting. The Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, assured Members of Parliament that "the language of this declaration is being carefully scrutinized and there is no indication anywhere that it is going to be brushed off. It is going to be explored with a sincere desire at least on our side to have it produce results". In London the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs commented that: "If Malik's statement should be a satisfactory basis for a proposal from Moscow then we should make the most of it. If the U.S.S.R. is anxious to end the fight in Korea on terms we can accept then we should certainly follow it up". He noted that there were ambiguities in Mr. Malik's statement and recalled that the West had had unhappy experiences in the past with certain Russian statements on issues of this kind; then he went on, "however it would be a great mistake not to follow it up so we can find out exactly what it means".

On June 25 the Peking radio quoted an editorial in the *People's Daily* saying that the Chinese people fully endorsed Mr. Malik's proposal for a Korean cease-fire. The editorial went on to say: "This is another test for America to see whether she accepts the lessons of the past and to see whether she is willing to settle Korean question peacefully. It is obvious that at present it is beyond America's strength to expand the war as she wants to do. If she is willing to stop the war she should therefore fall in at once with the just and reasonable measures for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question repeatedly proposed by the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the other peoples who desire peace".

Although the major powers engaged in the war in Korea appeared willing to end the fighting where it began, some of the Koreans themselves were of a different mind. The President of the Republic of Korea stated:

Any cease-fire proposal short of complete reunification of the Korean peninsula will be unacceptable. This is our minimum requirement. Without our participation in all discussions regarding Korea they will be futile.

United Nations Forces Continue Advance

The United Nations advance north of the 38th parallel continued during June although at a slower rate than during the second half of May when a surprise counter offensive stopped a major Chinese attack and carried United Nations forces across the parallel to the line held when the enemy's spring offensive began on April 22. During the month of June the important "Iron Triangle" area based on Pyongyang in the north, Chorwon in the west and Kumhwa in the east was won by United Nations troops. Kaesong, the last major enemy outpost south of the 38th parallel, was entered shortly before the end of the month. The United Nations line thus ran from the 38th parallel on the west coast about 30 miles into North Korea in the centre, and thence eastward to the east coast.

Canadian Trade Policy with China Described

In its resolution of May 18, 1951, the General Assembly recommended that every state apply an embargo on war supplies to North Korea and China and report within 30 days on the measures taken in accordance with the resolution. On June 16, the Acting Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mr. J. W. Holmes, submitted the Canadian Government's report which said among other things that:

The export restrictions recommended in the resolution were less stringent than those which had already been imposed by the Canadian Government and the resolution therefore did not necessitate changes in Canadian export regulations.

From the beginning of the aggression in Korea there have been no shipments of arms, ammunition or implements of war from Canada to North Korea or China. On December 9, 1950, following the intervention of Chinese Communist forces in the Korean war, the Canadian Government broadened the scope of its export controls in such a manner that individual export permits were made a requirement for the export of all commodities without exception to China, Hong Kong, Macao and North Korea.

Not only are permits denied for the export to areas under the control of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and of the North Korean authorities of arms, ammunition and implements of war, atomic energy materials, petroleum, transportation material of strategic significance and items useful in the production of arms, ammunition and implements of war as recommended in the General Assembly's Resolution, but in addition permits are denied for a very wide range of other goods which may be considered to be strategic.

The Canadian Government will prevent by all means within its power the circumvention of controls on shipments applied by other states under the resolution and will co-operate fully with other states in carrying out the purpose of the embargo.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs described in considerable detail the Canadian Government's policy with respect to commercial relations with the People's Republic of China when he addressed a dinner meeting given by the City of Toronto on June 5 in honour of the foreign exhibitors at the Canadian International Trade Fair. Mr. Pearson declared that despite the justification apparently afforded by the aggressive intervention of the Peking Government in the Korean conflict there were good reasons for not cutting off all intercourse with China. He summed up his opinions on this problem as follows:

My own view is that we should not allow our commercial policy toward China at this time to become more stringent than our overall foreign policy toward her, and that we should not seek to put a complete embargo on all trade with her, unless the policy of the Peking Government gives us no alternative in the matter.

THE FRENCH GENERAL ELECTIONS

In the first general election since November 1946 the French electorate went to the polls on June 17 to choose a National Assembly.

A significant feature of the election was the electoral law enacted a short time before. Proportional representation, the system used in 1946, was modified in favour of a voting system designed to permit parties with mutual sympathies to form alliances, *apparentements*, and combine their forces at the polls. In contrast to Canadian single-member ridings, electors in France have been accustomed to vote for a number of deputies at a time in large multi-member constituencies. The new law provided that if a single party or an alliance of parties secured a majority of the votes cast, the winning party or alliance will carry all the seats in the constituency. Alternatively if no party or alliance secured a majority, the seats will be divided among all parties contesting the election on a basis of proportional representation.

Two theoretical and over-simplified examples may serve to show how such a system could work. In the first instance the Malcontents at one end of the political spectrum obtain 15 thousand votes, the Militants at the other end obtain 9 thousand, while a group of centre parties which have agreed to form an electoral alliance, the Modernists, the Moderates and the Mercantilists obtain 26 thousand. The alliance, having secured a majority, divide amongst themselves all the seats in the constituency while the Malcontents with 30% of the votes and the Militants with 18% obtain no seats. In the second instance the three centre parties run candidates independently and fail to form an alliance, obtaining 14 thousand, 8 thousand and 4 thousand respectively, so that no single party or alliance has a majority. The seats are then distributed on a basis of proportional representation with the Malcontents at the head of the list and the Militants third. In the first case these two latter parties obtain no seats; in the second case they do well.

This fictional example illustrates the importance which electoral alliances can have under the present law. Its framers, in discarding straight proportional representation, were consciously seeking to limit the representation in the next Assembly of extremist parties, and to provide a method whereby the parties of the centre could increase their parliamentary strength over the forces of the "double opposition", Communist and Gaullist. The wisdom of thus constructing electoral machinery designed to provide a desired result was widely discussed in France before the election and will undoubtedly be debated extensively in the future. At present it is sufficient to note that, by making possible the election of a majority for the moderate "republican" parties and by reducing the number of Communist members the electoral law achieved what was hoped from it.

Six Major Groups

French electors had to choose among six major groups. The important political formations were the Socialists and the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, which are both moderate leftists; the liberal Rassemblement des Gauches Républicaines, which is a coalition of the Radicals and of smaller groups; the Independents and Peasants, a recently formed coalition of conservatives and moderate rightists, which has absorbed the former P.R.L. Party; the rightist Rassemblement du Peuple Français constituted in 1947 by General de Gaulle; and the Communists. It may be useful to recall that following the 1946 election, France was governed by ten successive political coalitions drawn mainly from the Socialists, the M.R.P. and the R.G.R., apart from the Communists who left the Government in 1947.

At stake were the seats of 627 Deputies, 574 representing Metropolitan France and Algeria and 53 representing French overseas departments and territories. The election results gave an almost equal number of seats to the six main political parties.

The distribution of seats were: Gaullists, 108; Socialists, 104; Communists, 103; Peasants and Independents, 98; R.G.R., 94; M.R.P., 85; various overseas independent and others, 23. A few seats are still subject to verification. Elections to fill the other two seats — New Caledonia and French Oceania — will be held later. The changes in the distribution of seats, as compared with the results of the November 1946 election, may be indicated as follows:

Parties	1946	1951	Difference
Socialists	99	104	+ 5
M.R.P.	145	85	— 60
R.G.R.	60	94	+ 34
Right-wing	111	98	— 13
R.P.F.	0	118	+118
Communists	189	103	— 86
Others	16	25	+ 9
Total	620	627	+ 7

Of the 25 million French citizens who were registered as voters, less than 19 million actually voted. Many types of alliances were found in constituencies by the moderate parties, and they were successful to a considerable extent in producing majorities which captured all seats in a constituency despite large minority votes obtained by Communists and Gaullists. The Communists because they could not, and the Gaullists because they would not, form alliances derived no benefit from the alliance system. One example will suffice to show how, because of alliances, voting strength did not necessarily correspond to seats obtained. The Communists with 26.4% of the total vote secured 103 seats, while the Socialists and M.R.P. with almost the same percentage, 26.8, returned 189. The distribution of votes as compared with that of the 1946 elections, and the effect of the electoral law, may be illustrated as follows:

Parties	1946		1951	
	Votes	%	Votes	%
Socialists	3,413,035	17.8	2,764,210	14.5
M.R.P.	4,992,985	26.1	2,353,544	12.3
R.G.R.	2,228,326	11.6	2,194,213	11.5
Right-wing	2,939,297	15.4	2,472,016	13.1
R.P.F.	4,039,889	21.7
Communists	5,516,763	28.8	5,001,616	26.4
Others	62,976	0.3	95,000	0.5
Votes cast	19,153,382	100.0	18,920,488	100.0
Abstentions	5,486,536		5,457,790	
Votes registered	25,052,233		24,973,148	

Government Parties Returned

The salient fact that emerges from the voting figures is that the Government parties obtained a majority of about 800,000 votes over the combined opposition vote. With all its imperfections the new electoral system has reflected this majority, even if it has somewhat magnified it, in the distribution of seats in the Assembly. The fact that approximately 75% of the voters supported parties which strongly oppose Com-

munism is also of significance, and it is worth noting that the Communists polled half a million fewer votes than in 1946. On the whole the election appears to represent a victory for moderation and an expression of dislike by the French electorate for adventure or radical changes in the methods of Government. Finally there has been a noticeable shift to the right in French opinion as expressed by the important vote in favour of the Gaullists and of the large group of Independents and Peasants.

Although an attempt has not yet been made, as this article goes to press, to form a French Government, certain important points emerge. The exclusion of the communists from the Government appears a certainty. Mr. René Pleven, head of one of the liberal parties forming the R.G.R., has said that three majorities are possible in the new Assembly:

- (1) A majority of National Union comprising all parties except the communists.
- (2) A majority composed of the Socialists, the R.G.R. and M.R.P., and the Independents and Peasants.
- (3) A majority of the Right, not comprising the Socialists.

On the other hand General de Gaulle, at a post-election press conference, clearly expressed his party's intention of staying out of any coalition government which he would not head or which would not adopt his methods of government. Should this attitude be maintained, it would mean that the R.P.F. will enter the new Assembly as a strong opposition force.

Need for Stable Government Recognized

The presence in the Assembly of two large opposition groups which both favour — although in different fashion — basic changes in the methods of government, may well induce the parties of the centre to submerge some of their differences in order to form a coalition government. Such a decision may, it is true, offer certain difficulties in the case of the Socialists and of the Independents and Peasants, since it is between these two groups that political differences are most evident. Nevertheless, and although repeated experiments may prove to be necessary, there is no reason to doubt that the republican parties of the centre will make serious attempts to reach an understanding. France's new Government will be faced, in domestic affairs as well as in international affairs, with urgent and difficult problems. The need for stable governments capable of meeting these problems is recognized. There are good grounds for believing that France will continue to be governed by coalitions of the moderate parties, not unlike the governments of recent years, which will provide an element of continuity and will not be disposed to make substantial changes in present French policies.

THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

Excerpts from a Commencement Day address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at Bates College, at Lewiston, Maine, on June 17, 1951.

. . . You in the United States and we in Canada with others of our friends are now joined together in an attempt to fashion a community on a larger scale than any of our national states. The North Atlantic Alliance, for instance, is an important instrument for maintaining the security and freedom of its members. But it is more than that. It is the foundation on which we are trying to build a wider society of free men.

It is well that we should do this. But in the process we should remember that the civilization of the West has now to be regarded as only one of the independent civilizations throughout the world. After a sleep of many centuries, the civilizations in the Far East, which had long lain quiescent or subdued are stirring. They have had glorious achievements. They still have their own values; and they are demanding the right to develop them in their own way. I believe that in the long run the re-emergence in a modern political form of these ancient civilizations, with their own individual traditions, will enrich the life of all men throughout the world. Certainly in framing our own policies, we must consider more than we have been accustomed to do the views and wishes of these awakening giants. Nor should pride and power dictate this consideration.

. . . The wealth of our common civilization, material, intellectual and moral, carelessly dissipated though some of it has been, is, nevertheless, immense. To work towards the establishment of a North Atlantic community of nations, all sharing in this great legacy from the past, all with their own special contributions to make in the future, all pledged to be of mutual assistance to one another, is surely a task worthy of our finest effort and of our greatest zeal. The goal of such a society, strong, varied and secure but not self-centered or exclusive; anxious to profit by contact with other civilizations, is an ideal, it seems to me, which can support and encourage us through all the difficulties of the present time.

The leader of our coalition, the United States of America, is, for instance, pre-eminent in power and authority by any standard of measurement. It has sincerely based its policy of association on the principle of "*primus inter pares*", which is, indeed, the only principle the rest of us would accept. The necessity, however, of reconciling fact and theory will require among all the members of the association qualities of restraint, comprehension, and tolerance. If the leadership which is exercised by the United States is to be accepted wholeheartedly and freely by all its allies, concessions will at times have to be made to meet the views and the special requirements of individual nations.

This point has been well put by Mr. Paul Hoffman, whose work as the Economic Co-operation Administrator did so much to restore prosperity and vigour to the free nations of the world. In his recent book *Peace Can Be Won* he has said:

If we are to lead effectively we must work with the rest of the free world on a basis of partnership and unity, founded on respect for views and interests other than our own. This is a matter of elementary psychology — an operating principle just as valid for heads of state as for the men in the street.

Mr. Hoffman, in these words, gives his conception of the way in which the United States should discharge its responsibilities if it is to be an effective leader

of the coalition. The other members, I hasten to add, have the equal and parallel obligation to recognize, frankly and ungrudgingly, the special contribution to the common effort which is being made by the United States and the heavy responsibilities which it is carrying. All free people must feel profoundly grateful that your country has assumed the task of leadership with such courage and decision. We can demonstrate that feeling most convincingly by the way in which we make our own contributions to the common and co-operative task. In doing this, the parts we may all be called on to play will, in many cases, be new and unaccustomed. The role of world leadership for the United States may, for instance, seem strange to a country accustomed for a century and a half to the protection of geography and possessed by the primary and, at times, almost exclusive interest of continental and national development. But this new role is possibly no more strange than that of Great Britain or France who must look across the Atlantic for the support necessary for their own survival in the struggle in which we are all engaged.

Problems in an Alliance

The responsibilities and the trials of leadership must, of necessity, often seem irksome to the American people. They will, I think, seem less so if the immediate problems of such leadership are considered in the perspective of the history of other countries which have been similarly situated in the past.

The problems now facing the United States as the leader of the North Atlantic alliance are in many respects those which have arisen in every previous alliance. Moreover, these same problems have given rise to reactions very like those which are sometimes current today in the United States. It is a penalty of leadership to feel overburdened and often misunderstood. This was certainly the feeling of the United Kingdom in the 19th century. You may remember how Matthew Arnold, replying to criticism of the Britain of that day, pictured it as "a weary Titan . . . staggering on to her goal, bearing on shoulders immense, Atlantean, the load, well-nigh not to be borne, of the too vast orb of her fate". The United States may today feel at times the same way, but I do not think there is much danger that she will stagger under the "too vast orb of her fate". I hope not, because that fate involves nothing less than the destiny of all mankind.

The problem I have mentioned is accentuated by the fact that the American people have not been prepared either by history or by their customary modes of thought for the unprecedented world role which they are now playing. This difficulty has been analysed with acuteness by a wise American commentator on international affairs, Mr. George Kennan. Writing in the introduction to *The United States in World Affairs 1949*, he pointed out how the American people "were unaccustomed to the sense of national insecurity. They were unprepared for the ordeal of sparring indefinitely and inconclusively with a force committed to the destruction not only of their own national power but also of the only sort of international context in which their ideals could be realized. Finally, they were reluctant to believe that there could be major international problems to which there would not be incisive and final solutions, if their policymakers could only find them — problems, in other words, which had to be lived with instead of solved. It fell to these American people to acquire suddenly the art of being patient and conciliatory without showing weakness, and conversely of maintaining strength, and using it, without being rash or provocative."

The Obligations of Leadership

There are, then, heavy obligations laid both on those who must bear the responsibility of leadership in the North Atlantic alliance and on those whose duty it is to co-operate effectively and wholeheartedly with that leadership. Above all, we

must avoid words or actions or reactions which will weaken the coalition, without any compensating advantage. The danger in which we all stand is so grave and the necessity to increase our collective strength so urgent that any careless, irresponsible action or talk which might divide us and so give aid and comfort to the enemy would be criminal folly. I do not mean by this that we should hide our differences by pretending that none ever exist. In any coalition there are bound to be honest differences and, unless they are examined and discussed honestly, they may fester under-ground and poison the partnership. It is of vital importance, however, that in discussing our differences we should use only the accents of good temper and good faith, and that we should display, always, a sense of responsibility and a sense of proportion, and indeed a sense of humour! Our effort should constantly be not to score points at the expense of our allies, but to come to agreed solutions. It is one of the glories of our democracy, both in the United States and in Canada, and, indeed, in other parts of the free world, that in our achievement of political democracy we have learned to settle our domestic problems by frank discussion, fairly and decently carried on. If we forget that lesson, — and there are some signs that we are — we may one day lose our system of free and popular government. Similarly, if we do not project this practice into the international democratic system which we are trying to build, our coalition may fail to meet the tests ahead; it may even break up.

In the Soviet system of alliance, differences are very quickly resolved. They are composed by the exercise of ruthless dictation, on the one hand, and slavish obedience, on the other. We in the free world will not be able to solve our differences — nor would we wish to — by any such arbitrary formulae. In accordance with our own traditions, we will have to engage in the more difficult, but infinitely more rewarding, process of attempting to compose them by compromise and goodwill. The irritations and perplexities with which we will be surrounded in doing this may sometimes bring our nerves very close to the surface. At such moments it will be tempting to look for scape-goats or to search for incidents outside our own boundaries in order to cover up our own mistakes. Unless we guard against this danger, suspicions may grow up among us and trust may be impaired. Whenever we are subject to these temptations, let us remember that this is no time for bickering, no time to bring out old prejudices or foster new suspicions. We now share a common danger and we face a common destiny. Everything that we say and everything that we do should take account of that cardinal fact.

The Special Role of Canada

In strengthening the coalition of free nations in the North Atlantic alliance, we in Canada may have a special role to play. We are bound to you in the United States by long standing ties of neighbourly friendship and understanding. The roots of our history and our affections are also deep in the soil of Great Britain and France. We are finally, a smaller country without the external political interests or commitments or pressures that go with world wide responsibilities. Because of this special position, Canada may be able, from time to time, to play some part in easing relations within the alliance. Certainly, no country has a greater stake in its success than my own, since no country has better cause than Canada to realize that it cannot live alone; though no country, I might add, is more anxious to establish and preserve its own particular national contribution to the coalition.

The tasks to which we are all called are then, manifold and challenging. We must quickly increase our collective strength within the United Nations and the North Atlantic alliance. We must look much further into the future than the immediate crisis and do whatever we can to encourage the growth of a genuine international community within the North Atlantic area. And always we must remember

that we are increasing our strength not primarily to win a war but to prevent one; not to defeat communism in war, but to contain it without war. The real test of our cause, will be how to use our increasing strength. To acquit ourselves well in that test, we will need both wisdom and steadiness. "The strong man armed keepeth the peace". But to do that, he must first keep his head!

Finally, if we are to discharge our full responsibility to the cause of freedom and to humanity, we must not lose sight of the idea of the human community, world-wide in scale, partially eclipsed though that community has been and although the Russians and other communist peoples have been alienated from it by the action of their rulers. Even when straining every nerve to meet the challenge to our own civilization which has been thrown by Soviet imperialism, we must not forget the human family from which such a large part of the world's population has been estranged. There are, therefore, many concentric circles defining our responsibilities — to our own countries, to the present coalition of countries in the North Atlantic alliance, to the emerging North Atlantic community, to the United Nations and to the world-wide community of all human creatures. To recognize and fulfil our responsibilities in all of these spheres, we must first have a clear image within our own minds of what constitutes a good community.



THE ROYAL COMMISSION AND CANADA'S CULTURAL RELATIONS ABROAD

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences was established in April of 1949 to examine and to make recommendations upon the principles which should govern broadcasting and television policies in Canada and upon certain agencies of the government, including the National Film Board, the National Gallery, the National Museum, and the Public Archives. The Commission was also instructed to make recommendations concerning aid to research in Canada, including scholarships. The Commission further was to consider Canada's relations with UNESCO, and the relationship of the Government of Canada with various national voluntary bodies. In April of 1950 the Commission's terms of reference were extended to include methods for providing adequate information about Canada in other countries, and measures to safeguard historic sites and monuments in Canada.

The Report of the Royal Commission which was tabled in Parliament on June 1, although naturally concerned primarily with matters of domestic interest, discusses in some detail a number of points important to the problems of Canada's cultural relations abroad; these points it is proposed to review briefly.

"All nations" the Report states "now recognize as public responsibilities both the issue of information about themselves and cultural exchanges with other states . . . The promotion abroad of a knowledge of Canada is not a luxury but an obligation, and a more generous policy in this field would have important results, both concrete and intangible . . . Exchanges with other nations in the fields of the arts and letters will help us to make our reasonable contribution to civilized life, and since these exchanges move in both directions, we ourselves will benefit by what we receive. We are convinced that a sound national life depends on reciprocity in these matters". And the chapter entitled "The Projection of Canada Abroad" begins with the sentence "Ignorance of Canada in other countries is very widespread."

The Royal Commission, then, leaves no doubt as to the importance which it attaches to this matter; it recommends the continuance and the extension of existing means of making Canada better known abroad, and the adoption of new measures on a generous scale.

The Canada Council

The principal innovation recommended by the Royal Commission is a council for the encouragement of Canadian arts and letters, humanities and social sciences. This new body, the Canada Council, designed to be partly advisory and partly administrative in character, would have three separate though closely related responsibilities: to help voluntary societies concerned with these matters in Canada, to foster Canada's cultural relations abroad, and to serve as a national commission for UNESCO. With the first of these responsibilities we are not here directly concerned; the other two, however, call for some comment.

In summarizing the gaps in Canada's cultural equipment as a modern state, the Commission, among other matters, observes:

Unlike most countries of the world we have in Canada no advisory or executive body to deal with the question of our cultural relations abroad. Earlier in this Report we have suggested that Canadian creative and interpretative artists would benefit both themselves and our country if it were made possible for them to travel for study and experience. We can also well believe that it might be in the public interest, for example, that a Canadian orchestra go on tour abroad, that exhibitions of Canadian paintings be arranged in Europe or that a Canadian theatrical company perform in Edinburgh or London or Paris. At present we have no organization such as the British

Council or the French *Section des Oeuvres Françaises à l'Étranger* to arrange and to underwrite such ventures, although we judge it possible that a company of Canadian players or a Canadian orchestra might do as much for this country as has been done for Great Britain by the Sadler's Wells Ballet Company whose highly successful tours of the United States and Canada have been made possible by the British Council. These tours can be profitable, both financially and artistically; but they cannot be undertaken at all unless their expenses are guaranteed.

We do not possess in Canada a clearing-house or a centre of information on the arts, letters, humanities and social sciences. Inquiries from abroad often come to the Department of External Affairs which, unable to supply full and accurate information on all aspects of Canadian culture, refers the inquiries to one or another of the voluntary organizations, (The Canadian Music Council, the Social Research Council, the Dominion Drama Festival, the Canadian Arts Council). Most of these organizations operate on a very modest scale, and it is not generally appreciated that they find the burden of gathering the information and of answering inquiries, whether from abroad or from within the country, far heavier than their restricted resources can endure. We are informed, for example, that the Canada Foundation corresponded during 1949 with organizations and individuals in forty-two countries, and that its time is almost fully occupied in dealing with inquiries from Canada and from abroad. Very few of our voluntary organizations are affluent enough to employ a full-time secretary; but, as they reasonably point out, they are constantly invited to assume, particularly in the interest of Canada's cultural relations abroad, the role of an information centre which many of them feel is a national responsibility.

The Commission accordingly proposes that the "Canada Council proceed as rapidly as possible to establish a central office of information on those aspects of the arts, letters, humanities and social sciences which fall within its competence." The Commission also suggests that the Canada Council give thought to "the promotion of a knowledge of Canada abroad by such means as foreign tours, by Canadian lecturers and by performers in music, ballet and drama, and by the exhibition abroad of Canadian art in its varied forms."

A System of Fellowships

The Royal Commission recommends that the Canada Council have a further means at its disposal to foster Canada's cultural relations with other countries: a system of fellowships and scholarships which would permit talented Canadians to study and work abroad and would also enable a certain number of students from other countries to continue their advanced studies in Canada. In this matter of exchange scholarships the Report states that Canada has been singularly negligent, although other countries for many years have shown a generosity to Canadian students which might well have inspired us long since to extend a corresponding liberality. The system of scholarships, it is intended, would be designed to include Canadian workers in the creative arts, in music and letters, for example, or in painting and sculpture; the system of awards should, the Report states, "be broad enough to include journalists and those engaged in such activity as the production of drama, radio programmes or films." Exchange scholarships in these and in kindred fields would be available to gifted artists and men of letters from abroad for work in Canada.

Such then are the three principal ways by which the Canada Council would help in extending the knowledge of Canada in other countries: by an information centre, by the promotion of foreign tours and exhibitions, and by a system of fellowships and exchange scholarships. We turn now to consider the third responsibility of the proposed Council: its activities as a national Commission for UNESCO.

The reasons which prompted the Royal Commission to assign this third function to the Canada Council are expressed with clarity and force: "A council to stimulate the arts and letters in this country, particularly if it were also charged with the encouragement of Canada's relations abroad, would be doing exactly the kind of work which must be undertaken by a National Commission for UNESCO: it must maintain



MASSEY REPORT PRESENTED

Mr. Vincent Massey, left, presents to the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L.S. St. Laurent, the first English and French language copies of the Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences.

close relations with voluntary organizations in Canada; it must take an active interest in projects of general education; it must interest itself in all cultural affairs, and in these matters it must be prepared to exchange information with UNESCO and related international organizations. It might not, it is true, be designed to carry on the scientific exchanges which are an important part of the work of UNESCO. It could no doubt for this purpose secure the co-operation of the National Research Council which has numerous international affiliations. We believe therefore that if one agency were created to concern itself with voluntary effort in the arts, letters, and social sciences, to encourage cultural exchanges, and at the same time act as a

National Commission for UNESCO, wasteful duplication would be avoided and the influence and the prestige of the organization would be strengthened."

As the Commission sees it, the principal duty of the Canada Council in UNESCO matters would be "to extend the knowledge in Canada of UNESCO's purposes and programmes and in turn to ensure that those policies and practices best calculated to win the support and the confidence of the Canadian people are brought, through the Department of External Affairs, to the attention of the general conference of UNESCO."

Measures Proposed by Commission

These then are the new measures proposed by the Commission for the furthering of Canada's cultural relations with other countries. It was noticed earlier that the Commission has also recommended the continuance and the extension of existing means of making Canada better known abroad. Thus, the Commission proposes that the International Service of CBC be continued and expanded to increase the knowledge and understanding of Canada abroad; and adds that Canada should be represented abroad on these international broadcasts by the best and most representative talent available in this country. The Report similarly recommends that the National Film Board be provided with funds to increase its distribution of Canadian films abroad through commercial and others channels. Finally, the Report suggests that the information service of the Department of External Affairs needs to be expanded "even in such countries as Great Britain and the United States. The gravest lack is that of competent information or press officers. Compared with her neighbours, Canada is very inadequately represented. No amount of printed material or of special cables can take the place of able and experienced information officers. They know the newspapers and the newspapermen of the country to which they are posted; they understand what is wanted and how it should be presented. By gaining confidence and friendship they can do much to ensure a fair and accurate presentation of Canadian life, of Canadian policy and of the Canadian point of view." The Commission also suggests that the Department of External Affairs might well extend its activities in film distribution in other countries; the Department's present services in providing photographic and other illustrative material should also, it is proposed, be expanded.

In general, the Commission finds that Canadian activity in bringing to other countries a proper knowledge and understanding of Canada is inadequate. The work of voluntary societies interested in this question is not co-ordinated and is hampered by lack of funds; we have in Canada only very limited information facilities in cultural matters, and these in turn depend in large measure upon struggling voluntary organizations. We are moreover inadequately represented abroad by trained press and information officers. Our entire effort, in short, is not in keeping with the stature and dignity of this country. The Commission records its interest in the possibility that part of the blocked Canadian funds in Europe, notably in France, Italy and the Netherlands, might be made available for educational and cultural programmes. "If the plan is found to be practicable it would no doubt be possible to send post-graduate Canadian students, teachers and professors to pursue advanced work in at least these three countries in which the largest amounts of Canadian blocked funds are now held. Thought has also been given to the practicability of making possible tours abroad by Canadian participation in cultural conferences of a semi-official nature taking place in those countries."

The Commission notes that the total of the blocked Canadian funds in European countries amounts to a very considerable sum, and hopes that it may be found possible and desirable to use part of the sums available to help finance cultural exchanges which could do much to enhance the reputation of Canada abroad and which would be of great value to Canadian citizens.

THE PARTNERSHIP TO UPHOLD FREEDOM

Excerpts from an address by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, delivered at Northwestern University, at Evanston, Ill., on June 11, 1951.*

. . . A hundred years ago, at the time this University was founded, the United States was entering upon one of the most difficult periods in the history of this country. For something over half a century your forebears had maintained, within this nation, an uneasy balance between two very different conceptions of human society, one insisting on human equality and the other tolerating human slavery. By 1851 it was becoming clear to most Americans both in the North and South that this uneasy balance could not be maintained indefinitely. Unless a way of life based on either freedom or slavery was accepted as the rule throughout the whole nation, it was apparent the nation itself would not survive.

During the first decade of the history of Northwestern University it was the supreme aim of American statesmanship to find a peaceful solution to that problem of national survival. Unhappily a peaceful solution was not found.

The American people had to wage a terrible civil war to maintain their unity as a nation. Whether greater statesmanship could have settled that issue without war is now an academic question and I am not going to try to answer it. But I am sure almost no one would quarrel with the assertion that slavery was bound to be abandoned sooner or later and that if slavery could have been extinguished without war, it would have been a great gain for the United States and a great gain for the human race.

The human race today faces a situation which in some respects is similar to the one this nation faced a century ago. The existence of this nation, like other free nations, is in danger; and the danger is one we are trying to overcome without a great war.

But the problem is no longer an exclusively American problem. On one side is Communist imperialism striving for the total enslavement of the whole world; on the other is a partnership of the free nations striving to maintain the freedom we believe to be the very essence of civilized life. At present there is an uneasy balance between the two. Of course, such a balance cannot be maintained indefinitely. Sooner or later, we must have a free world or what we will have is a world in chains. But, for the time being, I believe the first task of statesmanship is to maintain that balance, though it should be our supreme aim to try by every honourable means, to ensure the ultimate peaceful triumph of freedom in the world.

Now it is hardly possible to exaggerate the difficulty of achieving that aim. To succeed we, in the free world, have to create now, and then to maintain, military strength too substantial for our opponents to dare challenge it with any prospect of final victory.

At the same time we must continue to develop our free way of life and to demonstrate its superiority, not only for the favoured peoples of the western world, but also for those countless millions in other continents who are confused and uncertain in the present situation. And while that is being done we are also faced with the problem of living in one world with the great nations behind the iron curtain where long years of intellectual, social and political servitude have undermined the aptitude and perhaps even the desire of many for what we regard as freedom.

* The following passages are taken from the Commencement Address delivered by Mr. L. S. St. Laurent at Northwestern University, at Evanston, Ill., on June 11, 1951. The complete official text is No. 51/25 of the Department's Statements and Speeches series and may be obtained on application to the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

I say this is a hard programme. It is the most forbidding prospect which has faced any generation since our European ancestors first settled in the new world. One reason it is hard is that we cannot expect, and indeed, we dare not even hope for quick results.

There is no short and easy way to make the world free or even to make our own freedom secure. It may well be that the greatest of all the dangers we face — greater even than the danger from Russia or from China — is the danger of listening to those who think they have a quick and easy solution to this terribly difficult problem.

There is a great temptation to say: Communist imperialism is an evil thing bent on extinguishing freedom in the world. Let us extinguish it first. Let us get it over with. That temptation will grow greater as the military strength of the free world increases.

This danger is all the greater because acts of Communist aggression like that we are now opposing in Korea inevitably arouse strong feelings and a natural inclination to use our growing strength to hit back at the very source of the trouble.

But statesmanship does not consist in yielding to impulses, however righteous, without reckoning consequences. To hit back now at the source of the trouble is to start a world war. And that is what we are trying to prevent.

Ambassador Philip Jessup has said that “the United States will fight, if necessary, to preserve freedom and justice, but it will not make war merely because the road to peace is inevitably long and hard and tiresome”. That I believe is the right attitude for all free nations.

Now I am personally convinced that our greater industrial strength, our greater initiative and know-how and the greater moral resources of free peoples would enable us to win a world war if such a war got started. But I am just as firmly convinced that the wholesale and appalling destruction of human lives and — perhaps even worse — of the institutions of civilization so patiently built up over the centuries, would set back human progress for generations, and possibly for centuries. There is no doubt we would face even these terrible consequences rather than accept the living death of world domination by Communist imperialism.

But our real aim must be to prevent either of these catastrophes. To do so we must build up and sustain the strength of the free world and maintain a fundamental unity of purpose among the free nations. That unity of aim and purpose must be strong enough to contain honest differences about means and methods and to permit us to resolve those differences by the give and take of discussion and negotiation.

No one country, not even the United States with all its power and all its wealth, can by itself alone provide for its security.

On the other hand, all the free nations everywhere recognize that there can be no security for any of them without the leadership of the United States.

In a very real sense, we do live in a two power world — the world of the free and the world of the subjected. That fact provides the Communist propagandists with one of their most effective weapons in the war of ideas. Fellow-travellers of Moscow — some of them possibly honest but very short-sighted pacifists — are peddling all around the globe their legend of a different kind of two-power world; one in which they claim there are two rival centres of imperialistic expansion. According to them, the Soviet Union and the United States are waging a gigantic struggle for world domination. These Communist fellow-travellers assert that both these powers are equally ruthless, equally unscrupulous, that both constitute the same terrifying threat to the real freedom of other nations; and they suggest that the part of wisdom

for other nations is to stand aside from the struggle and let the imperialist giants destroy each other's over-ambitious plans.

This proposition no doubt sounds as absurd to you as it does to me. And yet it would be a great mistake to think this myth does not appeal to many people in the free world who would be quite impervious to the direct appeal of Communism.

Now it seems to me that the very existence of Canada as an independent nation is the best of all demonstrations, an actual living demonstration of the falsity of that proposition. . .

. . . In the North Atlantic alliance, and in the resistance we are offering to aggression under the flag of the United Nations in Korea, the United States and Canada are engaged with a number of other nations in a partnership not to dominate others, but to uphold freedom in the world. In that partnership history and geography have combined to make the United States, inevitably, the predominant partner.

Of course, the success of any partnership depends upon the understanding and good will of the partners towards one another. In every successful partnership, each of the partners has to be prepared to overlook what he may regard as imperfections and shortcomings in the other partners, and to make the best of what each is able to do. This partnership is no exception. It would be easy at times to get worked up about whether others are doing their full share; but that, I am sure, would be the quickest way to destroy the common effort.

We must recognize that the very essence of freedom is variety and that, even in a partnership, free nations cannot be expected, all of them, to make their efforts in the same way nor to use the same methods. We in North America are so much more fortunate, in a material sense, than other nations that we must expect to contribute more proportionately from our abundance than can be expected from those of our partners who are still recovering from the dislocation and destruction of the last war which affected them much more deeply than it affected us.

We must realize, too, that even with a maximum of good-will the partners in an alliance like ours can never be expected to see eye to eye on every question that arises. There will inevitably be differences, debates, perhaps even misunderstandings.

Our Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs said in a recent speech about Canada and the United States: "We have the right to disagree, as friends. We also have the obligation to resolve these disagreements, as friends and with a minimum of fuss and disturbance. This has not always been easy in the past, and is not going to be always easy in the days ahead, but our friendship will, I know, stand the challenge of the trials and turmoil of our time."

As Mr. Pearson said, there is no question that the friendship of Canada and the United States will stand that challenge. But we must take even greater care to see that the wider partnership of the free nations is able to meet the challenge of these difficult times. Because there are bound to be some, in every country who, from time to time, will say it is better to go it alone and take the consequences. That, I believe, is another of the great dangers to our partnership for freedom.

Still another danger is the danger of thinking the free nations can make themselves secure through military strength alone. Don't mistake me. It is indispensable to create sufficient military strength to remove the prospects of successful aggression. But we are not merely facing a test of material strength. We are also engaged in a struggle for men's minds, and, in that struggle, military strength is only one of the elements. We must re-arm, but we must also find the means to maintain and develop the measure of social justice we have already achieved in our own countries, and we must continue to work for the extension beyond our countries of that basic human equality which is the hallmark of a genuine free society.

All thoughtful people recognize the potential value to our partnership of the vast industrial capital and the skilled manpower of Western Europe which might well be decisive in turning the balance if war came. But we cannot afford to overlook, either, those vast areas in Asia and in Africa, and even in parts of this hemisphere, where under existing economic conditions mass poverty prevails and where it is quite useless to preach the abstract advantages of freedom to men and women who are starving or half-starved.

To these unfortunate peoples, Communism has an obvious appeal. The Communist doctrine of an economic and social revolution for the benefit of the masses has been just as potent a weapon in this so-called cold war as the subversive fifth column or the shadow of the Red Army. A defensive effort designed only to safeguard the material and moral advantages enjoyed by the inhabitants of this continent and of Western Europe will not give us the security we want. It is the essential first step. But if we hope to provide enduring safeguards of those moral and material advantages we must, in a true spirit of equality and co-operation, join with the less favoured areas of the world in a concerted effort to give their inhabitants greater material advantages and greater hopes for the future.

To strive to do all these things I have been suggesting, and to keep on striving to do them over even a generation or two, may seem to many of us a grim and uninviting prospect. Some of you are probably asking yourself: When can we hope to get back to normal? When can we return to living decent American lives without having to worry about the problems of the rest of the human race? Well, I am afraid the answer to those questions is: Not in my day nor in yours.

The United States today, the whole North American continent today, is directly concerned about what is happening in the rest of the world. What is even more important, the United States is, I repeat, inevitably the dominant factor in the free world. On your course as a nation, the fate of all mankind largely depends. That is true whether we like it or not.

I am sure there are many Americans who would cheerfully sacrifice this new position of leadership in world affairs for the comfortable isolation of the years between your Civil War and the First World War. But, as a nation you have no such choice. The only choice before you and before us is a choice between wise, patient and intelligent leadership of the free world by the United States, or a rapid shrinkage of the circumferences of free peoples, as your own and our lights of freedom grow dimmer and dimmer.

I think I am right about these alternatives and I know we can be confident about the leadership of the United States. Of course, there are some even in Canada who do not always understand the way your public affairs are managed, and who are anxious at times about what is going to be done next.

No doubt too some of you have periods when you wonder to what extent all your partners can really be depended upon. As I said before, there are in this country and in all free countries some voices preaching what seem to others to be strange doctrines and some who are always painting even stranger pictures of other nations.

But at every crisis in your affairs, you in the United States have shown yourselves capable of mobilizing great moral and material resources to uphold freedom. That has happened more than once to meet situations within your own country. Twice in our generation you have done it to uphold freedom in the world at large. Now never before, not even in 1861 or in 1941, has your role been so decisive or your leadership so important. We in Canada, who are your closest neighbours, know that you have never, in any crisis, failed to uphold the freedom which this nation was founded to preserve. We know you will not fail in this crisis to give our partnership the leadership it must have to uphold the freedom of mankind.

THE UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND

One of the most effective and rewarding efforts in international co-operation undertaken by the United Nations has been the positive achievement of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). While the controversies and frustrations so often characteristic of the United Nations have not been entirely absent, co-operation on behalf of children has kept them to a minimum, and over \$154,000,000 (U.S.) has been allocated in the last four and a half years to relieve the suffering of children in all areas of the world.

The Fund was established by a resolution of the First Session of the General Assembly in December, 1946 to carry on the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) in the field of child welfare. As stipulated in its terms of reference, the Fund is to be utilized:

- (a) for the benefit of children and adolescents of countries which were victims of aggression and in order to assist in their rehabilitation;
- (b) for the benefit of children and adolescents of countries receiving assistance from UNRRA.

At the instigation of some countries which saw the long-term potentialities of such an international organization, a third clause entrusting UNICEF with the promotion of "child health purposes generally" was included in the terms of reference.

Contributions to Fund

Apart from residual assets amounting to about \$32,000,000 which is received from UNRRA, the Fund has been dependent on voluntary contributions from governments and private sources. Governments have to date contributed or pledged \$108,000,000. Canada's donations to the Fund have been exceeded only by those of the United States and Australia. Including the \$500,000 for which Parliamentary approval was obtained in the Session recently concluded, the total Canadian Government contribution since the establishment of UNICEF is \$7,475,050. In response to appeals for private donations, Canadian citizens have subscribed a further \$1,525,878, making a total Canadian contribution of \$9,000,928.

The Fund is governed by an Executive Board of twenty-six nations, of which Canada is a member. Canada was elected to the chairmanship of the ten-member programme committee each year from 1948 to 1950, inclusive, and in 1951 to the chairmanship of the Executive Board. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, has represented Canada on the Fund since its inception and now serves as chairman of the Executive Board. Some fifteen Canadians, or about one seventh of the total staff, serve in the Fund's administration, either at headquarters or in the field. The Fund is directed by an American, Mr. Maurice Pate.

UNICEF was confronted from the beginning with far greater needs than it could hope to meet. Varying conditions made flexibility imperative, but a few basic principles were laid down to cover all operations: aid must be given on the basis of need, without discrimination because of race, creed, nationality, or political considerations; UNICEF's contribution must be matched by the government of the receiving country; the programmes are to be designed to make a permanent contribution to child welfare; each government receiving assistance must permit UNICEF to send international staff into the country to assist in the development of the programme and to observe its operations.

The greatest importance is attached to the principle of self help. The receiving government must be prepared to develop and operate a plan which UNICEF can supplement. UNICEF funds are used for supplies and services not available within the country and for which the necessary foreign exchange is lacking. Exceptions to this rule are made in cases of disaster (such as the recent earthquake in Ecuador) where the emergency calls for immediate supplies to maintain life and health.

Programmes Started in 1947

The first programmes, beginning in 1947, consisted of large-scale feeding operations in European countries. At the peak of these operations, in 1949, UNICEF was contributing part of one meal a day to more than 6 million children. The Fund's share consisted of badly needed protective protein foods — milk, meat, fish, and cod liver oil. Large quantities of all these foods came from Canada. Local supplies of cereal and vegetables were used to make up the balance of the meal.

Some ingenuity was required in making use of contributions from fifty-three nations all of which, except for the United States contribution, had to be spent for goods and services in the donor countries. This presented no great problem in countries such as Canada where there were food surpluses, but in many countries, other uses had to be found for the money. The early clothing programmes of the Fund were introduced to meet this situation. Uruguay, for example, made a generous contribution, but lacked surplus foods. It had, however, quantities of hides, which eventually provided shoes for many bare-foot children. In the same way, wool from Australia became warm clothing. Denmark, where neither food nor raw materials were available, was prepared to offer substantial aid if UNICEF cared to consider a mass immunization programme against tuberculosis which was taking a terrible toll of children's lives in many parts of the world. From its own experience with BCG vaccination, Denmark was prepared to provide not only serum, but skilled doctors and nurses to start the campaign, and to train local teams. Norway and Sweden associated themselves with this campaign which spread far beyond Europe and which to date has tested twenty-seven million children and vaccinated thirteen million.

Following this first medical programme, assistance has been given in the prevention or control of other communicable diseases such as malaria, whooping cough, diphtheria, venereal diseases and yaws. A joint committee of representatives of UNICEF and the World Health Organization (WHO) has been set up to deal with medical projects. These must all have the technical approval of WHO before being adopted, and technical personnel, where required, are recruited, and in many cases paid, by WHO. The same procedure is followed where UNICEF programmes lie in the field of interest of other specialized agencies such as Food and Agriculture Organization, or of the Social Affairs Department of the United Nations.

Local Production Assisted

UNICEF has also assisted in developing local production so that a country may become independent of outside sources of supply. For example, equipment for milk conservation or for the production of insecticides, antibiotics or BCG serum is being provided in a number of countries.

In many underdeveloped countries, the greatest need is for the establishment of child and maternal health and welfare centres where basic education in hygiene, nutrition and child care can be given. The provision of public health nurses, social workers, simple equipment and sometimes transportation, constitutes UNICEF'S share of this work. UNICEF has also provided training courses as part of its pro-

gramme. Some of these are organized within the country; others take the form of fellowships for training abroad.

As European conditions improved, there was a growing demand that UNICEF extend aid to underdeveloped areas where disease and undernourishment were chronic among children. As a consequence, the emphasis has gradually shifted to the third term of reference, "child health purposes generally". UNICEF now operates throughout the world, and since 1947 allocations have been made for 64 countries or territories in Europe, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa. This record, while impressive, gives no indication of the plight of the children themselves, nor of the difficulties of transporting staff and supplies where conventional means must be supplemented by bicycles, donkeys and elephants, nor of the administrative problems confronting war-devastated, newly independent or under-developed countries, nor of the old customs and superstitions that sometimes stand in the way of modern techniques, — all of which are part of the daily life of UNICEF.

Future of UNICEF Debated

The Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations debated the future of UNICEF at some length, and decided that it should continue as a temporary organization for three years, when consideration would be given to making it a permanent part of the United Nations organization. The Fund will carry on its work under the direction of a new board which consists of representatives of the 18 countries on the Social Commission plus eight members elected by the Economic and Social Council. As in the past, the Fund will be dependent on voluntary contributions from government and private sources. To the extent that these are forthcoming, UNICEF, in co-operation with other organs of the United Nations, will continue to alleviate the sufferings of children.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

Korea

On June 25, Mr. George A. Drew, Leader of the Opposition, referred to a statement made by Mr. Malik, Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., regarding possible negotiations for a cease-fire and a dual withdrawal from the 38th parallel in Korea. The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, then spoke in part as follows:

... There is no doubt that the Secretary of State for External Affairs, like all the rest of us, regards that statement as an important development. It is one with which the United Nations will no doubt be dealing expeditiously, and I think it might perhaps be convenient to put on the record of this House the statement made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie ...*

I am further informed that Mr. Entezam, President of the General Assembly, and also chairman of the Good Offices Committee, has come from Washington to New York in order to be in touch with the representatives of the United Nations there and to take such immediate action as may be appropriate and to do so in the hope that this is a statement of a real desire to see a cease-fire and a withdrawal of opposing troops on either side of the 38th parallel brought about at once.

I think hon. members would be interested to know that among the clippings I got was one referring to a radio broadcast in the capital of communist China reporting this statement of Mr. Malik and an editorial saying that if America was willing to stop the war she should bring in at once those just and reasonable measures for peaceful settlement which have been repeatedly proposed by the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, and other countries desiring peace.

Of course that statement was along the same line; even Mr. Malik's statement was much along the traditional line of having about fourteen minutes of violent vituperation and then a half a minute in which to make the statement that he thought the problem of armed conflict in Korea could be settled at this time. That is the usual manner in which such proposals are put forward by the U.S.S.R., but we have had former experience of their violent vituperation having been followed by something which was really serious and intended to be effective. I hope this may prove to be another such example.

...I may add that this morning the Secretary of State for External Affairs is conferring with Mr. Herbert Morrison, the United Kingdom Foreign Minister, and that our Ambassador in Washington was in touch yesterday and is in touch today with the Secretary of State there. The language of this declaration is being carefully scrutinized, and there is no indication anywhere that it will be brushed off. It will be explored with a sincere desire, at least on our side, to have it produce some results.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

An agreement was signed in London on June 19 by Canada and the other parties to the North Atlantic Treaty. The agreement is entitled "Agreement between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the Status of their Forces" or, in abbreviated form, "The NATO Forces Agreement". The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, tabled the text of the agreement on that day for the information of the House and spoke as follows:

... This agreement sets forth the rights and obligations of North Atlantic Treaty countries in respect of their armed forces stationed in or passing through other

* See page 231.

North Atlantic Treaty countries. The agreement is subject to ratification, and, of course, the approval of Parliament will be sought prior to ratification. That will not be during the present session.

At the outset I should like to emphasize that this agreement does not deal with the question whether troops are to be sent abroad; and it has no connection with the question of command of integrated NATO forces. It is solely concerned with the laws and regulations which are to govern an armed force after it has been sent, by mutual agreement, into another North Atlantic Treaty country.

It is a fully reciprocal agreement and will give valuable protection to Canadian servicemen serving in the integrated force. At the same time the rights of the receiving country are fully respected. The agreement provides that "it is the duty of a force... to respect the law of the receiving state, and to abstain from any activity inconsistent with the spirit of the present agreement, and, in particular, from any political activity in the receiving state."

General Eisenhower, in a statement issued today, says that it is a most important agreement, one of great significance to the integrated force under his command.

As there will be full opportunity for detailed discussion of the agreement in Parliament in due course, I do not propose to take up time now with a clause by clause explanation. I will, however, list the main subjects dealt with in the agreement. They are:

1. The criminal and disciplinary jurisdiction of the military courts of the visiting force and the jurisdiction of the civil courts of the receiving country;
2. The application of the tax laws and customs tariff of the receiving country to the visiting force;
3. The application of the immigration regulations of the receiving country to the members of the visiting force;
4. The settlement of claims for damage or injury arising out of the activities of the visiting force;
5. The procurement by the visiting force of goods, accommodation, labour and services from sources in the receiving country;
6. The wearing of uniforms and the carriage of arms.

From this brief description of the scope of the agreement, hon. members will realize, I am sure, that the twelve negotiating countries, with their differing laws and legal systems, had to be willing to compromise in order to arrive at any agreement. It was realized that many countries might have to modify their laws to take account of the presence of other NATO forces in their midst, but an attempt was made to reduce to a minimum the need for legislative change. The legal authorities of the Canadian Government are studying the agreement to determine whether legislation will be necessary and if so, its scope and extent. It is expected that the whole question will be brought before Parliament at the next session.

In conclusion I should like to quote the statement made today in London by the Chairman of the North Atlantic Council Deputies. He said:

The agreement on the status of armed forces which the North Atlantic Treaty governments have signed today is an important addition to the structural framework of NATO. We believe we have developed a multilateral charter that provides a uniform and administratively workable basis for an orderly, consistent, and fair relationship between forces from one NATO country and any other NATO country where they may be assigned to serve.

The agreement is part of the collective defence effort and is essential for the development of the integrated force under General Eisenhower's command. It gives the governments and the military authorities simple, practical

procedures for regulating a complex relationship. It guarantees the members of the armed forces adequate legal protection, and at the same time, without infringing on the authority of the military command, fully recognizes the peacetime rights and responsibilities of the civilian authorities in the host countries.

The development of collective defence in peacetime requires that forces of various countries which form part of the integrated force for the defence of the North Atlantic Treaty area be stationed in various other countries. They must be free to move from one country to another, in accordance with the demands of strategy and the orders of the supreme command. It is essential that there be uniformity of arrangements governing their status in countries other than their own and their relationship to the authorities and people of those countries. The conclusion of this agreement is an important step in our common effort to organize integrated strength adequate to keep the peace.

Foreign Trade

The House went into Committee of Supply on June 14 to consider estimates of the Department of Trade and Commerce. In the course of the debate the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Howe, made the following general statement regarding the trade policy of the Canadian Government:

I would like . . . to offer a few comments on Canadian trade policy. Since the end of the war very great efforts have been made by the Government, and the Department of Trade and Commerce in particular, to enlarge the volume of Canadian trade. These efforts have taken many forms. The Trade Commissioner Service abroad has been strengthened. Canada has supported international action to reduce trade barriers. When this country was suffering from a serious shortage of dollars, the Government did everything possible to encourage exports to dollar areas and to encourage imports from soft currency countries. The establishment of the International Trade Fair in 1948 was another evidence of the Government's interest in an expanding volume of trade, both import and export.

The efforts have borne fruit. Canada's trade has expanded to an extent that few thought possible. It is in better balance vis-a-vis the dollar and sterling areas. The position now, however, is very different from what it has been in these last few years. We are once again in a seller's market, faced with the fact or the prospect of shortages of certain materials because of the competing demands of the defence programme. In the light of this change in the trade outlook, the Government has reviewed its policy to see whether the emphasis on trade is misplaced.

We have come to the conclusion that while the needs of defence are paramount, Canada continues to have a vital interest in foreign trade. The defence programme, and the high rate of consumer and business spending which accompanied it, have resulted in a high level of imports. These imports must be paid for. For that reason alone we cannot afford to neglect our export trade. But there is a longer-run reason as well. All of us hope and believe that the present emergency will pass. In so far as possible, therefore, trade contracts should be retained and developed, looking to the time when Canada will once again have to seek out buyers for its surpluses.

Accordingly, as I said at the opening of the International Trade Fair in Toronto this year:

There is to be no general let-down in our efforts to promote export trade. That is the policy of the Department of Trade and Commerce and of the Canadian Government. We are having special supply difficulties to meet in various lines of export business. We shall probably continue to have such difficulties. But the fact that we shall be giving first priority to defence production needs is not to be taken to mean that the servicing of our export business will be pushed into the background or left without the very closest attention that we can give it.

In May the United Kingdom-Canada continuing committee on trade and economic affairs met in Ottawa. As was announced at the time, the United Kingdom hopes to buy a very much increased volume of goods in Canada during the next year. We, for our part, are anxious that the United Kingdom and the sterling area generally should continue to ship as much as possible to Canada. The discussions were most useful, and it is our hope that they will result not only in a substantial increase in the volume of United Kingdom-Canada trade but in further progress towards the restoration of normal trading relationships between the sterling area and Canada, which is our ultimate goal.

The United Kingdom talks were immediately followed by discussions with the British West Indies. There have always been close commercial ties between Canada and the British West Indies, and the imposition of restrictions upon imports from Canada into these islands had undoubtedly been the cause of a good deal of inconvenience and disruption to both importers and exporters. The introduction of the trade liberalization plan at the beginning of this year was an important step forward, and we are hopeful that it will be followed in the near future by further progress in the same direction.

A French trade mission then met with Canadian officials. This is not the first time that such Franco-Canadian trade talks have been held. Indeed they may become a more or less regular event. While our trade with France is not very large, it is, I believe, capable of expansion and the discussions this year were concerned with how this could best be done. We have been particularly impressed by the growing interest of France in the Canadian market.

Finally came informal discussions with a New Zealand trade delegation led by Hon. C. M. Bowden. Like other sterling area countries, New Zealand has been imposing very strict limitations on imports from Canada and other dollar countries. During the talks with Mr. Bowden, it was evident that New Zealand shares our interest in the restoration of normal trade relationships, and that there is more likelihood of progress in that direction now than for some time.

Another evidence of the Government's continuing interest in trade was the decision to hold the Canadian International Trade Fair again in 1952. In many respects the fair held this year was the most successful since the first was held in 1948. But the extent of participation by Canadian manufacturers and industrialists is disappointing. Furthermore, there is a good deal of uncertainty about the effects of defence preparations upon trade. In deciding to hold a fair next year the Government is taking some risks. But, on the other hand, to abandon the fair this year might have been taken as evidence that the Government no longer attaches the same importance to the development of trade, which would have had unfortunate repercussions at home and abroad. Whether the fair will continue beyond 1952 depends upon the extent to which Canadian businessmen take advantage of the opportunity provided to sell their wares not only abroad but to their neighbours at home.

In response to a question by Mr. H. H. Hatfield (PC, Victoria-Carleton), Mr. Howe later said:

We have a large and growing trade with Venezuela . . .

Exports to Venezuela in 1947 were \$12,988,625; in 1948, \$16,934,563; 1949, \$27,688,637; and 1950, \$25,456,741.

Our imports from Venezuela in 1947 were \$46 million; 1948, \$94 million; 1949, \$91 million and 1950, \$87 million. The imports of course from Venezuela are chiefly of oil. So it should be a good market for Canada because the balance of trade is in favour of Venezuela.

So far as Cuba is concerned, our trade relations there should be considerably better because of our agreement to take 75,000 short tons of sugar annually from that country.

Mr. Howard E. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra), referred during the debate to a publication entitled *Business Review* issued by the Bank of Montreal under the date of May 23, 1951. The statements in this publication, said Mr. Green, indicated

that "the unfavourable (trade) balance with the United States is a great deal higher in the first three months of 1951 than it was last year, and also that the unfavourable balance with regard to the world at large is a great deal higher than it was in 1950". In this connection, Mr. Howe spoke as follows:

Our trade with the United States is out of balance through abnormal imports from the United States. Our exports to the United States are running at a record level, considerably higher than at any former time in history. But with the purchase of war materials from that country, which have been coming in in volume, and the tremendous capital investment programme going on in Canada, which exceeds by far any previous record, we have been buying materials from the United States in excess of normal purchases. Aside from that the balance has not changed greatly. Our trade with Great Britain is in about the same balance as it was last year, and also our trade with the sterling area. Trade with South America has grown greatly but it is in fair balance. The balance has not changed much. Any change that has taken place is in our trade with the United States and is the result of greatly expanded imports from that country. I believe that this situation is abnormal. We are in a strong financial position to stand it, and I think it can be straightened out when our building boom settles down. The economic measures we have taken to check capital expansion in the country are designed to check the very circumstances my friend has called to my attention.

When Mr. Green asked whether Canada's position on merchandising transactions between Canada and the United States would be "a great deal worse this year than it was last year", Mr. Howe replied:

It will be further out of balance; in other words there will be a greater deficit in our account with the United States, and probably a deficit in our account with the world. The reason for that, of course, is our large investment programme. My hon. friend will appreciate that as more of Canada's production is invested at home less becomes available for export, and the greater the pressure for increased imports.

Mr. Rodney Adamson (PC, York West) then asked Mr. Howe whether he would comment on, first, the lack of reciprocal business in defence purchases by the United States, and, secondly, the difficulties in regard to currency restrictions. Mr. Howe replied:

I have no particular complaint to make as far as defence purchasing is concerned. The Americans were able to sell us certain war materials off the shelf, you might say, or out of stock; and those materials have been moving. We have had nothing to sell back in the way of war materials off the shelf, though we have taken contracts which will be productive as our production steps up and the goods are delivered. The contracts on both sides are not in balance, but there is a tendency for them to come into balance. I am not particularly worried about the upset in exchange due to war business between the two countries; I believe that situation will straighten out if there is the will to straighten it out, and I think everyone is doing his best along that line. I was just looking at the trade figures for the first three months, and in our account with the United States there was a deficit of \$100 million, which is very close to the amount of our deficit with the world. Well, that is not too serious. If it continues at that rate during the year we will have a deficit of \$400 million, and that is not anything to worry about. We have had far greater deficits. In 1947 we were losing a billion a year to the United States. However, that is a trend we do not like, but we think it is a trend that can be reversed whenever we are willing to curtail our investment programme and cut down on abnormal purchasing in the United States.

Regarding currency restrictions and Canada's trade with the sterling area, Mr. Howe said:

The currency difficulties are improving. Every time we bring trade with any country into balance we make it possible for them to relax the restrictions. In most countries with which Canada is accustomed to trade, restrictions are being relaxed to some extent. They are not being relaxed as quickly as we think they should

be, but we are constantly pressing for the relaxation of restrictive measures. Some progress is being made, and we think the trend is in the right direction.

I am happy to say that we finished 1950 with an adverse trade balance with the rest of the sterling area. In other words the rest of the sterling area sold us more goods than we sold them. There was a slight balance in our favour with the United Kingdom, as between the two countries, but it was very much smaller than ever before and showed a gap that presents no particular problem. As far as the balance of trade between Canada and any sterling area country is concerned, however, there is no good reason why the barriers cannot be taken down, and we think they should be taken down much faster than that is being done.

Departmental Estimates

Proposed Japanese Peace Treaty

Various questions were raised during the debate on estimates of the Department of External Affairs when the House was in Committee of Supply on June 15. Concerning the proposed Japanese Peace Treaty, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, spoke in part as follows:

... Our position as a government in this matter has been pretty clear to the House: we are in favour—and I am sure the House is in favour—of the earliest possible conclusion of such a treaty so that Japan may be brought back into the family of nations and play her part as a strong democratic country, especially in Asian affairs. So we have welcomed the discussions which have taken place to that end. When we were consulted, as we were some months ago, as to the form which these discussions should take, we agreed with our friends in Washington and London that possibly diplomatic talks initiated by the United States with other governments interested, rather than a general conference, would be the best way to proceed in the present circumstances. ... These talks have been proceeding and are now reaching finality.

In all this process of consultation we have played our part and have been informed of developments as they occur. We certainly have no complaint to make in regard to the methods that have been adopted to keep us informed. Mr. Dulles has consulted with our representative in Washington and our representative in Tokyo. I was in Washington yesterday and had a discussion with the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Far Eastern affairs. There was an official discussion in Washington between United States, United Kingdom and Canadian officials a few weeks ago, which discussions were resumed in Ottawa a few days after they had finished in Washington. This question has also been discussed in London. I think it is true to say that we have been kept informed and have played a reasonably active part in the negotiations leading up to the present position.

In the early days of these negotiations a draft was circulated by the United States to the governments more particularly concerned. We made comments on that draft on May 1 and May 21 and gave our views in some detail on every single clause. Having received the United States draft, at that time the United Kingdom made certain counter-proposals of its own, and we also made known in London our views on those counter-proposals. In recent days there have been discussions in London between Mr. Dulles and the United Kingdom Government designed to remove the differences which had developed in the preliminary discussions between the United States and the United Kingdom approaches to certain of these questions. Those discussions have resulted in an almost complete measure of agreement between London and Washington, and I understand that as a result a combined United States-United Kingdom draft will now be submitted to the other governments concerned for their observations. Once those observations are received it is hoped that a peace treaty may then be speedily concluded.

I am in some difficulty in making known at this particular time our final views in respect of the agreement, if it is a formal agreement, reached in London. We have not yet received any formal text of the discussions in London, and I do not think it would be wise for me to express any final view in regard to this matter until that text is received. Of course the Committee and Parliament know that there have been one or two contentious points in these discussions. They have been men-

tioned here this morning. One concerns the association of China with the peace treaty, and the other is the disposition of the island of Formosa.

Our position in regard to the former is that this question of Chinese signature on a Japanese peace treaty should be postponed without prejudice to any eventual solution. I think the reason for that is obvious. I think it is known to all members of the Committee that the United States has recognized one Chinese government while the United Kingdom has recognized another Chinese government. Obviously it would be difficult indeed for them to agree at this time on a Chinese signature to a formal Japanese treaty. Therefore this device has been adopted which I presume will result in a postponement of this issue for the time being, I hope without prejudice to a final and satisfactory solution.

Similarly, with regard to the question of Formosa I think we are all agreed that Japanese sovereignty in Formosa must be brought to an end. I have no doubt that that will be done in the peace treaty. I think it is also pretty clear that the eventual disposition of Formosa cannot be made in any draft treaty at this time. I do not think I can say anything more at this time on this matter.

There were one or two other points that were raised in connection with the proposed Japanese treaty. The hon. member for Peel, (Mr. Graydon), called attention to the difficulty that we had had in pre-war times in trading with Japan, and stated that he hoped the treaty would take those difficulties into consideration. I can assure him that we have been much alive to the problem. We realize that in pre-war times there were certain difficulties in regard to Japanese trade, and I hope that the treaty will make that situation easier in the future. We have been particularly interested in the fisheries clauses of the treaty. In order to discuss those clauses the Minister of Fisheries, accompanied by some of his officials, visited Washington to take up the matter there with the United States and United Kingdom people. We hope that as a result the fisheries clauses of the treaty will be satisfactory to Canada.

Later in the debate Mr. Alistair Stewart (CCF, Winnipeg North), asked whether the proposed treaty contained any safeguard to assure that certain democratic rights would be retained by the Japanese. Mr. Pearson said:

I appreciate the point made by my hon. friend about the inclusion in the draft of certain safeguards which would guarantee democratic rights, freedom of assembly and that sort of thing; and while I do not want to go into the details now for obvious reasons I think I can say that matter has been taken into consideration in the discussions that have taken place.

United Nations Administration Costs

Perhaps I can now deal with one or two other questions that have arisen during the course of the discussion. Both the hon. member for Peel and the hon. member for Rosetown-Biggar, (Mr. Coldwell), stressed the desirability of continuing the struggle in the United Nations to increase the proportion of the cost of that organization to be borne by the U.S.S.R. We have taken a most active part in that agitation, as the hon. member for Peel pointed out, and will continue to do so. The present proportions are most unfair to other members of the organization, and we hope we shall be able to make further progress during the next Assembly in the direction of increasing the proportion of the cost to be borne by the U.S.S.R. and its satellite states. We made some progress in that direction in the last Assembly, but not sufficient. We will not give up that struggle. If hon. members are interested in this particular question they will find it dealt with at some length at page 150 of the report of the Department on *Canada and the United Nations, 1950*.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation International Service

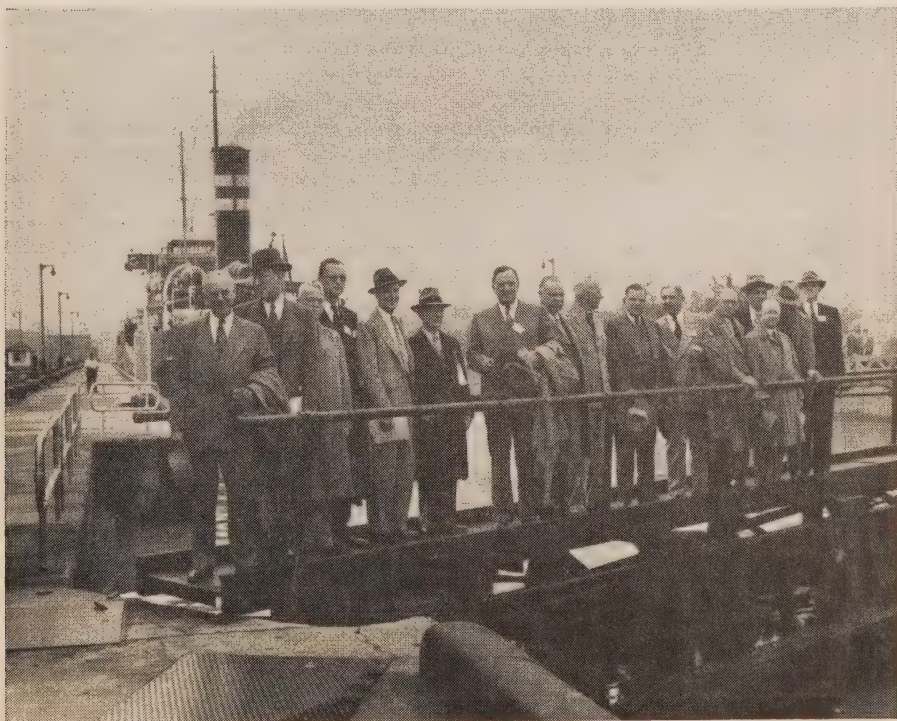
Some reference was made by both speakers who preceded me to the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. This subject was dealt with at considerable length before the Committee, and I made quite a lengthy statement on the matter, which will be found at page 85 of the proceedings. We are attempting to improve and develop our liaison with the CBC International Service. I think it is generally recognized by the two departments concerned that

that liaison is working effectively. So far as we in External Affairs are concerned, we have no complaint on that score. We are responsible for policy guidance in connection with the broadcasts, and our contact on policy matters is close and continuous. I hope it will continue that way.

The hon. member of Peel suggested that we extend our coverage behind the iron curtain. In view of the circumstances with which we are faced at the present I think the importance of that will be recognized by all hon. members. However, it would necessitate a considerable expenditure. It could not be done simply by transferring facilities now used for broadcasting, say to Latin America, for use for broadcasting to the Ukraine or Poland. An additional organization would have to be brought into the International Service which would be familiar with this particular kind of broadcasting. The broadcasting now carried on to Latin America is to create a background for an increase in and development of our trade. The persons engaged in that work would not be satisfactory for the kind of broadcasting which would be directed behind the iron curtain.

The St. Lawrence Waterway

The hon. member for Peel made some reference to the St. Lawrence waterway. I listened to his remarks with great interest, and all I should like to say about it now is that the Government still hopes that this great undertaking, which should be of benefit to both countries economically, and indeed politically and in other ways, can be carried out as the result of co-operative arrangements between the two countries. That is still our hope, and that is our objective. We shall be disappointed indeed if that cannot be achieved. I am inclined to agree with the hon. member that it is desirable for the Canadian Parliament and the Canadian Government to know as soon as possible if it can be done that way. It would be unfortunate if we were kept in a state of indecision indefinitely; therefore I hope



U.S. CONGRESSMEN INSPECT ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY SITE

Members of the Public Works Committee of the House of Representatives visit the locks at Thorold, Ont., during a six-day inspection tour of the proposed Great Lakes-St. Lawrence seaway project.

July, 1951

our friends in Washington will be able to come to a decision on this matter before very long. What should be the proper course for Canada will depend no doubt on the nature of the decision reached in Washington, and I do not think it would be very wise on my part to anticipate that decision now by making suggestions for alternative courses of action. Therefore I would prefer to leave the matter at that.

Canadian Information Abroad

Mr. Alistair Stewart (CCF, Winnipeg North) described himself as having been "quite disappointed, and indeed alarmed" during a recent visit to Washington at the lack of knowledge of Canada which seemed to prevail. Mr. Pearson said:

I do not suppose any member of the Committee is more aware of that problem than I am, having served both in Washington and in Ottawa. It is a matter to which we have been giving very active consideration in the Department, and in that connection we have noted with considerable interest the chapter of the Royal Commission Report on Arts, Letters and Sciences devoted to the better understanding of Canada abroad, and the ways and means of achieving that. I believe that is a very important objective to be achieved. I for one... am not at all satisfied with what we have been able to accomplish. Within the limits of the resources made available to us by Parliament we do the best we can, but I hope we shall be able to strengthen that kind of representation abroad, representation devoted more particularly to the increasing of information about Canada in foreign countries, especially the United States of America. At the present time we are giving consideration to ways and means of strengthening the staff of the Canadian Embassy in Washington in that direction. I hope we shall be able to do something in that regard before very long.

Commonwealth Consultative Committee

Regarding Item III of the estimates, \$400,000 for the Commonwealth Consultative Committee on South and South-East Asia (for technical assistance), Mr. Pearson said:

As I think I have stated before, when this subject of economic assistance to South-East Asia was under consideration, a consultative committee has been set up and it is now in operation, with Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom participating in that work. This committee is concerned with the administrative and executive functions that flow out of our decision to give technical assistance to these countries—to check on the projects that they would like us to help them with, to exchange technical assistance and all that kind of thing.

... It has been an extremely difficult problem indeed to get adequate skilled technical help for these projects. As the committee will appreciate, that kind of help is in great demand in our own country at the present time. This consultative committee and the agencies of our own Government which are concerned with this matter are having real difficulty in securing the right of assistance; but we are hoping that we shall be able to make some progress in this matter.

... We expect that a substantial proportion of this fund will be spent for bringing students to this country and giving them technical engineering training in Canada. During the last eighteen months forty-six trainees from four countries, chiefly from India and Pakistan, were placed in Canadian industries as a result of arrangements made with the countries concerned. We also encourage the establishment of students from those countries in Canadian universities for technical assistance, and some progress has been made in that regard. We are paying the expenses of the students when they are here, as well as their transportation to Canada and back.

Western Germany

Mr. J. H. Blackmore (SC, Lethbridge) asked the following questions:

First, would the Minister tell the House what Canada is doing and has done to get upon something like a peacetime basis with Western Germany? Second, would

the minister consider it feasible and desirable to provide for such a state of cordiality of relations as would warrant the establishment in Western Germany of a Canadian embassy? Third, have any steps already been taken in contemplation of such a move?

Mr. Pearson replied:

The announcement was made on October 26 last* of the intention of the Government to terminate the state of war with Germany as soon as we were in position to do so in concert with our friends and allies. Since that announcement last autumn we have been in constant touch with the progress made both by the occupying powers and the German Federal Republic on this matter. Before we or the occupying powers could take further action it was necessary for the German Federal Republic to pass legislation eliminating from its laws all references to the state of war. That was done by the lower house, the Bundestag, on May 30, 1951, and by the upper house as recently as June 8. The promulgation of that German law is expected within a few days.

As soon as the new German law has been promulgated Canada, as well as other countries still technically at war with Germany, will be free to terminate that state of war; and in Canada this will take the form of a proclamation in the *Canada Gazette*.

I think I should recall here that the announcement of October 26, 1950, to which I have referred, makes it clear that such action will be quite different from any formal peace settlement with Germany. It will in no way affect Germany's obligations in respect of such matters as debts, claims and all that sort of thing. In order that the termination of the state of war may be related as closely as possible to similar action by the occupying powers, we are in consultation with London, Paris and Washington as to their intentions as soon as the Germans have taken their action. In any event it would appear that the necessary legislation will have been passed by the West German Government before the end of June, so it is only a question of days, I should think, before Canada would be in a position to terminate the state of war with Germany.

... Once that technical change has been made the Canadian Mission in Bonn will be raised to the status of an embassy, and the head of that mission will present his credentials as Canadian Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Tax Agreements with Sweden and France

The Minister of National Revenue, Mr. J. J. McCann, introduced into the House on June 13 three bills respecting tax agreements with Sweden (Bill No. 372) and France (Bills No. 373 and 374). These bills were read for the second and third times, and passed, on June 18.

Council of Europe

On June 25 the Speaker made the following announcement:

I have the honour to inform the House that I have received a communication from Mr. P. H. Spaak, President of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, inviting this Parliament to send observers to the session of the Council, commencing the 24th September next.

In reply to a question asked by Mr. Gordon Graydon, (PC, Peel) on June 27 regarding this invitation, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, said:

... This is an invitation which you, sir, stated had been addressed not to the Government of Canada but to the Parliament of Canada. Of course if the invitation were to be accepted I imagine that there would have to be some provision made for the expenses of any delegation that would go there representing this Parliament, and that the Government would have to take the responsibility of making the required recommendation to Parliament. Because of that, and because of the interest which

* Departmental Press Release No. 76 of October 26, 1950.

naturally attaches to this matter, it has been under consideration by the Government, but no decision has yet been reached. There are many factors about which we are seeking to obtain more enlightenment. We are in communication with our representatives, both in London and in Washington, in that regard.

One of the factors to which consideration has to be given is the apparent fact that this Council of Europe is made up not of representatives of the governments of the countries but of the national groups of several countries in Europe. This may be all to the good, but it is somewhat of a departure, because what they would be doing is something which would have a profound effect upon the foreign policies of the governments of all those countries. According to the manner in which our parliamentary institutions are set up, foreign policy is usually a responsibility of the government of the country, and is usually handled through the foreign office of the country. It would seem that this is a new way of going into matters that are of such great concern to the peoples and the governments of all the free countries of the world.

There is another matter which has given us some concern, and that is that the form of the invitation to this Parliament seems to differ from the form of invitation extended to the houses of the United States Congress. They have been invited to appoint a delegation to meet a delegation of the Council of Europe, and to have discussions with that delegation; whilst the invitation to this Parliament, through you, sir, has been to send observers to attend the sittings of the Council itself. We are curious to know if that is an intentional difference, or if it is just an accidental difference in the wording of the invitation. If it is intentional, we should like to know why the distinction is being made. We are also trying to ascertain whether invitations similar to the one addressed to this Parliament have been sent to the parliaments of other Commonwealth countries.

There is also the factor that it is nominally a council of Europe. For a long time there has been a Pan-American union of the republics of the western hemisphere, and they have never had observers from elsewhere attending their meetings. As a matter of fact we have not, because of our monarchical traditions, been included in that group. If the Council has for its purpose the setting up of a federation of European states, I would say that we had no observers attending the Charlottetown or Quebec conferences at the time we were discussing our confederation, or at the time we were discussing union with Newfoundland. We are seeking to explore all these possible implications of the invitation that has been addressed to this Parliament.

There would be some rather inconvenient features, in view of the fact that this meeting is scheduled for September 24, and we are contemplating an important session of our own Parliament early in October. But that would probably not be an insuperable difficulty, nor would the difficulty arising from the fact that at that time of the year we usually have to provide a representative delegation to the meeting of the United Nations.

These are matters about which we have not yet obtained all the information and enlightenment we would wish to have before deciding to recommend an appropriation to Parliament for official participation in the activities of this body. But the meeting will be taking place before Parliament reconvenes; and if it is felt that we should take the responsibility of a recommendation to Parliament, in supplementaries or otherwise when Parliament reconvenes, I would expect that it should be a delegation representative of the complexion of the House and not merely a delegation representing the government party in the House; and I would expect to discuss it with the Leader of the Opposition.

The Ming Sung Industrial Company

A very lengthy debate on the Ming Sung Industrial Company and on certain ships, Canadian built and of Canadian registry, plying in Chinese waters, was provoked by a question from Mr. G. R. Pearkes (P.C., Nanaimo) on June 14. Mr. Howe replied for the government and the debate was continued on June 15 by Mr. Pearkes, Mr. Pearson, Mr. Drew, Mr. Diefenbaker, Mr. Green, Mr. Graydon, Mr. Adamson, Mr. Fulton, Mr. Harkness and Mr. Browne (St. John's West). At

the request of Mr. Drew, correspondence was tabled by Mr. Howe on June 18 and further questions were raised by Mr. Pearkes on June 19. Later on June 19, the debate was continued at considerable length by Mr. Drew, Mr. St. Laurent, Mr. Pearkes, Mr. Green and Mr. Macdonnell. On June 20 the House divided on a motion of Mr. Green (for Mr. Diefenbaker), which was not sustained, by a vote of 28 to 143. Prior to the division, statements were made by Mr. St. Laurent and Mr. Drew. On June 21 Mr. Chevrier reported that he had received from Hong Kong certain information requested by Mr. Pearkes. On June 25 Mr. McIlraith replied to a number of questions raised by Mr. Fulton concerning the building and financing of the vessels in question, and on June 29 Mr. St. Laurent replied to further questions from Mr. Diefenbaker and Mr. Pearkes. The debate concluded with a final statement by the Prime Minister on June 30.

Standing Committee of the House of Commons on External Affairs

This Committee examined the estimates of the Department during six meetings held between May 17 and June 6. The principal witnesses were the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, and the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Heeney, accompanied on occasion by various officials of the Department.

On May 22, Mr. Pearson made a general statement on the world situation, and was questioned on:

1. Formosa.
2. Proposed Japanese Treaty.
3. The Korean crisis.
4. Membership in the North Atlantic pact.
5. The Iran question.
6. Western Germany, its armament and its relation to the defence of Europe.
7. CBC International Service broadcasts and personnel.
8. The Pan American Union.
9. Canada's relations with the United States.
10. Allocation of commanders under the North Atlantic Council.
11. Nature of the European Army.
12. Shipping of strategic goods to Hong Kong and China.

Mr. Pearson's examination was continued on May 25 on matters raised at the previous meeting. He was also questioned on:

1. Representation abroad.
2. Military reports emanating from Korea.
3. Offers of assistance to South Korea.
4. Organization of the North Atlantic Council.
5. United Nations Information Division.
6. Recognition of the Peiping Government.
7. United Nations resolution concerning the 38th parallel and the cease-fire proposals to Korea.
8. Nora Rodd's broadcasts from North Korea.
9. The St. Lawrence seaway project.
10. Russia's membership in the United Nations.
11. Landing facilities at Goose Bay and relevant proposed agreements.
12. United Nations' Rehabilitation Commission.

On May 28 Mr. Heeney tabled for distribution copies of a comparative breakdown of the estimates under review. He made general comments and replied to

specific questions on External Affairs personnel and staff turnover, the Passport Office and accommodation abroad.

The Committee discussed at some length, Canada's representation at the United Nations, particularly the appointment of delegates and parliamentary advisers. The advantages derived by a group of parliamentarians in a visit made in May, 1947 at Lake Success in the course of the Second Session of the General Assembly were emphasized.

Mr. Pearson on May 30 was questioned on the International Service of the CBC, on the issuance of passports, and on a broadcast which he had made on May 26*, and a report of it published in *The New York Times*. He was examined on the Tibet situation, on communist China, on the appointment of the Head of the Permanent Delegation to the United Nations, in New York, and on the status of ambassadors.

Mr. Heeney was again called on June 6.

He tabled supplementary replies to questions previously asked on

1. The United Nations Information Division
2. The status of refugees and stateless persons. The International Refugee Organization and its relationship with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
3. Paid subscriptions to External Affairs monthly bulletin
4. The issuance of special passports.

Mr. Heeney read supplementary statements on passports to the Soviet Zone of Occupation in Austria and on the status of High Commissioners in the Commonwealth countries, and a statement on the International Joint Commission.

The Committee presented three reports to the House. The first dealt with Committee procedures, and the third was in the form of the minutes of proceedings and evidence. The second report, presented on June 13, read as follows:

The Standing Committee on External Affairs begs leave to present its second report

The House passed the following order on Monday, May 14:

That votes 84 to 111 inclusive, and vote 566 of the main estimates 1951-52, be withdrawn from the Committee of Supply and referred to the said Committee, saving always the powers of the Committee of Supply in relation to the voting of public moneys.

Your Committee has given consideration to the aforementioned estimates and approves them.

Your Committee recommends that the Government continue its efforts to help relieve the food shortage in India with such foods as are available, and acceptable to India.

Your Committee also recommends that future Canadian Delegations to the United Nations General Assembly continue to urge that the budgetary contribution which the Soviet Union and associated countries make be increased to figures which more closely correspond to their capacities to pay.

Your Committee further recommends that a closer liaison be established between the Department of External Affairs and the International Service of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation with a view to ensuring, in the interests of the free way of life, the maximum effectiveness of broadcasts directed to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. BRADETTE,
Chairman.

* Published in the Department's *Statements and Speeches* Series No. 51/23, and obtainable on application to the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Trusteeship Council

The Ninth Session of the Trusteeship Council, which opened on June 5, is still in progress at Flushing Meadow, New York. While none of its reports has yet been published, this Session of the Council has so far given rise to a number of interesting developments. The Council has to date considered reports on Somaliland, Tanganyika and Ruanda Urundi.

The Council elected Sir Alan Burns, the Representative of the United Kingdom, as its president, and Awni Khalidy, the Iraqi Representative, as vice-president.

The Council welcomed to its meetings the Italian Representative, Gastone Guidotti, who took his seat by virtue of Italy's responsibility for the administration of the trust territory of Somaliland. Mr. Guidotti will take part in the discussions, but will not have the right to vote. This marks the first occasion that Italy has been represented on a major Organ of the United Nations.

The Council considered the first report submitted by Italy on the administration of Somaliland. It was recognized that in view of the extremely backward nature of the territory, the task of the administering power in Somaliland was most difficult. The Italian Representative drew attention in particular to the low cultural level of the Somalis, their lack of political maturity, the backward stage of their social structure and the extremely depressed economic condition of the territory. It was conceded by the majority of the Council that Italy had made an excellent beginning in its administration of Somaliland, and several delegations congratulated Mr. Guidotti on the able presentation of his report.

The report on Tanganyika submitted by the United Kingdom was considered next. The United Kingdom Representative emphasized that, while progress had been made in Tanganyika by the United Kingdom authorities, their efforts had been impeded by a severe drought in the territory. Several delegates commented on the failure of the United Kingdom Government's scheme for the growing of groundnuts and asked for relevant information. It was acknowledged that the territory had made further advances in the field of education and in the development of local government.

The Council then examined the report of Belgium for the administration of Ruanda Urundi. The Council's attention was drawn to the fact that in Ruanda Urundi, as in many parts of East Africa, one of the chief problems is that of controlling the number of cattle raised in the territory. The ownership of cattle is considered by the indigenous inhabitants as a mark of social prestige, consequently the ranges are frequently overstocked and the inhabitants are often poverty stricken because they insist on owning more cattle than they are able to provide for. The difficulty of implementing democratic processes among a partially illiterate population was also emphasized. The Belgian Representative described an election that had been held in the territory, and the ingenious devices the authorities had been forced to utilize in order to simplify the procedure and yet retain its impartial character. The majority of the Council agreed that the Belgian Government had made considerable progress in Ruanda Urundi.

In general, the discussions were tolerant in tone, the questions evocative and analytic and the criticism constructive. Although the usual differences of opinion were evident, there was nevertheless a general realization that the problems confronting the administering authorities were continuous and complex and that there were no rapid and simple solutions.

Economic and Social Council

The Thirteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council will be held in Geneva from July 30 to September 21, 1951. Mr. Jean Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, will head the Canadian Delegation. The deputy head will be Mr. James Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance. They will be accompanied by advisers from the Department of External Affairs and the Department of Finance.

The agenda for this meeting of the Council is a heavy one. It comprises some fifty-seven items relating to a wide range of economic, social and humanitarian problems of international concern, and to the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

In the economic field, the Council will resume from its previous session consideration of the world economic situation. It will examine what steps Governments have taken, in accordance with a resolution which it adopted at the Twelfth Session, to bring about adequate production and equitable international distribution of commodities; to regulate the prices of essential goods moving in international trade; and to prevent the development of inflationary pressures in the present period of rearmament and defence planning. It will give special attention to sections of the World Economic Report for 1949-50, prepared by the Secretariat which deal with economic conditions in the Middle East and Africa, and it will consider the factors which bear upon establishment of regional economic commissions for those two regions. The Council will also receive progress reports on the implementation of the United Nations Programmes of Technical Assistance. It will study the recommendations for the acceleration and adequate financing of economic development recently submitted by a group of independent experts in a report entitled "Measures for the Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries".

On the social and humanitarian side, several important questions of wide interest will be considered. One of these deals with a proposed convention on freedom of information, a draft of which has been prepared by an ad hoc committee set up by the General Assembly at its Fifth Session last fall. Several attempts have been made by the United Nations over the past few years to reach agreement on basic principles of freedom of information but a wide divergence of views, even among the free nations, on this important and controversial issue makes it extremely difficult to arrive at a generally acceptable text for a convention.

Another subject which can be expected to provoke considerable debate is the draft covenant on human rights. Here again, different concepts of what constitute fundamental human rights and freedoms and of the means by which these rights should be promoted and protected make general agreement on a common text difficult to achieve. The responsibility for drawing up a draft covenant rests with the Council's Commission on Human Rights which has been concentrating on this task for more than two years. During its recent session the Commission, at the direction of the General Assembly, added to the previous text, which was concerned only with civil rights, a series of articles defining social, economic and cultural rights. The widening of the scope of the covenant will, of course, enlarge the area of disagreement and, in all probability, cause further delay in arriving at a final text.

Other subjects with which the Economic and Social Council will have to deal at its next session include the relief and rehabilitation of Korea, the problem of food shortages and famine in many regions, methods of international financing of European emigration, problems relating to the work of the High Commissioner for Refugees, reports and recommendations of the Council's nine functional commissions and three regional economic commissions, reports of the specialized agencies and the question of co-ordination of their activities. The Council will also take action on the

report of an ad hoc committee which it set up last year to review the organization and operation of the Economic and Social Council and its commissions. This ad hoc committee is submitting a series of recommendations aimed at simplifying the structure of the Council and reorganizing its working methods along more efficient and economical lines.

Technical Assistance Programmes

The Secretary-General of the United Nations has now issued a report on the progress of the United Nations Technical Assistance Programmes for the first nine months of their combined administration. The report shows that, as experience is gained by the United Nations and by member governments, many of the difficulties inherent in the operation of an international programme involving negotiations with many governments and recruitment of specialists on a world-wide basis, are being overcome. Procedures are being developed and working relationships established. The report does not suggest, however, that the programmes are meeting the requirements in all respects. Two remaining problems are the delay in meeting requests for experts and in making facilities available, and the inadequacy of the development programmes of many of the requesting countries.

The extent of Canadian participation in the United Nations programmes is clearly shown in the report. Out of a total of 125 experts in the field in countries requesting technical assistance, 33 came from the United States, 14 from the Netherlands, 12 from the United Kingdom, and 9, the fourth largest number, from Canada. (Since the report was published, two more Canadian experts have been appointed to serve with the Technical Assistance Administration, Mr. George P. Melrose, who will head a new technical assistance mission to El Salvador, and Mr. Benjamin Higgins, who will be senior economist with the technical assistance mission to Libya.) Of the host countries in which facilities for the Fellowship Programme were made available, during the period from January 1 to May 31, 1951, Canada was again the country making the fourth largest contribution. Of 400 candidates referred to 24 countries, 108 went to the United Kingdom, 77 to the United States, 43 to France, and 33 to Canada.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. E. H. Norman was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, effective June 25, 1951.
- Mr. J. George was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, effective June 29, 1951.
- Mr. W. G. M. Olivier was posted from Ottawa to the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, effective June 29, 1951.
- Miss M. Gordon was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, New York, effective June 12, 1951.
- The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs: Mr. F. H. Soward (June 11, 1951); Mr. René Garneau (June 15, 1951).

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency R. R. Saksena, High Commissioner for India, June 11.

Mr. Frederick E. Farnsworth, Second Secretary, Embassy of the United States of America, June 5.

Brigadier J. B. Kriegler, C.B.E., Military and Air Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for South Africa, June 11. He is concurrently Military Attaché at the South African Embassy in Washington and will reside there.

Commandant S. L. Bosch, A.F.C., Assistant Military and Air Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for South Africa, June 11. He is concurrently Air Attaché at the South African Embassy in Washington and will reside there.

Mr. M. P. Brancart, Attaché, Embassy of Belgium, June 11.

Mr. Alexandre Botchkarev, Attaché, Embassy of the U.S.S.R., June 14.

Departures

Commander Juan Manuel Castro-Hart, Naval Attaché, Embassy of Peru, May 28.

Mr. William L. Kilcoin, First Secretary, Embassy of the United States of America, June 1.

Mr. G. P. Hampshire, Secretary (Finance), Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, June 5.

Mr. Huseyin Kunter, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Turkey, June 15.

Captain Abel R. Trebino, Assistant Naval Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, June 25.

Mr. Kechin Wang, Second Secretary, Embassy of China, was promoted to the rank of First Secretary, effective May 1.

Mr. Emin Boysan, Assistant Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Turkey, was promoted to the rank of Commercial Attaché, June 15.

His Excellency Vicomte du Parc, Ambassador of Belgium, left Ottawa on June 20 for a holiday in Belgium until the beginning of September. During his absence, Baron Pierre de Gaiffier d'Hestroy, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Major Edouard de Vicq de Cumptich, Military and Air Attaché, Embassy of Belgium, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, June 25.

CONSULAR

Provisional Recognition was granted to:

Mr. Vinicio da Veiga as Consul of Brazil at Toronto, June 7.

Mr. Carl O. Hawthorne as Consul of the United States of America at Edmonton, June 7.

Mr. Frederick E. Farnsworth as Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, June 13. Mr. Farnsworth is also Second

Secretary at the Embassy.

Mr. François de Vial as Consul General of France at Quebec, June 14.

Mr. Albert E. Clattenburg as Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, June 25.

Mr. Robert A. McKinnon as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Halifax, June 25.

Departures

Mr. William L. Kilcoin, Consul of the United States at Ottawa, June 1. Mr. Kilcoin was also First Secretary at the Embassy.

Mr. Paul C. Seddicum, Consul of the United States of America at Edmonton, June 8.

Mr. Robert John MacQuaid, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, June 15.

Mr. Edward J. Prince, Vice-Consul of the

United States of America at Montreal, June 22.

Mr. Knut Orre, Counsellor of the Legation and Acting Consul General at Montreal, left on June 12 for a visit to Norway until the beginning of October. During his absence, Mr. Asbjorn Slordahl, First Secretary of the Legation and Vice-Consul at Montreal is in charge of the consulate general.

Mr. H. M. El-Hakeem resumed his duties as Consul General of Egypt at Ottawa, June 21, on his return from a visit to his country.

TRADE

Mr. E. A. Allen, Trade Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Toronto, June 16.

Mr. Allen will be stationed temporarily in Montreal before proceeding to Toronto.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of June 1951, and of those at which it will be represented in the future; earlier conferences are listed in previous issues of "External Affairs").

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions.)

Conferences Attended in June

1. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris - February 15. Observer: Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Mission, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
2. *Conference on Civil Defence.* Brussels - May 31. Dr. E. A. McCusker, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Health and Welfare. (Observer).
3. *Fourth Session of the Commission of the 1950 Census of the Americas.* Washington - June 2-8. D. H. Jones, Bureau of Statistics.
4. *Fifth Session of the Assembly of ICAO.* Montreal - June 5-10. Chief Delegate: C. S. Booth, Permanent Canadian Council Member for ICAO, Montreal; Delegates: A. L. Pattison, Canadian Representative on Air Navigation Commission of ICAO, Montreal; G. W. Nadeau, Air Transport Board; Advisers: S. Pollock and W. F. Stone, Department of Finance; J. A. Irwin, Department of External Affairs.
5. *34th Session of the Conference of ILO.* Geneva - June 6-30. Government Dele-

gate and Head of Delegation: A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour; Government Alternate and Alternate Head of Delegation: P. Goulet, Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Labour; Alternate Government Delegate: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Advisers to Government Delegates: C. A. L. Murchison, Unemployment Commission; B. Wilson, Canada Labour Relations Board; J. W. Willard, Department of National Health and Welfare; Advisers to Government Delegates and Secretary to Delegation: J. Mainwaring, Department of Labour; Employer Delegate: H. Taylor, National Carbon Company, Toronto; Advisers to the Employer Delegate: J. H. Brace, Bell Telephone Company of Canada, Montreal; H. W. Macdonnell, Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto; A. C. Ross, Canadian Construction Association; Worker Delegate: C. Jodoin, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, Montreal; Advisers to Worker Delegate: J. B. Ward, Dominion Joint Legislative Committee of Railway Transportation Brotherhoods; J. A. Whitebone, Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, St. John, N.B.; F. X. Légaré, Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour, Rimouski, P.Q.; Observer from the Gov-

ernment of the Province of Quebec: A. Barrette, Minister of Labour, Quebec, P.Q.

6. *Technical Commission on Transit of the Universal Postal Union*. Entresina, Switzerland — June 6-19. W. J. Turnbull, Deputy Postmaster General; E. J. Underwood and H. N. Pearl, Post Office Department.
7. *26th Session of the Executive Board of UNESCO*. Paris — June 7-16. Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland.
8. *International Congress of Actuaries*. Scheveningen — June 11-16. K. R. MacGregor, Insurance Department.
9. *International Commission of Criminal Police*. Lisbon — June 11-15. Major J. A. Wright, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
10. *12th Session of the Council of FAO*. Rome — June 11-24. Dr. G. S. A. Barton, Special Assistant to the Minister of Agriculture; Adviser: S. G. MacDonald, Canadian Embassy, Rome.
11. *International Joint Commission*. (Executive Session). Montreal — June 15. Chairman: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Hon. G. Spence, Regina; J. L. Danse-reau, Montreal.
12. *13th International Congress of Military Medicine and Pharmacy*. Paris — June 17-23. Brig. W. L. Coke, Director-General of Medical Services; Col. E. M. Wansbrough, Director-General of Dental Services.
13. *Sixth Session of the General Conference UNESCO*. Paris — June 18-July 11. Chairman: Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland; Vice-Chairman: E. D. McGreer, Chargé d'Affaires, Canadian Legation, Warsaw; Delegates: Dr. W. K. Lamb, Dominion Archivist; W. P. J. O'Meara, Assistant Under-Secretary of State; Alternate Delegate: L.A.D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; Adviser: A. B. Hockin, Department of Finance; Adviser and Secretary: J. E. Thibault, Department of External Affairs.
14. *Meeting of Copyright Specialists Committee of UNESCO*. Paris — June 18. W. P. J. O'Meara, Assistant Under-Secretary of State.
15. *Commonwealth Defence Conference*. London — June 21. Observer: L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; Advisers: Maj. Gen. S. F. Clark, Chairman, Canadian Joint Staff, London; S. Rae, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
16. *14th Conference of International Office of Documentation on Military Medicine*. Vichy — June 24-25. Brig. W. L. Coke, Director-General of Medical Services; Col. E. M. Wansbrough, Director-General of Dental Services.

Conferences to be held in July and August

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted).

1. *Conference of Plenipotentiaries re Convention on Refugees and Protocol on Stateless Persons*. Geneva — July 2-20.
2. *Ninth International Management Conference*. Brussels — July 5-11.
3. *Commonwealth Survey Officers' Conference*. London — July 9-20.
4. *General Assembly of the International Union of Pure and Applied Physics*. Copenhagen — July 10-14.
5. *International Welding Institute*. London and Oxford — July 14-21.
6. *UNESCO Seminar*. Paris — July 18-August 17.
7. *Fourth International Congress of the Sea*. Ostend — July 20-22.
8. *Economic Committee of ECOSOC*. Geneva — July 23-July 28.
9. *13th Session of ECOSOC*. Geneva — July 30-September 21.
10. *Ninth World Poultry Congress*. Paris — August 2-9.
11. *Second Conference on Mechanical Wood Technology of FAO*. Igls, Austria — August 6-9.
12. *Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference (ITU)*. Geneva — August 16.
13. *Ninth International Congress of Entomology*. Amsterdam — August 17-24.
14. *International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics*. Brussels — August 21.
15. *E.C.E. Timber Committee*. Geneva — August 28-September 1.
16. *Eighth Congress of the International Institute of Refrigeration*. London — August.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

* *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Slavery* (Second Session); 4 May 1951; document E/1988, E/AC.33/13; 36 p.

* *Report of the Population Commission (Sixth Session) 23 April to 4 May 1951*; 18 May 1951; document E/1989, E/CN.9/88; 35 p.

* *Report of the Statistical Commission (Sixth Session) 7-18 May 1951*; 31 May 1951; document E/1994, E/CN.3/139; 38 p.

* *First Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Organization and operation of the Council and the Commissions*; 31 May 1951; document E/1995, E/AC.34/23; 35 p.

* *Comparative approach to National and International Corporate Tax Problems* (Note by the Secretariat); 3 May 1951; document E/CN.8/55; 159 p.

(b) Printed Documents:

* *Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1950 and Report of the Board of Auditors*; April 1951; document A/1800; 36 p.; 30 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 6.

Final Report of the First Executive Board of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, 11 December 1946-31 December 1950; 22 January 1951; document E/1908, E/ICEF/160; 160 p.; 40 cents; Economic and Social Council Official Records; twelfth session, supplement No. 3.

* *World Economic Report 1949-50*; 16 March 1951; document E/1910/Rev.1, ST/ECA/9; 247 p.; 247 p. \$2.50; Sales No.: 191.II.C.1 (Department of Economic Affairs).

* *Report of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (Seventh Session) 28 February-7 March 1951*; 16 April 1951; document E/1981, E/CN.11/306; 67 p.; 60 cents; Economic and Social Council Official Records: thirteenth session, supplement No. 7.

Resolutions of the Twelfth Session (20 February-21 March 1951) of the Economic and Social Council; 3 May 1951; document E/1987; (bilingual); 30 cents; Economic and Social Council Official Records: twelfth session, supplement No. 1.

Nationality of Married Women (Report submitted by the Secretary-General); 29 November 1950; document E/CN.6/126/Rev.1, E/CN.6/129/Rev.1; 74 p.; 50 cents; Sales No.: 1951.IV.12.

* *Budgetary Structure and Classification of Government Accounts*; 15 February 1951; document ST/ECA/8; 100 p.; 75 cents; Sales No.: 1951.XVI.3 (Department of Economic Affairs).

World Health Organization

a) *Work of World Health Organization 1950 - Annual Report of the Director-General to the World Health Assembly and to the United Nations*; Official Records No. 30; Geneva, April 1951; 202 p.; \$1.25.

b) *Executive Board, Seventh Session held in Geneva from 22 January to 5 February 1951* (Part I - Resolutions and Decisions, Annexes); Geneva, April 1951; 86 p.; 50 cents; Official Records No. 32.

c) *Financial Report 1 January - 31 December 1950 and Report of the External Auditor*; Geneva, April 1951; 50 cents; 55 p.; Official Records No. 34.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

(Obtainable from the King's Printer at the price indicated.)

Canadian Representatives Abroad and Representatives of Other Countries in Canada, June 15, 1951. Price, 25 cents.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 51/21—*Aspects of Canadian External Policy*, a statement made in the House of Commons on May 14, 1951, by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in the course of the debate on Canadian external affairs.
- No. 51/22—*The Idea of Citizenship*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, before the Rotary Club, Ottawa, May 21, 1951, on the occasion of a visit to Ottawa of 132 high school students from across Canada.
- No. 51/23—*The Price of Peace*, a broadcast by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made on May 26, 1951, in a United Nations series on the subject.
- No. 51/24—*Foreign Trade in a Time of Partial Peace*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at the Canadian International Trade Fair in Toronto, on June 5, 1951.
- No. 51/25—*The Partnership to Uphold Freedom*, a Commencement address by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, delivered at Northwestern University, at Evanston, Ill., on June 11, 1951.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 51/26—*The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences*, an address delivered by the Right Honourable Vincent Massey, P.C., C.H., to the Canadian Club, Montreal, June 11, 1951.
- No. 51/27—*Canada's Contribution to the Strength of the Free World*, an address by the Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, delivered at the semi-annual National Meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, at Toronto, on June 13, 1951.
- No. 51/28—*The Organization and Work of the Department of Defence Production*, a statement by the Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, made in the House of Commons, on June 14, 1951.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE KOREAN CRISIS

Malik Proposal Clarified

During the week following the proposal for a peaceful settlement in Korea, made by the Soviet Union Delegate to the United Nations, there was widespread discussion and examination of the statement as a possible first step in ending the fighting.

The United States Government sought in New York and Moscow clarification of certain aspects of Mr. Malik's statement of June 23. It reported publicly on the results in the following press release of June 28:

Deputy Foreign Minister Gromyko received the United States Ambassador in Moscow yesterday afternoon. In discussing Mr. Malik's statement Mr. Gromyko indicated that it would be for the military representatives of the Unified Command and of the Korean Republic Command on the one hand and the military representatives of the North Korean Command and of the "Chinese volunteer units" on the other to negotiate the armistice envisaged in Mr. Malik's statement. The armistice, Mr. Gromyko pointed out, would include a cease-fire and would be limited to strictly military questions without involving any political or territorial matters; the military representatives would discuss questions of assurances against the resumption of hostilities.

Beyond the conclusion of an armistice the Soviet Government had no specific steps in mind looking toward the peaceful settlement to which Mr. Malik referred. Mr. Gromyko indicated, however, that it would be up to the parties in Korea to decide what subsequent special arrangements would have to be made for a political and territorial settlement. He said that the Soviet Government was not aware of the views of the Chinese Communist regime on Mr. Malik's statement.

The implications of Mr. Gromyko's observations are being studied. The Department of State is consulting with the representatives of other countries having armed forces in Korea under the Unified Command.

Armistice Talks Arranged on Initiative of U.N. Commander

On June 29 it was announced in Washington that the United Nations Commander had been authorized to seek to negotiate a cease-fire with the enemy Commander in Korea. The next day General Ridgway sent the following message to the Commander-in-Chief of the Communist forces:

I am informed that you may wish a meeting to discuss an armistice providing for the cessation of hostilities and all acts of armed force in Korea, with adequate guarantees for the maintenance of such armistice.

Upon the receipt of word from you that such a meeting is desired I shall be prepared to name my representative. I would also at that time suggest a date at which he could meet with your representative. I propose that such a meeting could take place aboard a Danish hospital ship in Wonsan harbour.

The enemy reply was broadcast a day later by the Peking radio:

A notification was issued jointly today after consultation by General Kim Il Sung, Supreme Commander of the Korean Peoples Army, and General Peng Teh-Huai, Commander of the Chinese Volunteers, in reply to the statement of General Ridgway, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations forces. The notification of General Kim Il Sung and General Peng Teh-Huai reads as follows:

General Ridgway, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Forces:

Your statement of June 30 this year concerning peace talks has been received. We are authorized to inform you that we agree to meet your representative for conducting talks concerning cessation of military action and establishment of peace.

We propose that the place of meeting be in the area of Kaesong on the 38th Parallel. If you agree our representatives are prepared to meet your representatives between July 10 and 15, 1951.

General Ridgway replied on July 3 that he was prepared to have the meeting take place in Kaesong on July 10 or earlier. Since this city had been entered by United Nations troops at the end of June and been found to be unoccupied by Communist forces it was apparently believed by the Unified Command that such a location would provide the neutral ground necessary for armistice discussions.

First Meeting Held July 10

After a preliminary meeting of liaison officers from both sides on July 8 the official representatives of the opposing commanders met for the first time on July 10. The United Nations delegation was composed of four United States military officers and one officer of the Republic of Korea Army; the delegation was led by Vice Admiral C. T. Joy. The Communist delegation was composed of two officers of the North Korean Army and two officers of the Chinese Communist forces. In his opening statement the leader of the United Nations delegation asserted that the success of the negotiations depended directly on the good faith of the delegations; he stressed the intention of his delegation to act in good faith. Admiral Joy described the terms of reference of his delegation and emphasized their military nature when he said:

The United Nations Command delegation is prepared to do its part in trying to work out an armistice agreement with representatives of the Communist forces in Korea, for the cessation of hostilities in Korea, under conditions which will assure against their resumption. This delegation is here for this sole purpose. It will discuss military matters in Korea relating to that subject.

This delegation will not discuss political or economic matters of any kind. This delegation will not discuss military matters unrelated to Korea.

Communists Accept U.N. Demand for Neutralization of Kaesong Area

At the first formal meeting, and even at the preliminary meeting, it became apparent to the representatives of the United Nations Commander that in one essential respect the armistice talks could not progress satisfactorily: Kaesong was not a neutral location. In the interval between the United Nations reconnaissance and the holding of the first meeting, Communist armed forces had entered the Kaesong area. In this situation the Communist press and radio depicted General Ridgway's representatives as emissaries of a defeated army suing for peace. When Communist guards refused to permit a United Nations courier to leave Kaesong and a group of newspapermen to enter the city, General Ridgway informed the Communist Commanders that his representatives would not attend further meetings until Kaesong was effectively neutralized and reciprocity of treatment was assured. A few days later the Communist Commanders agreed to these conditions and the discussions were then resumed.

Discussions Stalled on Basic Issue

During most of July the armistice discussions were devoted to the preparation of an agenda on which to base the detailed discussions. After preliminary discussion and some compromise the conference, by the 6th meeting on July 18, had agreed on all but one item. The United Nations communiqué reported on that day that "... one major issue remained unsolved when the Conference recessed for the day. Agreement on the key point is essential to the successful completion of the first phase of negotiations."

The key point was disclosed and explained the next day by the United States



—National Defence

PRESIDENTIAL CITATION PRESENTED

General Omar Bradley, left, the United States Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, during his recent visit to Ottawa presented to Mr. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence, the official Presidential Citation awarded to the 2nd Battalion Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry which was recently cited by President Truman "for extraordinary heroism and outstanding performance of combat duties in action against the enemy near Kapyong, Korea, on April 24 and 15, 1951".

Secretary of State. In a prepared statement Mr. Acheson said:

The Communist delegation at Kaesong has raised the question of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea in connection with an armistice. The United Nations Command delegation has stated that it cannot go into this question, which is political in character and can only be settled by the United Nations and the governments concerned.

This is no theoretical argument as to whether the question is political or military. The United Nations forces are in Korea because of decisions made by governments to send them to Korea in response to a request by the United Nations. They are there to repel aggression and to restore international peace and security in the area.

If there is an effective armistice, a United Nations force must remain in Korea until a genuine peace has been firmly established and the Korean people have assurance that they can work out their future free from the fear of aggression. The size of the United Nations force remaining in Korea will depend upon circumstances and, particularly, upon the faithfulness with which an armistice is carried out.

Korea's neighbours know that the presence of United Nations forces in Korea constitutes no danger or threat to themselves. The repeated expressions of policy by the U.N. and, indeed, the very nature of that organization, furnish them entirely adequate guarantees on this point.

Once before, foreign forces were withdrawn from Korea as a part of a U.N. plan to reach a final settlement of the Korean problem. The Communists defied this effort and committed aggression against the Republic of Korea. The Korean people can be assured that a repetition of this act will not be tolerated.

The determination of the Unified Command to stand by its position on this basic issue was reaffirmed publicly by the United States Secretary of Defence on July 24. General Marshall went a step further and revealed what the United States Government considered to be the basic conditions for an armistice in Korea. He said:

If the talks resume and get to the substance of an armistice arrangement, there must be agreement upon a military line which will be defensible in the event of any renewal of hostilities; there must be agreement not to reinforce the troops now in Korea; there must be provision for adequate supervision and actual inspection by representatives of both sides to insure against any preparations for a surprise attack and as a continuing evidence of good faith; there must be a satisfactory agreement regarding prisoners of war. These are basic conditions to an armistice, and agreement with respect to them must precede a later effort to reach a final settlement of the Korean question.

Agenda Agreed Upon

After a 4-day adjournment requested by the Communist delegation the Conference met on July 25 to try again to obtain agreement on the agenda. At this meeting the Communist delegation proposed a substitute for the controversial item on withdrawal of foreign troops. With the acceptance of this proposal the following day by the United Nations delegation the introductory phase of the Conference — preparation of an agenda — was completed. The United Nations communiqué for July 26 announced that the agenda was as follows:

- (1) Adoption of agenda;
- (2) Fixing a military demarcation line between both sides, so as to establish a demilitarized zone as a basic condition for the cessation of hostilities in Korea;
- (3) Concrete arrangements for the realization of a cease-fire and an armistice in Korea, including the composition, authority and functions of a supervising organization for carrying out the terms of the cease-fire and armistice;
- (4) Arrangements relating to prisoners of war;
- (5) Recommendations to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides.

Acceptance of Agenda Merely Initial Step

The United Nations communiqué emphasized that the agreement reached on that day was confined simply to a list of the points which the negotiators would discuss and that major problems would have to be solved in the discussions before an armistice agreement could be achieved and the fighting stopped. It explained this distinction and warned against over-optimism for an early end of the war in the following words:

Having agreed upon an agenda, the way now is clear for the delegations to enter the area of really substantive discussion of the terms of a military armistice. Major problems remain to be solved in these discussions. It is much too early to predict either the success or the rate of progress to be obtained. Preliminary discussion began immediately after the agreement on the agenda in order that the potential for halting bloodshed in Korea may be realized as soon as possible.

It must be fully realized that mutual acceptance of an agenda is merely the initial step for the final goal of a military armistice and resultant cease-fire, which must be achieved under conditions giving every reasonable assurance against the resumption of hostilities.

There are numerous basic points within the framework of the agenda on which agreement must be reached and on which there is presently wide diversion of views.

Conference Tackles Substantive Questions

At its meeting on July 27 the Conference began its discussion of the second point on the agenda, the fixing of a demarcation line and a demilitarized zone to separate the opposing forces. At the end of the month no progress had been made in finding a line acceptable to both sides.

Lull in Fighting

At the beginning of the month the customary heavy fighting gave way to probing activities on both sides to gain information of troop locations and strengths and possible intentions. For several days United Nations reconnaissance planes reported large numbers of enemy motor transports moving south signifying a build-up of enemy forces. Although ground fighting declined sharply after the opposing Commanders agreed to discuss an armistice, United Nations forces continued to attack by air.

THE SCHUMAN PLAN

On May 9, 1950, on the eve of the meeting of the three Western Foreign Ministers in London, the French Government issued a declaration proposing that the entire French and German production of coal and steel be placed under a common High Authority, membership in which would be open to other European countries. This far-reaching proposal was received with great interest not only by those countries more directly concerned but by the whole world. In Germany, Chancellor Adenauer called the French plan "a magnanimous proposal". In the United States, President Truman praised the Plan as "an act of constructive statesmanship", which the United States welcomed. Secretary Acheson recognized "with sympathy and approval the significance and far-reaching intent of the French initiative". In the United Kingdom House of Commons, Mr. Atlee termed the French proposal "a notable contribution towards the solution of the major European problem", namely, the entry of Germany into the community of European nations. In Canada, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, referred to the French offer as "indicative of the imaginative approach to their problems that Western European nations are making, and we can only hope it will be successful, both politically and economically".

French Policy

Though completely unexpected and representing a new approach to the German problem, the above proposal, known as the Schuman Plan, after Robert Schuman, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, followed the general pattern of post-war French foreign policy. Since 1945, an important objective of that policy had been to promote wherever possible the integration of Western Europe. The first timid step in that direction was an effort to achieve a broad measure of co-ordination between the French and British economies, in the hope that the two countries would form the nucleus around which Western European integration could proceed. In 1947, the Treaty of Dunkirk between the United Kingdom and France envisaged ways and means of integrating and co-ordinating the various aspects of the life of the two countries; these aims were later extended to the three Benelux countries by the Brussels Pact. The French desire for Western European integration was more specifically expressed when largely at the instance of the French Government, the Council of Europe was established. Within the Council, the French Government steadily endeavoured to give real powers to the Consultative Assembly so that it might gradually become the parliament of a federal Western Europe. As the world situation developed, it became evident that neither the Western Union envisaged by the Brussels Pact, nor the Council of Europe could, by themselves, achieve the political and economic integration of Western Europe. As this fact became clear, the hopes kindled in Western Europe by the two above mentioned endeavours began to wane. Mr. Schuman's announcement arrested and tended to reverse this negative trend. By offering to Germany not only equality but close partnership in the coal and steel industries of both countries, the French proposal opened the way for a solution transcending the difficult problems facing the West. To France and Germany the Schuman offer meant more than the prospect of economic betterment and increased security; it restored their self confidence by providing them with a great historic mission to accomplish.

New Road for European Integration

Equally important, the French proposal opened a new line of approach to European integration; it combined some features of both the federalist and functionalist approaches which had hitherto been followed. Mr. Schuman's declaration of May 9, 1950, makes the new line very clear:

Europe will not be built at one stroke or by means of a single general plan. It will be built by means of practical achievements, which will first create real solidarity. The unification of the European nations demands that the age-old enmity of France and Germany be eliminated; the action undertaken must apply primarily to France and Germany. To this end, the French Government proposes immediately to take action on a limited but decisive point: it proposes to place all French and German steel and coal production under a common High Authority in an organization open to other European countries . . . this proposal will lay the first real foundations of a European Federation indispensable to the preservation of peace.

The first sentence of the above statement expounds the functionalist doctrine. To this doctrine, however, is added the acceptance of the cardinal feature of the federalist philosophy, namely, the surrender of national sovereignty. True, this surrender is limited but it is real and takes place in a decisive sector; moreover its clearly stated purpose is to lead to the ultimate establishment of a European federation.

German Reaction

The reaction to the French proposals in Germany was on the whole enthusiastic. Since 1945, the sentiment in that country in favour of the integration and federalization of Western Europe had been gaining ground. The Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, was convinced that reconciliation with France was the best way to bring this about. At the same time, perhaps understandably, the Germans saw in the Schuman Plan a way to regain their sovereignty and attain a position of equality with other Western European nations. More specifically, the Germans hoped that the Schuman Plan would enable them to get rid of the universally disliked International Ruhr Authority and would lead to the abandonment of the quantitative restrictions on German coal and steel output. It seems probable, on the other hand, that France saw in the Schuman Plan the best way to ensure its security in a manner that would be both acceptable to Germany and in line with broader Western interests in the maintenance of peace. Thus, although the attitude of France and Germany towards the Schuman Plan was partly based on self-interest, it was also the result of the sincere, far-sighted European spirit prevailing in the Governments of the two countries.

British Position

Although Germany was the only country specifically mentioned in the Schuman proposal, it was addressed to other European nations as well; of these the United Kingdom was politically and economically the most important. The British Government had been caught by surprise by the Schuman declaration, since, in order not to compromise the desired dramatic effect, the French Government had not consulted their Western Union partners. A series of diplomatic exchanges between the two countries followed and these culminated in the British decision not to send delegates to the conference convened by the French in Paris for the purpose of giving effect to the Schuman proposal, the principles of which had been endorsed by the governments of the six participating countries — France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

The motives behind the British decision were varied. Politically, the British could not agree to accept in advance the basic principles of a surrender of sovereignty to a supra-national authority as set forth in the original French communiqué. The French proposal, it was thought, did not sufficiently provide for the democratic control of the proposed High Authority and would therefore not be in accordance with traditional British democratic principles. Moreover, the political powers of the High Authority were thought to be too great, since its edicts could override the decisions of a member country and prevent the application of its internal policies. As in the Council of Europe, the United Kingdom Government preferred inter-governmental agreements to the establishment of a supra-national authority.

Economically, the United Kingdom, unlike the other partners in the Plan, did not have the same geographical pressure to link its industries with those of other countries. With increased demands for coal at home and reduced production, it was less than ever dependent on the continental European market for coal.

In spite of its decision not to participate in the conference in Paris, the British Government made it very clear that the United Kingdom would not obstruct in any way the efforts of the six countries to put into effect the contents of the Schuman declaration; it expressed the hope "that the international discussions in Paris would lead to a new era in Franco-German relations with beneficial effects for Europe as a whole".

Institutions of the Plan

The magnitude of the objectives set out in the Schuman declaration explains the lengthy and arduous negotiations between the six countries which adhered to the principles of the Schuman proposal. After ten months of negotiations, on April 18, 1951, a treaty establishing a "European community for coal and steel" was signed by the foreign ministers of France, Italy, West Germany and the Benelux countries. The Treaty consists of two parts — the Treaty itself and an Agreement in regard to Interim Provisions. The latter Agreement provides for the effective application of the Treaty to be undertaken in two periods: the preparatory period which is to last six months, and the transitional period, which is to last five years from the date of the establishment of the common market for coal. The Treaty provides for four main institutions: the High Authority assisted by a Consultative Committee, the Council of Ministers, the Assembly and the Court of Justice.

In accordance with the original idea of the Schuman Plan, the most important institution created by the Treaty is the "High Authority". It is a collegial body endowed with executive authority. To it is given the task of ensuring the achievement of the objectives set by the Treaty. It is to consist of nine members, to be elected by the Council of Ministers for a period of six years, with a third of them replaced or re-elected every two years. These members are not responsible to any single state or group of states but only to the whole community represented by the Assembly. The High Authority will publish every year, at least one month before the meeting of the Assembly, a general report on the work of the group which will be presented to the Assembly for examination.

The "Consultative Committee", whose task it will be to assist and advise the High Authority, is to be composed of at least thirty and at most fifty-one members representing producers, workers, consumers and merchants, in equal numbers. These members are to be nominated individually by the Council of Ministers from lists of names submitted by representative organizations. They are not to be bound by any instructions or mandate from the organizations which put their names forward. The Consultative Committee can be convened either at the request of the High Authority, or at the request of a majority of its members wishing to consider some special problem. The High Authority is bound to consult the Consultative Committee, whenever such consultation is required by the Treaty.

Of great importance, the "Council of Ministers" is to consist of one minister from each of the participating countries. The Council meets on the summons of its President, at the request of a member state or of the High Authority. Its special task will be to co-ordinate and harmonize the activity of the High Authority with the general policies of member states. The voting procedure of the Council takes into account three principles: no single state has the right of veto, the four smaller states cannot be outvoted by France and Germany and conversely France and Germany cannot be outvoted by the four smaller states. The Council has powers of control over the High Authority on a number of specific questions such as the introduction by the High Authority of a system of production quotas in time of slump and of rationing measures to deal with a state of scarcity, the restrictions of exports to non-mem-

bers, the fixing of minimum and maximum tariff rates, and the establishment of quantitative restrictions against non-members. It also has the power to decide on applications from new countries wishing to join the group. It may not, however, force the resignation of the High Authority.

The "Assembly" is to be composed of 78 members, 18 each from France, Germany and Italy, 10 from Belgium and the Netherlands and 4 from Luxembourg. The members are to be elected annually by national Parliaments from among their members and preferably from those who represent their Parliaments at the Council of Europe. Its main function is to provide for the democratic control of the High Authority; with this aim in view, it meets once a year in public session to examine the report of the High Authority and may address to it oral or written questions. If the Assembly disapproves of the report by a two-thirds majority, consisting, at least, of over half of its members, the High Authority must collectively resign. It may also be called into special session to give an opinion on questions put to it by the Council of Ministers.

The "Court of Justice" has the essential function of enforcing the law "in respect of the interpretation and application of the Treaty". It is composed of seven judges appointed for six years by common consent of the governments of the member states. The Court is competent to pronounce judgments on appeals against the decisions and recommendations of the High Authority by a member state, by the Council of Ministers or by an individual firm or association. Conversely it can proclaim null and void, at the request of one of the member states or of the High Authority, the resolutions of the Assembly or of the Council of Ministers.

Economic and Social Provisions

It had been the original French plan to draft a treaty which would be limited to setting up the necessary institutions and which would cover economic and social questions in broad, general terms, leaving the details to be filled in subsequently by the High Authority. This procedure was not acceptable to the Benelux delegates, who felt that economic and social questions should be settled between Governments and the detail of the settlement written into the treaty. Accordingly, the delegates reached agreement on a series of provisions covering the establishment of the single market, the financial aspects of the work of the community, investments, technical research, reconversion of industry and the readaptation of displaced workers, production and prices, commercial policy with regard to non-participant countries, transport, and cartels, trusts and monopolies.

With regard to the single market, the delegates agreed to abolish immediately all customs duties, import licences and quantitative restrictions on the coal and steel trade between the six member countries, so that the unified market might come into effect as soon as the mechanism of the transitional period had been instituted.

The High Authority was given power to raise money by a levy not exceeding one per cent on the average yearly value of production, by borrowing and by gifts. For instance, ECA might make a grant to the High Authority. Funds obtained in these three ways will be used to cover the administrative expenses of the "Community", to promote technical research, to help in the modernization of existing plants and in financing new ones, to finance programmes likely to ensure the productive re-employment of the labour force displaced as a result of the establishment of the single market or the introduction of new production techniques, and to assist by means of non-repayable grants in the retaining, rehousing and maintenance during the interim period of such displaced labour. The High Authority will also underwrite loans to individual firms.

A special equalization fund for coal will be maintained during the transitional period for the purpose of facilitating the integration of certain high-cost national coal industries (Belgium and Italy) into the single market. This fund will be raised by a

levy of 1.5 per cent on the gross receipts of the producers in countries (West Germany and the Netherlands) where the mean cost prices are below the balanced mean of the group. In order to obtain aid from the Equalization Fund, the Governments of beneficiary countries will have to contribute an amount at least equal to the aid received from the fund.

Exchange regulations between the six countries will be liberalized. Prior notification to the High Authority will be required in the case of investment programmes for the coal and steel industries. Prices are to remain the responsibility of individual firms but it is hoped that they will be as low as is compatible with a fair margin for depreciation and an adequate return on capital. Indirect means of influencing production in normal periods will be used. Provision is made for notification to the High Authority of prospective commercial treaties with third parties involving coal and steel. Harmonized tariffs are envisaged, and minimum and maximum tariff rates may be fixed by the Council of Ministers. Differential transport rates and conditions will be prohibited. Release from most-favoured-nation commitments will be sought by the six participating nations with regard to coal and steel.

All agreements and practices of a concerted nature which might restrain or distort competition are to be subject to authorization by the High Authority. The German delegates agreed to this provision following a compromise reached in Bonn by United States High Commissioner McCloy and Chancellor Adenauer on the deconcentration and decartelization of the Ruhr. It was agreed that the German coal sales agency would be dissolved by October 1, 1952, with two supplementary delays of six months each, in case the "Community" envisaged by the Schuman Plan was not in effect on the date fixed. Furthermore, the steel industry would be deconcentrated into 24 steel firms, but would retain control of up to 75 per cent of its coal and coke requirements.

General Considerations

When Mr. Schuman made his historic proposal shortly over a year ago, critics of the Plan, especially in Britain, expressed the fear that too much uncontrolled power would be given to the High Authority. The Treaty recently signed by the Foreign Ministers of the six powers has, however, considerably reduced the previously anticipated power of the High Authority. Indeed the question now is, has the High Authority sufficient power to achieve the political and economic objectives of the Plan? The Treaty specifically states that the High Authority shall "accomplish its mission with limited direct intervention". Over and above being politically controlled by the Assembly, it is counter-balanced by a Council of Ministers. Some of the powers, originally envisaged as belonging to the High Authority, have been given to the Council. In other cases, action by the High Authority requires the consent of the Council.

The institution of the Council of Ministers, by restoring a measure of governmental control, represents a partial withdrawal from the surrender of sovereignty envisaged last year. This point must not, however, be exaggerated, since no country has been given the power of veto in the Council; the voting procedure adopted represents quite a triumph for the federalist point of view. The Council, moreover, might be the best place for national interests to be aired, since in an international body these are likely to be moderated. In this view, the Council would shield the High Authority from serious conflicts with national governments.

The Treaty provides for five institutions but it is impossible to visualize in advance how it would work in practice. The federalist principle of a partial surrender of national sovereignty allied to the doctrine of the separation of powers has produced a negative rather than a positive constitution. It has led to removing powers from national governments without giving them intact to anyone else. For the successful working of this constitution, much will depend on the personality of the

members of the High Authority, as well as on the influence of the practical working of the scheme on the relations between, and respective powers of the High Authority and Council of Ministers. In any event, it was probably the only way to reconcile divergent national interests with a supra-national authority. Indeed it is perhaps remarkable that the High Authority has retained so many of the wide powers originally envisaged for it.

It is widely admitted that regardless of the vital importance of the political objectives of the Schuman Plan, it is on economic performance that the Plan will stand or fall. The economic objective of the plan is the rationalization on an international scale of the continental European coal and steel industries, by means of the establishment of a single market.

In this connection, the Treaty is less ambitious than was originally contemplated. It was originally intended to ensure and organize full employment; now the High Authority, through the Council of Ministers, will only harmonize its actions with member states for the purpose of dovetailing investments into periods of falling demand. Similarly the early objective of equalizing wages in the coal and steel industries of the six countries has been abandoned. Wages will not be subject to interference and the right of countries to reduce wages by means of a devaluation is recognized. The early idea of equalizing transport rates has been discarded, although discrimination is prohibited. In the same way, the High Authority has not been given the power to prevent a firm from making what is considered to be an uneconomic investment, provided the investment comes from the firm's own resources.

Canadian View

The broad political and economic objectives of the Schuman Plan, which are to further the integration of Western Europe, to put an end to the traditional Franco-German enmity, and to establish a large single market for coal and steel, have won general approval in Canada. Speaking before the House of Commons on February 22, 1950, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, said, quoting from his statement at the Colombo conference:

We welcome the prospect of a closer economic co-operation among the countries of Western Europe. Such a development might be expected to contribute to the military strength of the democratic countries concerned and also, by eliminating uneconomic production and encouraging competitive efficiency, to hasten the day when they would no longer require extraordinary financial assistance from abroad. It would also restore to countries occupied and ravaged during the war that sense of hope which they need more now than they need United States dollars. Western Europe could once again look forward to playing in the world the great role for which its history and the resourceful intelligence of its people qualify it.

This statement, made before the coal and steel merger was proposed, presaged official Canadian reaction to the Schuman proposal. Referring to this proposal, Mr. Pearson told the House on June 5, 1950:

It may mean a long step forward in ending the ancient feud between Gaul and Teuton which has caused so many dark things to be written on the pages of European history. I believe that this is an example of the new approach by Europeans to their problems, and we can only hope it will be successful, both politically and economically.

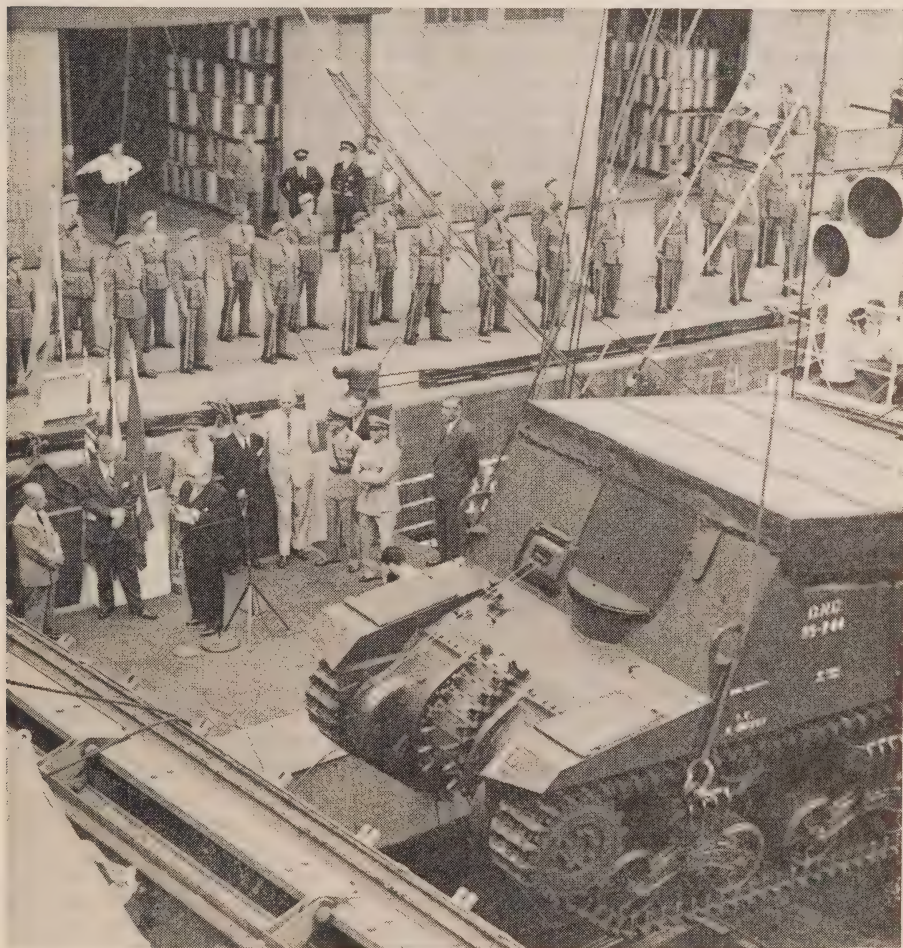
With regard to the United Kingdom attitude to the Schuman Plan, Mr. Pearson made the following statement before the House on September 4, 1950:

. . . as it happens, we did informally tell them (the United Kingdom Government) that we thought this was an important and far-reaching Plan, the importance of which was possibly greater politically than economically, and that whatever the economic difficulties may be in carrying it out . . . it would be unwise for any government not to fall in at once with the principle behind this Plan to further the integration, politically and economically, of the Western European countries. It would

be unwise especially not to do everything to encourage the French in any proposal which may heal the age-long conflict between the French and the Teutons.

Again on February 2, 1951, Mr. Pearson emphasized Canada's military and political interest in European unity in terms which are applicable to the Schuman Plan:

So far as Western Europe is concerned—and this, I repeat, is the most vital area in the front line of our defence—the effort required is partly military and partly, in the broader sense of the term, political. The free nations of Europe are profoundly aware that their future security and prosperity depend in large measure on the unity which they can achieve among themselves . . . if there were no other reasons for pressing ahead with these policies of European unification, the problem of Germany itself would make imperative the need for some form of European unity. If democratic Germany is to play her constructive part in a free Europe, it is essential that she should do so within the framework of a freely co-operative Europe coming closer together economically, politically and militarily.



CANADIAN ARMS FOR ITALY

—National Defence

Self-propelled guns have been made available to Italy as part of Canada's programme of providing arms and equipment to other members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Taking part in the dockside ceremony at Montreal, above are, left to right: Mr. Jean Désy, Canadian Ambassador to Italy; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; and the Italian Ambassador to Canada, His Excellency, Mario di Stefano.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered to a meeting of the Council Deputies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in London, on June 25, 1951.

I am very glad to be given the opportunity to meet with the Deputies of the North Atlantic Council. The decision to establish the Deputies was one of the wisest the Council has made. It should rank in importance with that to establish an Integrated Force under General Eisenhower.

When the Council met here thirteen months ago, it was apparent that the kind of co-ordination of NATO activities essential for the success of the whole undertaking could not be provided by the necessarily infrequent meetings of Ministers. Since that time, the variety, complexity, and difficulty of NATO problems have vastly increased. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of the role of the Deputies, not only in tackling those problems one by one, but also in giving continuity and direction to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as a whole. The Deputies, however, to discharge their important responsibilities, need the backing of and to be endowed with effective authority by the governments which they represent. They need also leadership and that has certainly been provided by your Chairman, Mr. Spofford.

To my mind, perhaps the most important attribute of the Council Deputies is their competence to deal with the many related aspects of the task of co-ordinating the civilian side of the NATO effort, and its relationship with the military agencies of the Treaty. Certainly in the course of your work you have had to consider military, economic and political problems of great importance and variety, and you have worked with a degree of cohesiveness which parallels the best traditions of "cabinet solidarity". We all recognize that this group has responsibilities which are quite distinct from that of a cabinet in any of our Governments. There is, however, a similarity in the fact that, although your final action takes the form of recommendations, these recommendations have a very great importance since it is unlikely that any NATO Government would reject a course of action which had the unanimous approval of your Council. It is that factor which underlines the great responsibilities which attach to your deliberations. It is that fact, too, which makes it all the more important that an effective link should be established between the Council Deputies and the subordinate agencies of NATO, so that in coming to your decisions here on which recommendations to Governments are based, you are acting on the best advice available. As a former Civil Servant, I have a lively appreciation of the value of adequate preparation and expert advice before final decisions are taken. I think, therefore, that the recent steps to strengthen the organization by the establishment of the Defence Production Board and the Financial and Economic Board, and the plans which I understand are now under consideration for strengthening the International Staff, will greatly facilitate your own work in the months to come.

NATO Re-organization

The importance of the Deputies has, of course, been increased by the re-organization of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization top structure announced last month. The Canadian Government is pleased that its proposals to this effect — after a careful and collective study of the problems involved — have met with the approval of the Deputies and their Governments. The new organization is simpler than the old. The lines of responsibility are clearer. Although a good organizational system is not an end in itself, it will without doubt help the governments here represented to do the job which the Treaty requires, and on which the people in all our countries are counting so heavily.

Collective Defence — the Integrated Force

It is little more than two years since the North Atlantic Treaty was signed and less than two years since it came into force. Much has been accomplished in this time. During this short period, NATO has pursued the unique task of building a system of collective defence in peacetime. Perhaps the grave practical problems involved in establishing the Integrated Force in Europe tend to make us forget the historical and dramatic importance of this decision. I think one would have to go far back into history for a peacetime precedent for the integration into one international force of units of so many nations.

It would be tragic indeed if we were not able to carry this development forward, effectively and speedily. It would also be dangerous to our very existence as free political societies, because only by collective military strength can we hold at bay the forces of potential aggression, and thereby give ourselves time and opportunity to establish peace on a stronger foundation than force.

We have been given, already, two years for this purpose. That is a short enough period — against the background of history — to do what we have done. Against the background of the danger which faces us, however, it is a longer time, and we should be impatient that we have not been able to do more.

In that impatience lies one of our hopes for further progress. In it also lies dangers which may divide and weaken our association: dangers of invidious comparisons and consequent irritations. We must have confidence in each other's desire and determination to make this coalition effective; broadly and fairly based. Confidence, however, can only be established by results. If my own country, for instance, does not carry its fair share of the total burden, the association will be weakened, and in a more than material sense. That applies to all of us. It means that we should be completely frank in analysing difficulties and in exchanging views. It means also that we should understand each other's problems, and appreciate any special difficulties which may arise. The Deputies can be of very great importance here. The feeling of friendly solidarity among you which has developed makes it possible, even easy, for you to discuss questions without reservations, and without fear of recrimination. You can also explain to your own governments the positions and the attitudes of other members, when difficulties arise, and thereby help to resolve them.

Broader Vision of the North Atlantic Community

Although the building of collective defence is at present the main activity of NATO, the Canadian Government and people do not look upon the Treaty merely as a military alliance. Canadians seek the Treaty as an expression of the reality of the North Atlantic community and of the determination of that community to strengthen its free institutions, to promote conditions of stability and well-being, and to defend the liberty of each of the nations belonging to it. Our common defence is the immediate and urgent goal of the North Atlantic Treaty. But there is no reason why we should lose sight of the farther horizon — the ultimate creation in the Atlantic area of a great community of free nations. In the face of a common danger, under the stern remorseless threat to our survival, we twelve nations of the Atlantic have come together to pool our resources that we may survive. In the process we are developing new working institutions, and, what is possibly even more important, a common desire to make them work. They concern not only purely military things, but inevitably too, the economics and the politics of joint effort. In our struggle for security from a very present threat, we are developing a new consciousness of Atlantic unity, the results of which may far exceed our immediate purposes and expectations. May we not in these past two years have taken at least the first steps toward something much greater and more positive — a genuine community of the Atlantic?

This is a long-term objective which, of course, has to be subordinated at present to the exigencies of the immediate situation in which we find ourselves. We are defending ourselves against a threat which is not regional, but global. It is undeniable that the increased defence efforts to which we are each committed in the North Atlantic area were directly stimulated by the Communist aggression in Korea. Korea also has shown us that an Atlantic Alliance cannot isolate itself from Pacific questions. It is not necessary for me to emphasize the difficulties with which we are faced, the inter-relationship of those difficulties, and the importance of giving the most serious study to any new steps affecting the future course of action of our organization. A year ago the NATO powers embarked on a policy of deterring further Soviet expansionism at a time when Western strength was really inadequate to the task and when the Soviet reaction could not be foreseen with any degree of certainty. This policy has had its effect and, with the gradual, if somewhat uneven, growth of Western strength during the ensuing year, we are undoubtedly in a better position as a group than at the outset. This does not, however, mean that the dangers of the situation have been overcome, or that the NATO powers can afford to undertake new commitments without carefully examining each new proposal in the light of our increasing but still inadequate armed strength, and without the fullest consultation on all political aspects. Since we are now approaching what is considered by all parties to the Treaty to be the period of greatest danger it behoves us all to take new decisions with full knowledge of the issues involved, political as well as strategic. In those decisions, we will often have to consider and to balance short-term and long-term factors.

A second potential danger is the fact that the course of international developments, and the technique of Communist strategy, may cause the focal point of our attention to be drawn away from the area which, I think, remains the one of principal concern, Western Europe. In recent months the limelight has tended to shift to the Far East, and more recently to the middle East as a result of the Iranian crisis and the problem of the relationship of Greece and Turkey to Western defence planning. Although the Soviet Union may have played some part in bringing to a head these Middle Eastern problems, the problems themselves are not of the Soviet Union's making. They do, however, lend themselves admirably to the Soviet practice of fishing in troubled waters and diverting attention from more vital areas. We should perhaps remind ourselves more frequently that the need to preserve the integrity of Western Europe and the United Kingdom, as the Eastern frontier of the Atlantic community, was what originally inspired the formation of NATO and remains to-day its principal objective. This does not mean that the Middle East and other areas are not matters of deep concern, or that action is not urgently required to build adequate machinery for strengthening resistance to aggression in this and other vital areas. It does, however, mean that these essential and related tasks should not distract our attention from the area which we are specifically committed to defend, or the longer-term aims which our alliance must ultimately seek to attain.

In conclusion, may I congratulate you on the contribution that the Deputies are making to both these shorter-term and longer-term aims.



—U.S. Army

CANADIAN WORLD WAR II DEAD HONOURED IN JAPAN

A Cross of Sacrifice, erected by the Imperial War Graves Commission at Hodogaya, near Yokohama, Japan, before the graves of one hundred and fifty Canadian World War II dead, was unveiled on June 12, 1951, by the Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Japan, Mr. A. R. Menzies, and the Head of the New Zealand Mission in Japan, Mr. R. S. Challis, as part of a ceremony marking the completion of the British Commonwealth Cemetery. The fifteen-foot granite cross has on each side of it an inverted bronze sword symbolizing the sacrifice of the Canadian and New Zealand war dead. Soldiers from the 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade Reinforcement Depot at Kure and the New Zealand Field Artillery Regiment stood guard by the monument. Following the unveiling ceremony, Mr. Menzies laid a wreath on behalf of the Government of Canada, and Brigadier F. J. Fleury, Head of the Military Mission, Far East, on behalf of the Canadian Legion.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Trusteeship Council

The Ninth Session of the Trusteeship Council, which was held at Flushing Meadow, New York, terminated on July 30. During the course of the session, the administering powers presented reports on the administration, for 1949 and 1950, of the trust territories of Tanganyika, Ruanda Urundi, French Cameroons, British Cameroons, French Togoland and British Togoland. Italy presented its first annual report for the administration of the new trust territory of Somaliland. The various committees (Rural Economic Development, Petitions, Administrative Units) submitted their reports to the Council, and the Ewe question was considered.

The Council was concerned for the most part with a detailed consideration of the reports submitted by the administering powers. This time-consuming process of discussion and analysis, out of which arise the recommendations which make up the final report to the General Assembly, is perhaps the paramount function of the Trusteeship Council. In general, the discussion was moderate in tone, the criticism constructive and the reports well presented.

A good part of the discussion centred on the educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories. Each administering power commented on the difficulty of obtaining suitable teachers. The development of vocational training and programmes of adult education had to some extent compensated for the lack of formal education among large populations, most of whom were illiterate. It was hoped that new techniques in the field of visual education would hasten educational development in the trust territories.

The future of the Ewe tribal group in Togoland is likely to be one of the most involved problems yet presented to the Council. The Ewes, who number about 1 million and who are one of the most progressive of the West African peoples, now desire the unification of their homeland, the various parts of which lie within the borders of the Gold Coast and British and French Togoland. The unification of the Ewes would be most difficult from both an economic and an administrative point of view. The chief question is which authority should assume administrative responsibility: France, the United Kingdom, a condominium of the two, or the United Nations. To complicate matters still further, the Ewes themselves are not in accord, and each political group has its own ideas about the proposed union. The United Kingdom and France recommended to the Council the creation of a joint council, for British and French Togoland, without executive or legislative powers, which would serve as a link between the Ewes on each side of the border. This recommendation was adopted by the Council, with the addition of an amendment calling upon the administering powers to ensure that the joint council's responsibilities would be "sufficiently broad" to enable it to deal with the political, economic and social aspects of the Ewe question.

The majority of the members of the Council were agreed that considerable progress had been made in each of the trust territories during the period under review. There was a realization of the magnitude of the task confronting the administering powers in the trust territories, and of the infinite complexity of their problems which could only be solved by continuous and patient endeavour.

The most contentious question, which will be dealt with at the forthcoming session of the General Assembly, is the Italian request to be granted voting rights in the Council. Somaliland is to be administered by Italy for the next ten years, but Italy, which is not a member of the United Nations, is not allowed to vote in the Council and is allowed to take part in the discussions of the Council only when these

have to do with Somaliland. The addition of Italy to the Trusteeship Council as a voting member would presumably involve the election of another non-administering power to the Council so as to balance the number of administering powers. This question is likely to produce an extended debate in the General Assembly.

Because of the uncertainty regarding the date on which the General Assembly will conclude its Sixth Session, the Trusteeship Council decided to hold a short special meeting in Paris in order to fix the date for its next Session in 1952.



NATO COUNCIL MEETING ANNOUNCED

The Department of External Affairs announced on August 3 that a meeting of the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is to take place in Ottawa beginning September 15. A NATO announcement, issued simultaneously, stated:

Two meetings of the North Atlantic Council will be held this autumn, it was announced today by Mr. Paul Van Zeeland, Belgian Foreign Minister and Chairman of the Council. Prior to the ordinary annual session, which is to convene in Rome at the end of October a meeting of the Council will be held in Ottawa on September 15 to consider such problems as may be ready for discussion or action by the Council at that time.

The Department's announcement added:

The Canadian Government is pleased that the capital of this country has been chosen as the site for the Council meeting, and will be glad to welcome the national delegations of the other eleven members of NATO to Canada. The importance of building up the collective defences and of promoting the closer association of the North Atlantic area hardly needs to be stressed. Canada has from the inception of the Treaty been very conscious of the need to carry this work forward effectively and speedily. The present meeting will serve to emphasize the determination of all the NATO countries to maintain the momentum already created in order that the strength of the North Atlantic area may shortly reach the point where it can hold at bay the forces of any potential aggressor.

TERMINATION OF THE STATE OF WAR WITH GERMANY

The Department of External Affairs announced on July 10 that the state of war with Germany had been terminated by Royal Proclamation published in the Canada Gazette on July 10, 1951.

Although active hostilities were ended by the declaration of June 5, 1945, regarding the unconditional surrender of the German Reich, it has proved impossible since then to conclude a Treaty of Peace which would dispose of questions relating to Germany and arising out of the state of war. With this in mind the Government of Canada announced last October its intention of taking action to terminate the state of war with Germany as soon as it was in a position to do so.

The action by Canada terminating the state of war with Germany does not prejudice decisions on questions arising out of the war with Germany which remain to be determined by a future Treaty of Peace or by other agreements with Germany, nor does it affect in any way the Allied agreements and declarations regarding control machinery for Germany which have been made since the surrender of that country. The satisfaction of Canadian claims against Germany arising out of the war is not affected.

This action by Canada simply means that insofar as Canadian domestic law, both public and private, is concerned, a state of war no longer exists between Canada and Germany and German nationals are no longer considered to be enemy aliens. The Government of Canada still reserves the right to retain any money or property which is vested in the Custodian by virtue of the Canadian Trading with the Enemy Regulations, but it will be recalled that no obstacle has been placed since December 29, 1949, in the way of the resumption of all commercial and financial dealings between persons in Canada and persons in Germany or of the acquisition of property which was not subjected to control up to that date. This position remains unchanged.

The Honourable T. C. Davis, K.C., presented to President Theodore Heuss, his Letter of Credence on August 16, as Canadian Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany.

Mr. Davis has been accredited to the Allied High Commission as Head of the Canadian Mission, Bonn, since June 22, 1950. The mission's new status as an embassy will mark the resumption of direct diplomatic relations between the two countries.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. J. W. Holmes was posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations at New York, to Ottawa, effective July 2, 1951, and from Ottawa to the National Defence College at Kingston, effective July 18, 1951.
- Mr. J. B. C. Watkins was posted from the Canadian Embassy in the U.S.S.R., to Ottawa, effective July 11, 1951.
- Mr. W. G. Stark was posted from the Canadian Embassy in Brazil, to Ottawa, effective July 3, 1951.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe was posted from the Canadian Embassy in the U.S.S.R., to Ottawa, effective July 3, 1951.
- Mr. H. H. Carter was posted from the Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, to Ottawa, effective July 16, 1951.
- Mr. B. A. Keith was posted from the Canadian Consulate General in New York, to Ottawa, effective July 16, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Mr. Richard E. Kleinhans, Commercial Attaché and Consul, Embassy of the United States of America, June 18. Mr. Kleinhans was previously Consul at Montreal.

Squadron Leader L. A. Popham, R.A.F., Assistant Air Force Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, July 13.

Mr. J. H. Weir, Assistant Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for New Zealand, July 18.

Departure

Mr. B. S. Lendrum, Assistant Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for New Zealand, June 28.

His Excellency the Honourable Stanley Woodward, Ambassador of the United States of America, left on July 5 on leave of absence. Until his return Mr. Don C. Bliss, Minister, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Agustin Nores Martinez, Ambassador of Argentina, left on July 6 for a vacation in Argentina. During his absence Mr. Gaston Zapata Quesada, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Rade Pribicevic, Ambassador designate of Yugoslavia, left on July 8 for a trip to Vancouver and returned on

July 25. During his absence Mr. Slavko Zecevic, First Secretary was Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Mr. Eugeniusz Markowski resumed his duties as Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires at the Legation of Poland, July 11, on his return from a trip to Poland.

Mr. Zdenek Roskot resumed his duties as Second Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires at the Legation of Czechoslovakia on July 15 on his return from a vacation in his country.

His Excellency Sean Murphy, Ambassador of Ireland, left on July 14 for a vacation in the United States. Mr. John O'Brien, Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim during Mr. Murphy's absence.

His Excellency Per Wijkman, Minister of Sweden, left on July 18 for a vacation of two weeks. During his absence, Mr. J. Sigge de Lilliehook, Second Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency A. H. J. Lovink, Ambassador of the Netherlands, left on July 20 for a vacation of three weeks. Until his return Mr. M. J. van Schreven, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Victor Nef, Minister of Switzerland, left on July 23 for a vacation in his country. Mr. Emile Bisang, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim during the Minister's absence.

CONSULAR

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Thomas J. B. Wenner as Consul of the

United States of America at Montreal, July 10.

August, 1951

Mr. Mahmoud Rachid as Consul of Egypt at Ottawa, July 20.

Mr. Richard E. Kleinhans as Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, July 25. Mr. Kleinhans is also Commercial Attaché at the Embassy.

Mr. Ricardo Almanza Gordo as Consul of Mexico at Vancouver, July 26.

Mr. Gonzalo Carrillo as Vice-Consul of Venezuela at Montreal, July 26.

Mr. Kingdom W. Swayne as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, July 26.

Departures

Mr. Charles C. Adams, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Halifax, June 30.

Mr. Laurence C. Frank, Consul General of the United States of America at Winnipeg is on leave from July 13 to August 13. During his absence Mr. Mulford A. Colebrook, Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

Mr. Sebastian Emilio Valverde, Consul General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa, left on July 26 for two weeks leave in his country.

TRADE

New Appointment

Mr. L. R. Rogers, Assistant Trade Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Toronto, July 16.

Mr. A. P. Timms, Trade Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Toronto has been transferred to Vancouver in the same capacity.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of July 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1, 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions.)

Conferences Attended in July

1. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris—February 15. Observer: Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Mission, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
2. *Conference of Plenipotentiaries re Convention on Refugees and Protocol on Stateless Persons (ECOSOC).* Geneva—July 2-25. L. G. Chance, Department of External Affairs; K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
3. *Ninth International Management Conference.* Brussels—July 5-11. V. L. Chapin, Canadian Embassy, Brussels (Observer).
4. *Commonwealth Survey Officers' Conference.* London—July 9-20. Lt. Col. C. H. Smith, Department of National Defence; P. E. Palmer, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys; J. P. Messervy, Deputy Minister of Mines, Nova Scotia.
5. *General Assembly of International Union of Pure and Applied Physics.* Copenhagen—July 10-14. L. E. Howlett, National Research Council.
6. *International Welding Institute.* London and Oxford—July 14-21. H. J. Nichols, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
7. *UNESCO Seminar.* Paris—July 18-23. J. W. Watson, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys (Observer).
8. *Fourth International Congress of the Sea.* Ostend—July 20-22. V. L. Chapin, Canadian Embassy, Brussels (Observer).
9. *International Whaling Commission.* Cape-town—July 23. G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.
10. *Economic Committee of ECOSOC.* Geneva—July 23. J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Adviser: S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance.
11. *13th Session of ECOSOC.* Geneva—July 30. Representative: J. Lesage, M.P.,

Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Deputy Representative: J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Principal Adviser: E. B. Rogers, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., Canadian Legation, Prague; Advisers: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations,

Geneva; Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs; S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; Secretary: K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.

Conferences to be held in August and September

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted.)

1. *Ninth World's Poultry Congress*. Paris—August 2-9.
2. *Second Conference on Mechanical Wood Technology of FAO*. Igls, Austria—August 6-19.
3. *Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference (ITU)*. Geneva—August 16.
4. *Ninth International Congress of Entomology*. Amsterdam—August 17-24.
5. *International Union of Goedsy and Geophysics*. Brussels—August 21.
6. *Regional Congress on Foot-and-Mouth Disease (FAO)*. Panama City—August 21.
7. *Eighth Session of the E.C.E. Timber Committee*. Geneva—August 28-September 1.
8. *Eighth Congress of the International Institute of Refrigeration*. London—August 29-September 11.
9. *14th Conference of Beekeeping*. Leamington, England—September 3-8.
10. *Forest Fire Study Tour*. United States—September 4-October 12.
11. *Sub-Committee on Rules of Procedure and Working Methods of the Legal Committee of ICAO*. Madrid—September 8.
12. *International Gerontological Congress*. St. Louis—September 9-14.
13. *Fifth World Congress of International Society for the Welfare of Cripples*. Stockholm—September 10-14.
14. *Eighth Session of the Legal Committee of ICAO*. Madrid—September 11.
15. *Building Research Congress*. London—September 11-20.
16. *World Conference on Documentation*. Rome—September 15-21.
17. *Sixth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*. Geneva—September 17.
18. *World Tobacco Conference*. Amsterdam—September 17-24.
19. *International Conference of Deaf-Mute*. Rome—September 19-23.
20. *International Congress of Anaesthesiology*. Paris—September 20-22.
21. *14th Congress of International Society of Surgery*. Paris—September 24-29.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the seventh session of the Commission on Human Rights; 24 May 1951; document E/1992, E/CN.4/649; 163 p.

**Report of the Fiscal Commission (Third Session)*; 31 May 1951; document E/1993; E/CN.8/62; 32 p.

Report of the Commission on the Status of

Women (Fifth Session, 30 April-14 May 1951); 28 May 1951; document E/1997, E/CN.6/175; 47 p.

Report of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (Sixth Session); 1 June 1951; document E/1998, E/CN.7/227; 89 p.

Relations of Inter-Governmental Organizations with the United Nations and the

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

Specialized Agencies (List of Inter-Governmental Organizations in the economic and social fields, 1951 Edition); 4 June 1951; document E/1999; 54 p.

**United Nations Programme of Technical Assistance* (Report by the Secretary-General); 6 June 1951; document E/2001; 72 p.

**Annual Report of the Economic Commission for Europe, 16 June 1950 - 13 June 1951*; 13 June 1951; document E/2002, E/ECE/130; 73 p.

International Refugee Organization—Third Annual Report to the United Nations; 6 June 1951; document E/2005; 41 p.

Report of the Economic, Employment and Development Commission (Sixth Session); 7 June 1951; document E/2006, E/CN.1/86; 17 p.

International Refugee Organization—Third Annual Children's Emergency Fund; 20 June 1951; document E/2013, E/ICEF/178/Rev. 1; 77 p.

Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea (Report

by the Secretary-General); 25 June 1951; document E/2032; 26 p.

(b) Printed Documents:

**Measures for the economic development of under-developed countries* (Report by a Group of Experts appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations); 3 May 1951; document E/1986, ST/ECA/10; 108 p.; 75 cents; Sales No.: 1951.II.B.2.

The expanded programme of technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries (An explanatory booklet issued on behalf of the United Nations, ILO, FAO, UNESCO, ICAO, WHO, International Bank for Reconstruction and development, and International Monetary Fund); document TAB/1; 32 p. (Issued by the Technical Assistance Board, United Nations, New York, 1951).

The Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and The Torquay schedules on Tariff Concessions (The Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, Geneva, May 1951); \$7.00; Sales No.: GATT/1951-1.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 51/30—*North Atlantic Treaty Organization*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B.

Pearson, delivered to a meeting of the Council Deputies of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in London, on June 25, 1951.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 51/29—*National Defence Planning*, an address by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, delivered to the Kiwanis Club of Ottawa, on June 26, 1951.

No. 51/31—*Canada's New Programme for Old Age Security*, a broadcast by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, over the Trans-Canada Network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, on July 3, 1951.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MEETING

*By the Secretary of State for External Affairs,
Mr. L. B. Pearson.*

On September 15, the principal body of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Council, began its meeting in Ottawa. Later in the year, possibly during November, a further session of the Council will take place in Rome. The convening of these meetings will serve to remind us of the important part NATO is playing today in preserving the peace and security of the Western World.

For the first time these meetings of the North Atlantic Council brings together most of the Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers of the twelve member countries of NATO. This is as a direct result of the re-organization of NATO, approved earlier this year, and in which Canadian initiative played a major role. Under the re-organization the Council is now the supreme and only ministerial body of NATO, and incorporates not only the Council as envisaged in the Treaty, but the former Defence and Defence Finance and Economic Committees. As the single directing authority of NATO the new Council should be able to deal effectively and expeditiously with any problems confronting it.

A word about the purpose of these meetings is perhaps in order. The Council is charged under the Treaty with "the responsibility of considering all matters concerning the implementation of the Treaty". This is a broad mandate, which enables the Council to discuss any aspect of North Atlantic defence and co-operation. However, it should be borne in mind that the day-to-day work is performed by the various agencies of NATO, the Council Deputies on the political side, the Standing Group on the military side, the Defence Production Board on the production side, and the Financial and Economic Board on the economic side. The main importance of the Council is, therefore, to provide an opportunity for close consultation between governmental leaders of the North Atlantic countries. This consultation may take many forms, such as reviewing the progress of the work of the organization, charting the course for the future, or considering and approving particular policies. The essential task of the ministers at a Council meeting, however, is to ensure that NATO is carrying out the aims for which it was originally established. Such work is not always spectacular. Major decisions may or may not be required depending on the tenor of world events. Council meetings may be viewed somewhat in the light of directors' meetings of a company. And a smooth-functioning organization is judged by its accomplishments rather than by the publicity it gets.

It may be helpful to recall the basic purpose for which the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in April, 1949. In the post-war world the original hopes for universal peace were followed by disillusionment and anxiety as the determination of the Soviet Union to pursue its imperialistic aims became only too evident. Against the threat of Communist aggression it was clear that only an alliance borne of the strength of free peoples and possessing sufficient military strength to deter any potential aggressor, could safeguard the free institutions of the Western world. In this spirit, the original signatories of the North Atlantic Treaty united for their collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security. The North Atlantic Treaty from its very inception was defensive in character, as its terms make self-evident. Its aim is peace and not war. Like a policeman it is the guardian of the peace standing ready if the need arises to prevent any attempt to disturb the security of the Western World.

To preserve peace in the world of today, it is, of course, necessary to possess strength. For this reason the main preoccupation of the North Atlantic countries in the past two years has been the development of their collective military power. This has involved increased defence efforts on the part of each member country, which has in turn necessitated sacrifices on the part of each of us. Liberty is not a commodity that can be purchased at bargain basement prices. In order to build up the strength of



—Capital Press

CANADIAN DELEGATION TO NATO COUNCIL MEETING

The Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council meeting at Ottawa was headed by, above, left to right: the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson; the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton; and the Minister of Finance, Mr. D. C. Abbott.

the North Atlantic community to the point where any potential aggressor will be unable to enslave the free world, further sacrifices in the common cause will be required.

Concomitant with the increased defence efforts of its members NATO has taken important steps to organize and co-ordinate the individual national programmes. An integrated force has been established in Europe under a Supreme Commander. The position of Supreme Commander has been entrusted to one of the outstanding soldiers of the present time, General Eisenhower. General Eisenhower has now established his headquarters, known as SHAPE, just outside of Paris, and the framework of his command organization is growing each day. To this command each NATO country is contributing forces in proportion to its ability. In this way the free world is demonstrating its determination to combine for its own protection.

Although the build-up of collective defence is the main task of NATO at the present time, we should not lose sight of the other objectives. The North Atlantic Treaty is more than a mere defensive alliance, important as this alliance is. It is the nucleus of a future North Atlantic community of free nations, a community in which the promotion of closer political co-operation and the improvement of economic and social conditions is a major goal. No opportunity should be lost to further the creative task of strengthening existing institutions and forming new ones which will contribute to the establishment of this community. We cannot afford to take a passive stand on this subject; for, if a North Atlantic federation is ever to develop, now is the time that solid foundations must be laid. The development of a community consciousness among the North Atlantic nations should, therefore, be ever present, even though the ultimate attainment of union may still be a somewhat remote goal.

NATO TRAINING BY THE RCAF

The experience gained by the Royal Canadian Air Force in operating the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan during the Second World War promises to make Canada one of the principal air training incubators for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The Commonwealth Air Training Plan was one of the major contributions made by Canada to the effort of the Allies against the Axis powers. Starting with an agreement signed in December, 1939, by the governments of Australia, New Zealand, Britain and Canada, the plan eventually grew into a smooth-running air training scheme that at its peak in January, 1944, had seventy-three flying training schools under its jurisdiction and in its lifetime produced more than 131,000 highly trained aircrew.

Canada has particular advantages for the operation of such an air training scheme. Her young men have proved themselves excellent airmen; she has vast areas of level terrain away from large population centers; her variable climate gives airmen training in all types of weather, and her great size, combined with a comparatively small population, makes her less vulnerable to bombing attack than might be the case in other NATO countries.

With the expansion of Western defences to meet the danger of aggression, Canada's ability to produce well-trained pilots and navigators takes on renewed importance. During a NATO meeting at Paris in March, 1950, the Minister of National Defence Mr. Brooke Claxton, offered to train fledgling aviators of the signatory powers in R.C.A.F. schools, with Canada providing, in addition to the cost of training, all food, accommodation, and transportation within Canada, and medical and dental care. The offer was accepted and in July, 1950, the first trainees arrived in Canada.

Pilots Train Throughout Country

After a pre-flight orientation course at London, Ont., where the cadets received language instruction, lessons in Canadian geography and customs, and other information to assist them in their encounter with R.C.A.F. training techniques, they moved on to Centralia, Ont., for pilot training, or to Summerside, P.E.I., for navigation instruction.

Understanding and co-operation on the part of both instructors and students avoided what might otherwise have been the obstacles of language, and differences of rank and customs. In May, 1951, the first graduates received their coveted flying badges. By the time this initial phase of the Plan had ended, over one hundred aviators from Italy, Belgium, France, Norway and the Netherlands were wearing the special R.C.A.F. pilot and navigator wings devised for NATO graduates.

Now pronounced a success by all the participating members, the NATO training scheme is being expanded. Canada now proposes to train a total of 1,400 NATO cadets each year. The NATO Standing Group in Washington requested that for the remainder of this year, the Plan should concentrate on United Kingdom trainees but that next year it should increase the number of other NATO representatives.

To prepare for this training build-up and to meet Canada's commitment of eleven squadrons for the Integrated Force in Europe, the R.C.A.F. has reopened a number of wartime flying stations and accelerated its entire flying training programme. A second large air navigation school has been established at Winnipeg, Man., and a number of United Kingdom and Canadian cadets are already taking the thirty-six-week navigation course. They will be joined in the fall by trainees from Norway, France, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands, with many more to come during 1952, including trainees from Denmark.



NATO PILOTS TRAIN IN CANADA

—*National Defence*

Pilots from Norway, Belgium, Canada, Italy and the Netherlands train at Centralia, Ont., as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization plan for training air force personnel in Canada.

Establishments in West

In addition to Centralia, Ont., where the first NATO pilots were trained, pilot training schools have been opened at Gimli, Man., Claresholm and Penhold in Alberta, and Moose Jaw in Saskatchewan. Advanced flying training schools will be located at Saskatoon, Sask., and Portage la Prairie, Man., with a pilot gunnery school at Macdonald, Man. Future plans call for the Gimli school to be converted into an advanced training school.

Large numbers of aircraft are being manufactured in this country and others purchased as an interim measure from the United States. Twin-engined Mitchell bombers are being used as a conversion trainer to multi-engine aircraft; and T-33 trainers, a twin-seater version of the F-80 Shooting Star, are employed for conversion to jet-propelled aircraft. The T-33, along with the U.S.-designed F-86 Sabre and the Canadian-designed CF-100 Canuck are being produced in this country.

THE KOREAN CRISIS

During August the United Nations and Communist negotiators at Kaesong continued their discussion, begun on July 27, of the first of the four substantive items on the armistice agenda, the "fixing of a military demarcation line between both sides so as to establish a demilitarized zone as a basic condition for the cessation of hostilities in Korea". At the end of the month the negotiations were no further advanced than at the beginning; the fundamental question to be settled was still whether the cease-fire should be based on the battleline or on the 38th parallel.

Attempt to Break Deadlock on Cease-Fire Line

In the middle of the month the United Nations delegation proposed that a joint sub-committee from within the delegates and staff should be appointed to "make recommendations to the two delegations as to ways and means of emerging from the present deadlock". The Communist delegation accepted the proposal and for several days two members from each group met "around, rather than across" a table in what was reported to be a more congenial and productive setting than that of the armistice conference. However, no progress in breaking the deadlock was reported from the sub-committee.

Negotiation Decreases While Fighting Increases

The armistice talks were suspended twice in August by allegations that the neutrality of the Kaesong area had been violated. They were resumed within six days of the first suspension but at the end of the month were in the eighth day of the second break. The impasse in the armistice talks was accompanied by increasing military activity. United Nations aircraft and warships stepped up their attacks on targets in North Korea and United Nations ground forces captured several important hills in heavy fighting along the front. There was no appreciable change in the battleline.

Communists Violate Kaesong's Neutrality

On August 4 the United Nations delegation observed approximately an infantry company of Communist troops passing the Conference House on foot and carrying rifles, pistols, grenades, automatic weapons and mortars.

The following day the United Nations Commander broadcast a message to the Communist Commanders in which he reviewed the arrangements originally made for guaranteeing the neutrality of the conference area, and concluded:

I now invite your attention to this flagrant violation of the assurances which I required and which you promised. The United Nations delegation is prepared to continue conferences as soon as satisfactory explanation of this violation and assurance of non-recurrence are received. Meanwhile the delegation will remain within United Nations lines. I await your reply.

The Communist commanders explained the incident and gave their assurances the next day; the most important part of their message was the following paragraph:

In order that our conference will not be obstructed by such trivial accidental incidents we have again ordered the guards of the Kaesong neutral zone to adhere strictly to the agreement of 14th July and to assure that such a violation of the agreement will not occur again.

Because the Communist commanders described the breach of the neutrality agreement as trivial and accidental, General Ridgway felt impelled to seek further assurances. After denying the Communists' description of the incident he said:

It must be clearly understood that my acceptance of a resumption of the armistice talks is conditional on complete compliance with your guarantees of neutralization of the Kaesong area. Any further violation in this regard will be interpreted as a deliberate move on your part to terminate the armistice negotiations. I await your acceptance of this condition.

On August 9 the Communist Commanders accepted the condition and the following day the two delegations resumed their discussions.

Talks Suspended by Communists

The negotiations were interrupted for the second time during the month on August 23 when the Communists charged that a United Nations aircraft had attacked the site of the armistice meetings in Kaesong during the night of August 22/23. Less than three hours after the attack was alleged to have taken place a Communist liaison officer, speaking from written notes, told a United Nations liaison officer that all meetings were "off from now on".

Culmination of Series of Communist Charges

This charge followed several others by the Communists, the two most serious of which were that United Nations personnel had ambushed a Chinese patrol in the Kaesong area on August 19 and killed the patrol leader, and that on several occasions United Nations aircraft had attacked the Communist delegation's motor vehicles even though they carried white flags.

The United Nations delegation denied that United Nations troops had attacked the Chinese patrol and reminded the Communists that prior notification of the departure and proposed route of travel of all vehicles was required if such vehicles were to be free from air attack. The delegation also rejected earlier charges that United Nations patrols had violated the neutrality of the Kaesong area, and suggested, without response, that a "standing bilateral Kaesong neutral zone committee" should be formed to make periodic inspection of the zone and conduct on-the-spot investigations of alleged incidents.

In their formal protest against the alleged air attack on Kaesong the Communist commanders said:

We hope that the peace talks will be smoothly carried out and that both sides will come to a just and reasonable agreement . . . Our delegation cannot help suspending the peace talks from August 23 so as to wait for your side to settle this serious incident in a responsible manner . . . You must bear the responsibility of whatever may happen as a result of the breaking off of the talks . . . We are waiting for a satisfactory reply from you.

United Nations Commander Rejects Charges

On August 25 General Ridgway rejected vigorously the Communist charge of a United Nations air attack and other charges of United Nations violations of Kaesong's neutrality. Among other things he said:

This most recent addition to alleged incidents by elements of the United Nations Command, so utterly false, so preposterous and so obviously manufactured for your own questionable purposes, does not, in its own right, merit a reply.

. . . The evidence in this most recent alleged violation was even more palpably compounded for your insidious propaganda purposes than your earlier efforts. In line, however, with our constant adherence to ethics of decency, I have in this case, as in all others, fully investigated your charges.

My senior Army, Navy and Air Force commanders have individually certified to me in writing that none of their elements have violated, or could possibly have vio-

lated, the Kaesong neutral zone in this or any other instance of alleged violations reported by you.

. . . The allegations made in your several recent communications concerning the alleged firing on Panmunjom, the alleged ambush of 19 August by United Nations forces, and the alleged bombing and strafing of Wednesday night, 22 August, are rejected without qualification as malicious falsehoods totally without foundation in fact.

When you are prepared to terminate the suspension of armistice negotiations which you declared on 23 August I will direct my representatives to meet with yours with a view to seeking a reasonable armistice agreement.

In reply the Communist commanders repeated the series of allegations, accused General Ridgway of manufacturing incidents to break up the truce talks and of slandering the Communists, and then stated:

We hereby once more propose to you that this grave action of provocation should be dealt with by your side with an attitude of serious responsibility. Then the continuation of the negotiations for a just and reasonable armistice agreement can be guaranteed.

At the same time we demand that your liaison officers proceed to Kaesong to carry out a reinvestigation jointly with our liaison officers of the incident that occurred on August 22, when your military aircraft bombed and strafed the vicinity of the residence of our delegation in order once again to prove the full validity of our protest.

Resumption of Talks Up to Communists

The following day, August 29, the United Nations Commander rejected the Communists' demand for a reinvestigation of the incident. "A reinvestigation after this lapse of time" he said "could serve no purpose other than to continue this unjustifiable delay in the armistice negotiations". He observed that during the original investigation a few hours after the alleged bombing on the night of August 22, a Communist liaison officer "specifically refused the requests of my liaison officer to continue the investigation during daylight and to leave all of the alleged evidence in place". He closed his brief message to the Communist Commanders by repeating his earlier statement that negotiations could be resumed when they were willing to lift the suspension which they had declared on August 23.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN

On September 2, 1945, aboard the U.S. battleship *Missouri* lying at anchor in Tokyo Bay, General Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), headed the delegation which accepted for the Allied Powers at war with Japan the Instrument of Surrender signed by representatives of the Emperor of Japan and his government. The Instrument stipulated the unconditional surrender of Japan's armed forces, the implementation of all SCAP orders, the acceptance of the terms of the Potsdam Proclamation, and acknowledgment by the Emperor that he and his government should henceforth be subject to the Supreme Commander. This ceremony, which began the Allied occupation of Japan, was one of a series of decisions by the Allied Powers aimed at making policy for a defeated Japan a co-operative effort.

Cairo, Yalta and Potsdam

In November, 1943, the Cairo Conference of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek laid down the war aim that Japan must surrender unconditionally. At the Yalta meeting in February 1945, of the leaders of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union, the latter agreed to enter the war against Japan. Five months later, the leaders of these countries met again at Potsdam. One of their purposes was to clarify terms for Japan's surrender. Since the Soviet Union was still not a belligerent, this task was performed by the United States, the United Kingdom and China. The latter government, although not represented at the conference, subscribed to the resultant proclamation. This document reaffirmed the Cairo demand for Japan's unconditional surrender. It called for the elimination of the influence of those advocates of irresponsible militarism who had so misled Japan, the disarmament of the Japanese forces, the strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people and an Allied occupation of the country until the purposes of the Declaration had been achieved and there had been established "in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government". On August 14, 1945, President Truman announced that the Japanese Government had fully accepted the Potsdam Declaration, and named General MacArthur as the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to carry the Japanese surrender into effect.

Objectives of the Occupation

Early in September, a statement of United States initial post-surrender policy for Japan was sent to the Supreme Commander. This document laid down the following ultimate objectives of the United States in regard to Japan: first, to ensure that Japan would not again become a menace to the peace and security of the world and, second, to bring about the eventual establishment of a peaceful and responsible government which would respect the rights of other states. To achieve these objectives, Japan's sovereignty would be basically limited to her four main islands, she would be completely disarmed and the authority of the militarists eliminated from her political, economic and social life, her people would be encouraged to desire individual liberties and respect fundamental human rights and they would be afforded the opportunity to develop for themselves a viable peacetime economy.

Mechanism of the Occupation

The military occupation of Japan would have the character of an operation in behalf of the principal Allied Powers acting in the interests of the United Nations at war with Japan, and the Supreme Commander would be designated by the United

States. Although it was hoped that, through consultation, policies for the conduct of the occupation would be established which would satisfy the principal Allied Powers, in the event of differences of opinion among them, the policies of the United States would govern.

Although the Supreme Commander would exercise his authority through Japanese governmental machinery including the Emperor, this policy did not commit SCAP to support the Emperor or any other Japanese governmental authority. Changes in the form of Government initiated by the Japanese towards modifying its feudal and authoritarian tendencies were to be favoured.

The disarmament and demilitarization of Japan were to be carried out promptly. Active exponents of militarism and ultra-nationalism were to be excluded from public life and their organizations expunged from Japanese society. Suspected war criminals would be tried.

To encourage democratic processes, the Supreme Commander was to ensure freedom of religion and to promote the formation of democratic political parties with rights of assembly and public discussion. Laws which established discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, creed or political opinion were to be abrogated, political prisoners released and the judicial, legal and police systems reformed and thereafter progressively influenced to protect individual liberties and civil rights.

The basis of Japan's military strength was to be destroyed, and the development of democratic organizations in labour, industry and agriculture encouraged. To strengthen the peaceful disposition of the Japanese, the Supreme Commander was to exclude from positions of importance individuals who did not direct future Japanese economic effort solely towards peaceful ends and to favour a programme for the dissolution of the industrial and banking combinations which had controlled most of Japan's trade and industry.

Reparations for Japanese aggression would be made through the transfer of property located outside of the territories to be retained by Japan and of goods and equipment not necessary for a peaceful Japanese economy.

Japan was to be permitted eventually to re-enter normal international trade but during the occupation SCAP was to maintain control over imports and exports, and foreign exchange and financial transactions.

The Far Eastern Commission

Meanwhile, the United States Government had undertaken negotiations for the formation of a Far Eastern Advisory Commission to make recommendations on the formulation of policies for occupied Japan. These negotiations resulted in such a Commission, composed of the representatives of Australia, Canada, China, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom and the United States, being convened in Washington on October 30, 1945. The Soviet Union refused to participate in the work of the Commission because of its purely advisory character. This obstacle to Soviet participation was removed in December 1945, by the Moscow meeting of Foreign Ministers. At that time agreement was reached between the United States, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, with the concurrence of China, for the establishment in Washington of a Far Eastern Commission to take the place of the advisory organization. The membership of the new body was to be the same as the latter with the addition of the Soviet Union and India, but could be increased by agreement.

Its terms of reference assigned the Far Eastern Commission two principal functions: first, "to formulate the policies, principles and standards in conformity with which the fulfilment by Japan of its obligations under the Terms of Surrender may

be accomplished" and, second, "to review on the request of any member any directive issued to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or any action taken by the Supreme Commander involving policy decisions within the jurisdiction of the Commission".

The terms of reference also provided that the Commission would respect the existing control machinery in Japan. The United States Government would prepare directives in accordance with policy decisions of the Commission and transmit them to the Supreme Commander who would be charged with their implementation. If urgent matters arose not covered by policies already formulated by the Commission, the United States Government, pending action by the Commission, might issue an interim directive to SCAP. However, any directives dealing with fundamental changes in the Japanese constitutional structure or in the regime of control would first require Commission agreement.

The Commission might take action by a majority vote provided the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China all concurred in the action taken.

The Allied Council for Japan

The Moscow agreement also established the terms of reference for an Allied Council for Japan. This organ, composed of SCAP, or his deputy, as chairman and United States member, one representative from the U.S.S.R., one from China, and one representing jointly the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and India, was to sit in Tokyo and consult with and advise the Supreme Commander. If the Supreme Commander had chosen to utilize the services of the Council extensively and if its Soviet representative had been less intransigent in his approach to its work, the Council might have compiled a worthwhile record of service. As a component of the occupation system, it has been ineffective.

The machinery for Allied co-operation in policy-making for Japan was designed to leave the United States with primary responsibility for the occupation. Although each of the four great Powers held the veto power over the policy decisions reached by a majority of the Far Eastern Commission, the United States within broad limits was free to initiate action through the medium of interim directives. Moreover, it has so happened that both SCAPs have also been Far East commanders of the U.S. Armed Forces. In that capacity, they also took orders from Washington. Although the United States has contributed the majority of occupation troops, a joint Commonwealth Force under the command of an Australian General long formed a part of the occupation. Canada has not participated in the garrisoning of Japan.

The United States had issued 36 directives to SCAP before the Far Eastern Commission was established. Thereafter, the Commission adopted the United States initial post-surrender policy as its own basic occupation policy. Its other decisions have been on specific points, some of which had already been covered by the earlier United States directives.

Implementation of Policy

Within Japan, SCAP has executed policy by directives and memoranda to the Japanese Government setting forth his wishes. His section heads have dealt with their opposite ministers and give them written or verbal advice. The Japanese Government gives effect to SCAP's will either through executive decrees or bills approved by the legislature, according to expediency. As Far Eastern Commander, SCAP has checked the implementation of his wishes by the Japanese Government through United States Army establishments throughout Japan. Among the more important staff sections within General Headquarters are the economic and scientific section

which deals with economic, industrial, financial and scientific affairs, the civil information and education section which deals with the various media of public information, and with education and religion, the natural resources section which deals with agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining, the government section which supervises Japan's governmental institutions, and the diplomatic section which serves virtually as Japan's foreign office in her relations with other countries.

The Supreme Commander speedily accomplished those of his duties related to the liquidation of the war. Most of the Japanese military were repatriated and the country completely disarmed. By the end of 1948, an International War Crimes Tribunal, on which Mr. Justice McDougall served as the Canadian representative, had tried and sentenced Japan's foremost war criminals. Those military, political and industrial figures who had been associated with Japan's policies of aggression were removed from public life.

SCAP also undertook to support extensive political, social and economic reforms. The Meiji constitution was replaced by a new democratic one which reduced the Emperor to the symbol of the State, made for responsible government, guaranteed civil rights and established the principle of local autonomy. The police system was decentralized, women's suffrage introduced, the administrative structure of government and the educational system reformed and industrial monopolies dissolved. Labour unions were encouraged and workers protected. The land tenure system was adjusted so that now most Japanese farmers own their own land.

In the spring of 1947, the Supreme Commander informed the press that the occupation had virtually attained Allied objectives except in relation to economic recovery. Since 1948, SCAP has shifted the emphasis of the occupation from reform to a policy designed to restore Japanese industrial production to the pre-war level. This change entailed the stopping of reparations shipments, a few of which had been made, and the continued import of American aid. After six years of occupation, Japan views the conclusion of a peace treaty with a balanced budget, an economy on the way towards rehabilitation and all the legal earmarks of a democracy.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND EUROPEAN UNITY

Two years ago a group of European countries agreed among themselves to give expression to the feeling for unity which was then, and still is, abroad on the European continent. The result of that action, the Council of Europe, has recently sought to establish links with a number of non-European countries including Canada. In this context it seems useful to take a look at the Council of Europe, see what purposes it was intended to serve and how well it has carried them out.

Before doing so, however, one must be careful to distinguish between the purposes of the Governments which began the Council of Europe and the objectives of many of its ardent supporters. After so short a time as two years it would obviously be unfair to measure the success of a political instrument by standards not in mind when it was created. It is relevant and reasonable, nevertheless, to note the extent to which it has evolved and the tendency of its evolution so far as it is possible in so short a history.

Object of the Council of Europe

The Statute that the ten founding Governments agreed to in May of 1949 and which, with minor textual amendments, remains the Constitution of the Council, says that the new organization was to have as its object the achievement of "greater unity between its members for the purpose of safeguarding and realizing the ideals and principles which are their common heritage and facilitating their economic and social progress."

These objects were to be achieved through examination of common problems, the conclusion of agreements and by the adoption of common action in the economic, social, cultural, scientific, legal and administrative fields, and through the development of the rights of man and fundamental freedoms.

For an untrammelled legislature the programme would be an impressive task, but the means by which the Council was to achieve these ends, as we have seen, did not include legislation. The composition of the Council and the powers of its constituent organs (for a discussion of the organization of the Council of Europe see *External Affairs* Volume 2, No. 5 of May 1950) precluded such a direct approach. It was with this limitation of its powers that the first and perhaps most spectacular debates were concerned. The broadly "popular" Consultative Assembly spent much of its first two years trying to free itself from the veto of the "governmental" "Upper House", the Committee of Ministers. At the same time efforts were made to abolish the unanimity rule required for taking decisions in the Committee of Ministers.

Federalists and Functionalists

The "Union Now" school, supporters of direct action to federate Europe, rallied behind the Consultative Assembly. They became known as Federalists. The others, who considered that the Council must prove itself and gradually assume power, became known as Functionalists. The end, greater European unity, has never been in debate as, indeed, that is the declared purpose of the Strasbourg experiment.

The frontal attack on the Council's Constitution was pressed by the Federalists with great vigour and ingenuity from the day of the first meeting of the Consultative Assembly until the last part of its Second Session in November 1950. Reform of the Statute was the declared objective. Many Federalists wanted a radical change which would in effect have made the Council of Europe a truly European legislature and

the Consultative Assembly the predominant organ in it. They sought for the Council "limited functions but real powers." Of the less radical propositions the one that attracted the greatest attention was the so-called Protocol of Mr. R. W. G. MacKay, a United Kingdom Labour M.P. and Member of the Consultative Assembly. Mr. MacKay's proposal was to re-cast the Council of Europe in the form of a legislature without increasing its powers but making an increase of its powers a relatively simple procedure should the Governments of the member countries wish to do so. The "Protocol" would have given the Council greater flexibility and changed its composition and procedures to bring them more closely in line with the familiar forms of national parliaments.

Before the first part of the Third Session began in May 1951 the Committee of Ministers declined to consider fundamental changes in the Statute. This applied both to the MacKay Protocol and to another ingenious plan for revision prepared by Mr. La Malfa of Italy. As a result, during the first half of the Third Session, ardent Federalists were not only admitting that the functional approach had gained the day, but they were also arguing that to continue the struggle for direct federation and major statute reforms would be a disservice to the cause of European unity. With energy almost equal to that which they had exerted in their previous efforts they addressed themselves to the problems of bringing about European unity as a fact in as many fields as possible. The underlying assumption was, of course, that if European unity became a fact in a significant number of fields then the forms of unity would follow. This new approach raised as an acute question the matter of the policy to be followed in creating these partial unities. The problem was whether, within these specialized agencies, Europe should be treated not only in its functional parts but also in its geographical parts. The question was whether European unity would be served if a specialized authority on, for example, agriculture were made applicable only to the part of Europe willing to accept a supra-national authority. Arguments were advanced that partial agreements, so far from uniting Europe, might impose yet more divisions upon those already in existence. The progress of the Schuman Plan probably curtailed this discussion and it was generally accepted in Strasbourg that partial unifications were inescapable but that the way must always be left open to other Member States to join in at a later date should the experience of the original participants justify their doing so.

Many Conventions Proposed

In its last session the Assembly displayed great energy in following this line and draft conventions for international authorities on transportation and agriculture were submitted, as well as conventions for the co-ordination of national policies in the matters of full employment, refugees, the purchase of raw materials, manpower and social security, customs, exchange control, monetary systems, postal relations and telecommunications. The Council had already approved and submitted to member governments a Convention on Human Rights.

Progress Made in Defence

In the matter of defence, which under the Statute is excluded from consideration by the Council, the Consultative Assembly had made considerable evolutionary progress. Without amendment of the Statute, the Council has considered defence matters, it being acknowledged that very few of the subjects with which it was concerned could be treated outside the context of European defence in present circumstances. An attempt was made to draw the line so as to exclude technical, tactical and strategic problems but in the matter of standardization of arms, with which the Assembly concerned itself at one point, it was clear that even this line could not be made hard and fast.

Having plunged into the business of setting up specialized European authorities, the Council was concerned to give these authorities a roof under which their activities could be co-ordinated and where the interests of countries not taking part in the Specialized Authorities but affected by them could be safe-guarded. The Council has already established direct connection with OEEC and has received an annual report from it. The Schuman Plan has been considered a matter of first importance and the Consultative Assembly has striven to find some manner in which the Council could be associated with it. A protocol to the draft Schuman treaty on coal and steel already makes some provision for this association. The protocol says that the members of the Assembly of the Coal and Steel Community might be selected from among the representatives of the Consultative Assembly of the Council. The treaty when ratified is to be deposited with the Secretary-General of the Council and annual reports of the Coal and Steel Pool will be submitted to the Consultative Assembly under the protocol. Should this practice be adopted and be extended to the Plevan Plan for a European Army and other similar European authorities, the role of the Council of Europe in the unification of the continent becomes obvious. It will be able to publicize and criticize the actions of these various organizations and by throwing light on their activities, go some distance in protecting the interests of affected non-participants.

Two Years' Achievement

Against this background it is possible to see something of what the Council of Europe has achieved in the two years of its existence to bring about greater unity, realize the ideals and principles of European civilization and facilitate the economic and social progress of the continent. It is convenient to discuss its record under three headings: the practical measures that have been brought about directly by the Council; the influence it has exerted on movements toward the achievement of these ideals even though those movements have taken place outside Strasbourg; and the fitness of the Council of Europe as an instrument to achieve the objectives given to it.

The structure of the Council of Europe is such that it can at best merely make recommendations and then only recommendations acceptable to Governments who exert their decisive influence in the Committee of Ministers. It is, therefore, not likely to produce very many direct acts of its own. As the name "Consultative Assembly" distinctly implies, the "popular" chamber is not intended to act itself but rather to give advice and exert influence. As a consequence, the number of things that the Council of Europe has done directly is limited and not likely to appear as a very heavy contribution to the "building of Europe". From the first session, the Consultative Assembly has endeavoured to produce a European postage stamp as a symbolic foreshadowing of European unity. There has been a tendency for the success of the Council to be gauged by the success of this project. The fact that the Council of Europe has not been able to succeed in this "trifling practical matter" has led to some despondency over its future, chiefly on the part of persons who saw in the Council an organization for European action which was not in the minds of the founding Governments. The opponents of the Federalists have argued that to accomplish this "trifle" could require a revision of the Statute.

The most direct action that the Council may take is to produce a convention or recommendation to be submitted to Governments of Member States. By the time the document has passed the hurdles of the Consultative Assembly, which is broadly representative of the democratic content of the various national Parliaments, and the Committee of Ministers, which is made up of responsible members of Governments, there would appear to be few obstacles standing in the way of ratification by national Governments and Parliaments. The most significant document to be presented to Governments in the name of the Council of Europe was the Convention on Human Rights, a document comparable to its U.N. equivalent but containing some unique features. One of these is a provision for the establishment of an international court

to which citizens of subscribing states could, under certain circumstances, appeal. This is an accomplishment of considerable magnitude on the part of the Council, although the convention still remains to be implemented by the ratification of Member States.

Problems in Procedure

The very number and diversity of the proposals introduced into the Consultative Assembly is evidence of the fact that the Assembly has not yet solved all the problems of its own procedure. Much of the Assembly's energy and time is dissipated among the vast quantities of paper produced by its members. This has in the past meant that the Assembly has considered a great deal of paper slightly but has been unable to give full consideration to many of the very significant matters that come to its attention. The weight attached to the Assembly's resolution has suffered in consequence. The question of revising the rules of procedure is now being studied and doubtless this difficulty will be given serious consideration.

It is, of course, impossible to say with certainty what effect the Council of Europe has had on other movements of a European character. It is, for example, frequently said in Strasbourg that the Plevin Plan for a European Army was inspired by Mr. Winston Churchill's resolution adopted by the Assembly in its session of August 1950. Before Mr. Schuman made his proposal for the creation of a European steel and coal pool similar propositions had been discussed in Strasbourg. If a direct relationship between the Council and these initiatives could be established it would go some way in demonstrating the utility of the Council. There are, however, other matters of European concern which are less dramatic than these bold strokes but which may in the long run be of equal importance to European unification. There is in evidence at Strasbourg something which can be called a European opinion. As the area in which this opinion operates is extended and as the number of people who identify themselves with this opinion is increased, the effect will manifest itself and the prospects of European unity will be considerably enhanced. Already in Strasbourg it is a bold man who will argue a proposition on the grounds of his own country's interests exclusively. Moreover, the once enshrined principle that domestic affairs are no concern of other countries has gone by the board and domestic policies of all member states are frequently brought up for comment. Perhaps the most useful of all the intangible contributions to European unity is the help that the Consultative Assembly's debates give in understanding different points of view over a wide range of international and internal problems.

COLOMBO PLAN—RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

The Canadian Government has now taken a number of concrete steps to put the Colombo Plan into practical effect.

It is now expected that most of the \$25 million voted by Parliament for economic aid under the Plan will be divided between India and Pakistan with about three-fifths going to the former and two-fifths going to the latter.

In the case of Pakistan, an agreement has been reached on a number of specific projects to be undertaken in that country with Canadian assistance during the first year of the Colombo Plan. These projects, amounting in all to some \$10 million, include capital works and equipment (dump trucks, motors, pumps, etc.) in connection with a large settlement scheme in the Thal area, experimental and demonstration work in the field of live stock, and some electrical and transport equipment. If, for any reason, any of these projects prove impracticable others will be substituted in the programme.

In the case of India, discussions are still continuing between officials of the two countries as to the exact form of Canadian aid, and an announcement will probably be made within the next few weeks.

Both India and Pakistan have agreed to a "Statement of Principles" in which are set out the methods by which funds will be made available for the various types of projects selected.

The foundation has now been laid, but a great deal of work still remains to be done to make sure that present plans really take shape. For this purpose the services of Mr. R. G. Nik Cavell have been employed. He has been appointed administrator of a new International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division within the Department of Trade and Commerce.

Mr. Cavell will supervise all Canadian commitments for economic aid under the Colombo Plan and also the technical assistance service which has been functioning for some months within the Department of Trade and Commerce. Canadian participation in the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme (see *External Affairs*, July 1951, p. 267) is also included in his responsibilities.

Mr. Cavell is well known to many readers of *International Affairs* as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. His world-wide experience includes 20 years in the East, both in government service and in private business. As Mr. Howe said when announcing the appointment, "Mr. Cavell's intimate personal knowledge of the East will be especially valuable in his new post".

Canada's participation in the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation is showing tangible results with the arrival in Canada of scholars, fellows and technical missions from India, Pakistan and Ceylon. As part of the Canadian Government's contribution to the Programme, sixty fellowships and scholarships have been extended to the countries of this region, and their technical missions in the fields of agriculture, highway and bridge construction, and hydro-electric development, are now being received in Canada. In addition, the Canadian Government has agreed to provide experts and technicians to the countries of the area when specific requests are received by Canada either directly from the country concerned, or through the Technical Co-operation Bureau in Colombo.

Eleven fellows and scholars from India, six from Pakistan, and one from Ceylon have already arrived in Canada. The balance of forty-two fellows and scholars are expected to arrive by October 1 for the commencement of the coming academic year.



—Capital Press

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE UNDER COLOMBO PLAN

Pakistan members of an agricultural mission who came to Canada under the Technical Co-operation Programme of the Colombo Plan for Economic Development in South and South-East Asia, study a test plot of Canadian wheat at the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa. Left to right: Mr. A. M. Sial, Minister of Agriculture and Education, State of Khaipur; Mr. T. J. Brook, Director, Technical Assistance Service, Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa; Mr. K. A. Rahman, Director of Agriculture and Dean of University Instruction, Punjab University, Lahore; Dr. C. H. Goulden, Chief of Cereal Division, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa; and Dr. S. Hedayetullah, Director of Agriculture, East Bengal.

The fellows will receive training in various Federal and Provincial Government departments, and the scholars will study at universities from Halifax to Victoria.

An agricultural mission and a highway and bridge construction mission, both of which are composed of senior government officials from India and Pakistan, are now touring Western Canada. A hydro-electric development mission, whose members are drawn from related government departments in India and Pakistan, is engaged on an 8-week tour of hydro-electric facilities in Canada. These missions each contain ten members, and will spend nearly two months in Canada.

An expert fisheries consultant has now left Canada for Colombo at the request of the Ceylonese authorities, to help develop the fishing industry of that country. He will shortly be joined by a refrigeration engineer.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Economic and Social Council

The Thirteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council, which opened on July 30, is still in progress at Geneva and will probably not complete its work till late in September. In his inaugural speech, Mr. Hernan Santa Cruz, the president of the Council, stated that while the political events of the last few months had brought a ray of light to the world horizon, the outlook confronting the United Nations in the economic and social fields was "utterly depressing". He hoped that the Council, in acting on the several questions of fundamental importance before it, would not limit itself to the adoption of facile solutions having no repercussions on the economic life of the world and finding no answering echo in public opinion. Mr. Santa Cruz expressed his strong belief that the survival of the Council as a body of world influence would be determined by its attitude towards the financing of economic development and the terrible problem of hunger which afflicts vast areas and affects millions of human beings.

By the end of August, the Council had dealt with about half of the fifty-seven items on its agenda. It had examined and approved, in certain cases with minor modifications, most of the regular reports from its technical commissions and from specialized agencies. It had adopted resolutions on two of the major economic subjects before it: the financing of economic development and the review of the world economic situation.

Problem of Financing Economic Development

The Council's discussion of the problem of financing economic development was based on a report entitled "measures for the economic development of under-developed countries" recently prepared by a group of independent experts appointed by the Secretary-General. The Council's resolution embodies several of the experts' recommendations. It emphasizes the need for under-developed countries to create the conditions necessary for the effective mobilization of domestic resources and the attraction of foreign private capital. It formally recognizes, for the first time, that for some countries and under some circumstances, the financing of basic non-self-liquidating projects may require outside help. It directs the International Bank to study whether the establishment of an international finance corporation, which would make equity investments and lend to private undertakings operating in under-developed countries, could make significant additional contributions to economic development.

The Council, however, was not able to accept, at the present time, the experts' recommendation to establish an international development authority which would distribute grants in aid to under-developed countries and assist them in preparing and implementing their development programmes. The Council also rejected a Chilean proposal calling for the creation of a special fund for the purpose of making grants to under-developed countries. Nevertheless, the final resolution adopted by the Council, which Canada supported as a satisfactory compromise, states clearly that the proposals for the establishment of an international fund and an international development authority are neither accepted nor rejected in principle. The Canadian representative indicated that Canada, while greatly sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of the less advanced countries, believed that existing institutions, such as the International Bank, could cope effectively with the problem of financing economic development. Canada was opposed therefore to the creation of new international machinery under present circumstances.

The Council resumed its debate on the world economic situation which had been discussed at the Twelfth Session in Santiago. The discussion on this item related to the measures which countries were taking to combat inflation, increase production and co-operate in the allocation of scarce commodities. The Council's resolution on this subject urges members of the United Nations to continue their efforts to cope with the economic problems resulting from defence preparations.

Middle East and Africa

The Council gave special attention to economic conditions in the Middle East and Africa and to the proposal to establish economic commissions for these two regions. Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, in view of the disturbed political conditions in the area, requested the Council to defer once more the creation of an economic commission for the Middle East and the Council agreed to this request. A resolution providing for the setting up of an ad hoc committee composed of administering and non-administering powers to examine factors bearing on the establishment of an economic commission for Africa was submitted by the Philippines and rejected by a majority of one. The debate on Africa occasioned bitter political controversy both between the Cominform and the western countries and between European countries with colonial interests in Africa and under-developed countries, led by India, which felt that more should be done to help the depressed peoples of that continent.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. J. D. Foote was posted from the Canadian Legation in Poland to Ottawa, effective July 30, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Mr. K. S. Weston, O.B.E., Secretary (Finance) Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, August 7.

Mr. Iqbal Ahmed Akhund, Third Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, August 9.

Mr. Tevfik Dündar Saraçoğlu, Third Secretary, Embassy of Turkey, August 15.

Squadron Leader L. McArdle, D.F.C., Assistant Air Force Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, end of August.

Departures

Mr. Kenan Gökart, Counsellor, Embassy of Turkey, August 15.

Miss Silvia Shelton, Second Secretary, Embassy of Cuba, August 13.

Mr. Guy Pérez Cisneros, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Cuba, August 13.

Mr. Carlos Guillermo O'Grady, Labour Secretary, Embassy of Argentina, end of August.

His Excellency Sean Murphy, Ambassador of Ireland, resumed charge of the Embassy on August 4 on his return from a vacation in the United States of America.

His Excellency the Honourable Stanley Woodward, Ambassador of the United States of America, resumed charge of the Embassy on August 5 on his return from leave of absence.

His Excellency Dr. Agustín Norez Martínez, Ambassador of Argentina, resumed the direction of the Embassy on August 6 on his return from a visit to Argentina.

His Excellency Cesar Montero de Bustamante, Minister of Uruguay, who left Ottawa in November 1950 for a visit to Uruguay, relinquished his duties on August 7. Pending the appointment of a successor, Mr. Luis A. Soto will continue as Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Per Wijkman, Minister of Sweden, resumed the direction of the Legation on August 16 on his return from a vacation in Sweden.

The address of the Office of the High Commissioner for India is now 200 McLaren Street (Tel. 2-3549).

CONSULAR

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Lewis Dean Brown as Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, August 13. Mr. Brown was formerly Vice-Consul. He is also Second Secretary at the Embassy.

Mr. Eric Low as Honorary Consular Agent of Brazil at Vancouver, August 13.

Mr. Xavier W. Eilers as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, August 13.

Dr. Frederick Reidl-Reidenstein as Consul General of Austria at Ottawa, August 13.

Mr. Ralph Johnson as Honorary Acting Vice-Consul of Sweden at Prince Rupert, August 16.

Dr. José Ramon Hernandez Lebron as Consul General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa, August 28.

Mr. Antonio Rosell Carbonell, as Consul of Cuba at Halifax, August 28. He was formerly Consul at Montreal.

Departures

Mr. Sebastian Emilio Valverde, Consul

General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa, July 26.

Mr. Benjamin C. Trevino, Consul of Mexico at Vancouver, end of July.

Mr. Zygmunt Ziemski, Consul of Poland at Winnipeg, resigned on August 16.

Mr. A. Brooksbank, Honorary Vice-Consul of Sweden at Prince Rupert is on leave of absence for a period of six months from July 1. During his absence Mr. Ralph Johnson will be Honorary Acting Vice-Consul.

Dr. Werner Dankwort, Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany at Ottawa, left on August 22 for a visit to the Western Provinces of Canada until about September 17. During his absence Dr. J. F. Ritter, Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

Mr. Joao Severiano da Fonseca Hermes, Jr., Consul General of Brazil at Montreal, left on August 18 for a visit to Brazil. During his absence Mr. Milton Faria, Consul, will be in charge of the Consulate General.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of August, 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs").

The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. The decision as to Canadian participation at such conferences is made by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs", January 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions.

Conferences Attended in August

1. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris—February 15. Observer: Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Mission, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
2. *13th Session of ECOSOC.* Geneva—July 30. Representative: J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Deputy Representative: J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Principal Adviser: E. B. Rogers, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., Canadian Legation, Prague; Advisers: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs; S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; Secretary: K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
3. *Ninth World's Poultry Congress.* Paris—August 2-9. H. S. Gutteridge and J. E. Henault, Department of Agriculture; J. R. Cavers, Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph; F. L. Wood, Department of Agriculture, Fredericton, N.B.; A. Gratton, Oka Agricultural College, Oka, Quebec.
4. *Second Conference on Mechanical Wood Technology of FAO.* Igls, Austria—August 6-19. W. E. Wakefield, Department of Resources and Development.
5. *Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference. (ITU).* Geneva—August 16. Head of Delegation: C. J. Acton, Department of Transport; Delegates: A. J. Dawson and C. M. Brant, Department of Transport; Maj. W. H. Finch, Lt. Cmdr. R. H. Dunbar and S/Ldr. W. D. Benton, Department of National Defence; E. P. Black, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; Adviser: F. P. Johnson, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
6. *Ninth International Congress of Entomology.* Amsterdam—August 17-24. H. Martin, Department of Agriculture, London; R. Glen, J. J. de Gryse and G. E. Shewell, Department of Agriculture; C. W. Farstad, Department of Agriculture, Lethbridge, Alberta.
7. *International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics.* Brussels—August 21. J. E. R. Ross, Acting Dominion Geodesist; J. L. Rannie, Dominion Geodesist; C. S. Beals, Dominion Astronomer; P. D. Baird, Arctic Institute of North America; B. W. Currie, University of Saskatchewan; F. T. Davies, Defence Research Board; W. L. Ford, Naval Research Establishment, Halifax; E. W. Gowan, University of Alberta; E. K. Hare, McGill University; R. F. Leggett, National Research Council; G. D. Garland and J. T. Wilson, University of Toronto.
8. *Regional Congress of Foot-and-Mouth Disease. (FAO).* Panama City—August 21. O. Hall, Department of Agriculture.
9. *Eighth Session of the E.C.E. Timber Committee.* Geneva—August 28-September 1. R. D. Roe, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, London. (Observer).
10. *Eighth Congress of the International Institute of Refrigeration* (Executive Committee and General Conference). London—August 29-September 11. W. H. Cook, Department of Agriculture; O. C. Young, Fisheries Research Board; J. G. Malloch and J. G. Robertson, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.

Conferences to be held in September and October

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted).

1. *First International Congress of Mass Radiography*. Sondalo, Italy—September 1-3.
2. *14th Conference of Beekeeping*. Leamington, England—September 2-8.
3. *12th Session of Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry and the 16th Session of the General Conference of the International Union of Chemistry*. New York and Washington—September 3-13.
4. *Forest Fire Study Tour*. (FAO). Washington—September 4-October 12.
5. *Conference to Conclude a Treaty of Peace with Japan*. San Francisco—September 4.
6. *Sub-Committee on Rules of Procedure and Working Methods of the Legal Committee of ICAO*. Madrid—September 8.
7. *International Gerontological Congress*. St. Louis—September 9-14.
8. *Fifth World Congress of International Society for the Welfare of Cripples*. Stockholm—September 10-14.
9. *International Foundry Congress*. Brussels—September 10-14.
10. *Eighth Session of the Legal Committee of ICAO*. Madrid—September 11.
11. *Building Research Congress*. London—September 11-20.
12. *World Conference on Documentation*. Rome—September 15-21.
13. *North Atlantic Council*. Ottawa—September 15.
14. *Sixth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*. Geneva—September 17.
15. *World Tobacco Conference*. Amsterdam—September 17-24.
16. *International Conference on Deaf-Mute*. Rome—September 19-23.
17. *International Union for the Protection of Nature (Technical Committee)*. The Hague—September 19-22.
18. *International Congress of Anaesthesiology*. Paris—September 20-22.
19. *14th Congress of International Society of Surgery*. Paris—September 24-29.
20. *Sixth Meeting of International Tin Study Group*. Rome—September 24.
21. *International Plant Protection Convention*. (FAO). Rome—September 25-27.
22. *Preliminary Migration Conference*. (ILO). Naples—October 2-16.
23. *Second Session of the Executive Committee of the World Meteorological Organization*. Lausanne—October 3.
24. *Economic Commission for Asia and Far East—Regional Conference on Trade Promotion*. Singapore—October 9-18.
25. *Sixth International Conference and General Assembly of the International Union of Travel Organization*. Athens—October 9-12.
26. *First International Congress of Anatomy and Surgical Techniques*. Mexico City—October 10-14.
27. *World Metallurgical Congress*. Detroit—October 15-19.
28. *79th Annual Meeting of the American Association of Public Health*. San Francisco—October 15.
29. *Tenth Session of Executive Committee of IRO*. Geneva—October 18.
30. *Eighth Session of the General Council of IRO*. Geneva—October 22.
31. *First Pan-American Congress on Veterinary Medicine*. Lima, Peru—October 20-26.
32. *Third Session of the Permanent Committee of the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*. Paris—October 25-27.
33. *Fifth Meeting of the South Pacific Air Transport Council*. Wellington—October 29.
34. *Fisheries Statistics of FAO*. Rome—October 29-November 3.
35. *Commonwealth Auditors (General)*. London—October.
36. *North Atlantic Council (Annual)*. Rome—October.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY CANADA

Multilateral

Agreement between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the Status of their Forces. Signed at London on June 19, 1951.

London revision of the Union Convention of Paris, March 20, 1883, for the Protection of Industrial Property, revised at Brussels, December 14, 1900, at Washington, June 2, 1911, at The Hague, November 6, 1925. Signed on June 2, 1934. Canadian accession took place on June 26, 1951.

Belgium

Agreement between the Governments of the Commonwealth and the Government of Belgium regarding the War Cemeteries, Graves and Memorials of the British Commonwealth in Belgian Territory. Signed at Brussels on July 20, 1951.

Ireland

Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ireland amending the Annex to the Agreement for Air Services of August 8, 1947. Signed at Dublin on July 9, 1951.

Netherlands

Agreement between the Governments of the Commonwealth and the Government of the Netherlands regarding the War Cemeteries, Graves and Memorials of the British Commonwealth in Netherlands Territory. Signed at The Hague on July 10, 1951.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

(Obtainable from the King's Printer, at the price indicated.)

Diplomatic and Consular Representatives in Ottawa, August 15, 1951. Price, 25 cents.

Treaty Series 1950, No. 4: Exchange of Notes between Canada and Norway constituting an Agreement regarding Visa Requirements for Non-Immigrant Travellers of the two countries. Signed at Ottawa, March 4 and 13, 1950. (Price, 10 cents). Bilingual Text.

Treaty Series 1950, No. 10: International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries. Opened for signature at Washington, D.C., on February 8, 1949. Canadian ratification deposited on July 3, 1950. (Price 25 cents). Bilingual Text.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

**Report of the Universal Postal Union*; 11 June 1951; document E/2012; 73 p.

Proceeds of sale of UNRA Supplies (Report by the Secretary-General); document E/2016; 25 p.

**Method of International Financing of European Emigration* (Report by the Secretary-General); 18 June 1951; document E/2019; 121 p.

**Annual Report of the Economic Commission for Latin America*; 15 June 1951; document E/2021, E/CN.12/266; 176 p.

**Full Employment*—Analysis of replies to the full employment questionnaire covering the period 1950-51, submitted under resolutions 221 E(IX) and 290 (XI) of the Economic and Social Council (Report by the Secretary-General):

Part A. The problems of unemployment and inflation in 1950 and 1951; 27 June 1951; document E/2035; 41 p.

Part B. Balance-of-Payments Trends and Policies 1950-51; 27 June 1951; document E/2035/Add.1; 61 p.

**Economic development of under-developed Countries*—Volume and distribution of National Income in under-developed Countries (Report by the Secretary-General); 28 June 1951; document E/2041; 91 p.

(b) Printed Documents:

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine—General Progress Report and Supplementary Report (covering the period from 11 December 1949 to 23 October 1950); 1951; document A/1367/Rev. 1; 31 p.; 30 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Fifth Session, Supplement No. 18.

Assistance to Palestine Refugees—Interim report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; document A/1451/Rev. 1; 22 p.; 25 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Fifth Session, Supplement No. 19.

Economic Survey of Europe in 1950; May 1951; document E/ECE/128/Rev. 1; 263 p.; \$2.50; Sales Number: 1951.II.E.1 (Department of Economic Affairs).

**Organization of the Secretariat*; 8 June 1951; document ST/AFS/2; 69 p.; 70 cents; Sales No.: 1951.X.2.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

OTTAWA MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, SEPTEMBER 1951

THE Seventh Session of the North Atlantic Council met in Ottawa from the 15th to the 20th of September. It made no dramatic headline decisions but it proved by the steady development of wide co-operation between its members that the North Atlantic alliance has vitality and determination in seeking a common solution of our problems. The fact that this was the seventh time the Council has met in the two years since the Treaty came into force shows that the members are growing to consider these reunions as a regular part of the conduct of their international affairs, and not merely as emergency gatherings called to deal with a particular crisis. The Ottawa session was the first where members sent Foreign, Defence and Finance Ministers together for a joint discussion of their problems and this was particularly fitting as Canada had been in the lead in advocating this re-organization of the Council to join to it the Defence and Finance Ministers' Committees.

Aims of Treaty

Since the signing of the Treaty in 1949 it has been recognized that it has both a short-term and a long-term aim. The short-term aim is to increase our military strength to the extent necessary to give the security that we failed to find at the end of the war. Great strides have been made towards this goal. General Eisenhower has now under his command in Western Europe the nucleus of a force in being and the Council dealt with the problems of increasing its strength until it is the deterrent force we have planned. Despite the progress that has been made these problems are still great. The Council heard from the various special agencies which have been studying particular aspects and while the emphasis was still on the requirement of military strength some of the Western European countries made a strong case that their economies must not be over strained by their contributions to the defence effort. Thus the problem was seen to be two-fold, to build up the strongest forces in being as speedily as possible and at the same time not to damage the economic viability of the member countries.

The Council saw that these problems could not readily be solved by the application of a formula prepared by experts but called for negotiation on a broad political and economic plane to reconcile the military requirements with the capabilities of the member states. To this end the Council formed a temporary committee of twelve, where each member would be represented by a minister or a person closely related to his government, to make a co-ordinated analysis of defence plans. Thus it is hoped that a militarily acceptable plan for the defence of Western Europe can be fulfilled within the realistic limits of the political and economic capabilities of the member countries. Canada has appointed the Minister of Finance, Mr. D. C. Abbott, to be its representative and the committee starts its deliberations in Paris at the beginning of October and is to have its report ready by December 1 of this year.

Admission of Greece and Turkey

Another decision of far-reaching importance to the security of the North Atlantic area was the expected one to recommend the admission of Greece and Turkey. The Council, not being an executive body, could only recommend to members that they take the necessary legislative action required by their respective constitutions and that when this has been done these two countries who can make such a contribution to security on the East flank of the North Atlantic area will be invited to join.



—Capital Press

NATO COUNCIL MEETING AT OTTAWA

Delegates to the Ottawa meeting of the North Atlantic Council were addressed by the Chairman of the Council, Mr. Paul Van Zeeland, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Belgium, at the opening session, held in the House of Commons.

The decision to admit these two new members with the consequent wide extension of the Treaty area was, like all Council decisions, unanimous. However, the candid discussions in the Council which preceded the decision showed that, as is publicly known, all members did not share the same enthusiasm for offering these countries full membership in order to bring them into association with the North Atlantic alliance. Nonetheless unanimous agreement was reached and this fact in itself is evidence of the feelings of confidence and the desire for co-operation which characterized the meetings. It was evident that those countries which would have preferred another solution than the offer of full membership of Greece and Turkey had much in mind the desire not to retard the growth of the North Atlantic community which was one of the long-term aims of the alliance and which could now be identified as one of the most healthy and effective impulses which influence the acceptance of unanimously agreed decisions.

"Atlantic community"

The expression "Atlantic community" has been used often in connection with the Organization and although the concept is enunciated in Article II of the Treaty, it must be admitted that there has never been a very clear idea of its meaning. The fact that the term is vague should not however be interpreted to mean that the concept is unreal, theoretical or unworkable. It is vague because the path along which the community is developing must remain undefined since it is growing as co-operative achievements are realized and not along the lines of any preconceived plan into which subsequent developments will have to be fitted. At the Ottawa meeting the existence of the foundation for a system where member states who are working to-

gether could build up something that is closer than the ordinary arrangement of sovereign states was recognized as a fact.

It was felt that there would be value in stressing the existence of this foundation and exploring, at this time, means of extending the field of co-ordination of foreign policy and of closer economic, financial, and social co-operation to promote the well being of the North Atlantic people. A ministerial committee of five, composed of representatives of Belgium, Canada, Italy, Netherlands and Norway was formed and they are to have their first report for the next meeting in November. When the Committee was formed it was recognized that the Community was not to be an exclusive organization but rather a core of nations who are now working together most fully and successfully. It was certainly not intended that it would cut across any existing ties nor loose any recognized bonds such as those which join the U.K. and Canada within the Commonwealth. It was also realized that the sort of thing that were aimed at takes a long time to develop and that any forced growth would almost certainly be doomed to wither. Thus the steps that were taken at Ottawa were just the beginning of a long process which might eventually bring the members closer together. In order to stress the importance which the Council attached to this development a separate statement was issued at the close of the session describing these steps towards the development of the North Atlantic community. The text of the statement is reprinted on page 326.

Reports Reviewed

As well as deciding on these broad major issues the Council also received and reviewed the reports of the various specialized boards and directed their further enquiries. In the purely military field each member country, with the exception of Iceland, presented a report on the progress of their national defence effort. These reports were referred to the Military Committee and Military Commands for study and will be the subject of final reports at the next meeting of the Council.

The Council Deputies met frequently during the session and as well as continuing to be of invaluable assistance to the Council in doing preliminary and background work for its discussions, settled some specific issues. Among these was a decision on the contributions to finance an infrastructure programme and these projects for the construction of airfield communications and certain installations for the support of troops are to continue without delay.

Before the Council ended it was resolved that in order to fulfil its duty of forming and directing the policy of the Treaty Organization its meetings should be held more frequently and at regular intervals. The next meeting will be in Rome and it is expected to take place towards the end of November. At the close of the meeting the Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr. VanZeeland, vacated the Chair and in accordance with the alphabetical order of precedence, which calls for Canada to provide the next Chairman, handed over his duties to Mr. Pearson.

The following communiqué was issued at the end of the meeting giving an outline of the Council's work:

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, OTTAWA, SEPTEMBER 20, 1951

1. The North Atlantic Council has concluded its Seventh Session, in which for the first time the member governments were represented by Foreign Ministers, Defence Ministers and Economic or Finance Ministers. The new composition of the Council reflects the wide fields in which co-ordination is being steadily developed.

2. In an exchange of views on the world situation, note was taken of the growing confidence and strength of the Atlantic community in a world of continuing tension. The Council

was informed by the Occupying Powers of the progress of discussions directed toward the establishment of a new relationship with the German Federal Republic. It was also informed of the statement made by the three foreign ministers after their meeting in Washington in which they welcomed the plan for a European Defence Community of which Germany would form part.

3. The Council, considering that the security of the North Atlantic area would be enhanced by the accession of Greece and Turkey to the North Atlantic Treaty, agreed to recommend to the member governments that, subject to the approval of national Parliaments under their respective legislative procedures, an invitation should be addressed as soon as possible to the Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of Turkey to accede to the Treaty.

4. The Council considered the reports submitted by the military and civilian agencies of the Treaty Organization:

(a) The Standing Group reported on the establishment and development of the integrated force under General Eisenhower, and progress on other military matters.

(b) The Defence Production Board reported on the problems relating to the further development of production and recommended means of dealing with these problems.

(c) The Financial and Economic Board presented a report analyzing the economic and financial impact of the NATO defence effort with special reference to the equitable sharing of the burden.

(d) The Council Deputies, the permanent working body of the Treaty Organizations, reported on their activities in political, organization, and administrative matters and in developing closer co-ordination between the Treaty agencies.

(e) The Chairman of the Council Deputies summarized the major issues before the Organization and suggested action to meet them.

As a result of the study of these reports, the Council issued guidance and directives to the respective agencies concerning their future work.

5. All member governments recognize as their joint aim the building up of defence forces to a sufficient level of strength, and the no less important objective of a sound and stable economy necessary to support that effort. The reports of the Defence Production Board and of the Financial and Economic Board, and the discussion thereon, have indicated a number of difficulties in the production and economic fields. The member countries recognize the need to surmount such difficulties in order to assure the continued progress of their efforts to strengthen the free world. The Council has noted the danger of inflation, the burdens which increased defence efforts place on the balance of payments, and the obstacles to an adequate defence arising from price and allocation pressures on raw material supplies. The Ministers recognized that the common effort requires a common attack upon these problems, and agreed to take such action severally and jointly as they deem appropriate to find solutions to them.

6. Accordingly a temporary committee of the Council was established to survey urgently the requirements of external security, and particularly of fulfilling a militarily acceptable NATO plan for the defence of Western Europe, and the realistic political-economic capabilities of the member countries, with a view to determining possible courses of action for their reconciliation so as to achieve the most effective use of the resources of the member countries.

7. The Council received reports from the member governments on the status of the defence effort in their countries and referred them to the military agencies and appropriate commands for study and recommendations to improve the early effectiveness and availability of forces.

8. The Council noted that agreement had been reached on the financing of an "infrastructure" programme of airfields, communications, and certain installations for the support of forces. These projects will continue without delay.

9. The Council has issued a separate statement making clear the importance which the member governments attach to the development of the Atlantic community, not only to safe-

guard their freedom and common heritage on an equal footing but also to strengthen their free institutions and to advance the well-being of their peoples. The statement announced the establishment of a ministerial committee to study and recommend lines of future action toward these objectives.

10. The Council resolved that, in order to develop more effective unity of action, and in accordance with its duties as the institution for forming the policy and directing the operations of the Treaty Organization, its meetings would be held more frequently and at more regular intervals. In order to continue progress on the problems discussed at the Seventh Session, it was agreed that the question of the date of the next meeting of the Council, which will be held in Rome, would be referred to the Council Deputies for decision.

STATEMENT REGARDING THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY ISSUED AT THE END OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, OTTAWA, SEPTEMBER 20, 1951

The peoples of the North Atlantic community are united under the North Atlantic Treaty to preserve their freedom and to develop their common heritage of democracy, liberty and the rule of law. During the past two years, since the Treaty came into being, North Atlantic countries have joined in collective efforts for their defence. They will continue to work together closely to consolidate the North Atlantic community. All obstacles which hinder such co-operation on an equal footing should be removed.

The persistent attempts which have been made and are being made to divide the peoples of the North Atlantic community will fail. Those who make these attempts do not understand the nature or the strength of the close ties between the free peoples of the North Atlantic community. The preservation of peace is the very essence of that community, and free discussion as to how this can best be done is a source of continuing strength.

It was the threatening international situation that brought 12 nations of the North Atlantic community formally together under the North Atlantic Treaty to create sufficient strength to preserve their freedom and liberty. A series of so-called peace offers as vague in language as they are obscure in content are made from time to time. The peoples of the North Atlantic community will test these offers by the deeds that follow them. They will never reject any genuine move for peace, but will not be deflected from building up their defensive strength by mere empty words about peace.

The strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the past two years has developed in the minds of the peoples of a strong sense of their common interests and ideals. There is a desire within the North Atlantic community to meet specific needs in all fields where close collaboration will advance the welfare of the community.

One source for the further development of the North Atlantic community is Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty which states:

The Parties will contribute towards the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

A clear sense of the direction in which the community is developing should make it easier to take practical steps towards that end.

The Council has therefore decided to set up a Ministerial Committee composed of representatives from Belgium, Canada, Italy, Netherland and Norway, to consider the further strengthening of the North Atlantic Community and especially the implementation of Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The Committee, assisted by the Council Deputies, will, in particular, consider and make recommendations to the Council on the following matters:

- (a) Co-ordination and frequent consultation on foreign policy, having particular regard to steps designed to promote peace;
- (b) Closer economic, financial and social co-operation, in order to promote and to ensure conditions of economic stability and well-being, both during and after the present period of the defence effort, within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or through other Agencies;
- (c) Collaboration in the fields of culture and public information.

In these and other ways the Council will build up the inner strength of the North Atlantic community, without duplicating the work of other international organizations which promote the same objectives.

The Council endorses the recent declaration of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation which called on all sections of the European community to increase production and play their part in the collective effort for peace and well-being.

In developing the North Atlantic community, the Council will act in conformity with and seek to strengthen the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. It is only by the work and by the enlightened understanding of the free peoples everywhere that the cause of freedom and democracy will be upheld against any challenge.



THE KOREAN CRISIS

The armistice talks at Kaesong remained suspended throughout the month of September. The Communist Commanders continued the series of charges, begun in mid-August, of violations of Kaesong's neutrality by United Nations forces. By mid-September, when the series ended, they were demanding that the United Nations Commander should accept responsibility for eleven incidents. Responsibility for the eleventh charge, that a United Nations aircraft had strafed the Conference site in Kaesong, was in fact accepted by the United Nations Command. It said: "the United Nations Command regrets this violation of the agreed neutrality which resulted from the pilot's error in navigation. Appropriate disciplinary action is being taken". Other charges were denounced by General Ridgway "as baseless and intentionally false".

Possibility of Resuming Negotiations

At the end of a strongly-worded note of September 6 concerning alleged violations of Kaesong's neutrality by United Nations forces, General Ridgway proposed that "our liaison officers meet immediately at the bridge at Panmunjom to discuss the selection of a new site where negotiations can be continued without interruptions". Six days later the Communist Commanders replied that unless the United Nations Command dealt "conscientiously and responsibly" with the various charges there seemed to be no useful purpose in changing the location of the talks, since violations by the United Nations Command would presumably continue.

In the middle of the month General Ridgway repeated his willingness to resume the talks and dropped any specific mention of his desire that a new site should be found; instead he suggested that the liaison officers should "discuss conditions that will be mutually satisfactory for a resumption of the armistice talks".

On September 19, the Communist Commanders accepted General Ridgway's proposal for a meeting of liaison officers. However, they proposed that "the delegates of both sides should immediately resume the armistice negotiations at Kaesong without any need for further discussion of the conditions" and that the liaison officers should consult only about "the date and time for resuming the negotiations". They said that they had taken this decision "in view of the fact that your side had expressed regret concerning the latest incident in which the United Nations forces violated the Kaesong neutral zone and willingness to take a responsible attitude regarding violations of the Kaesong zone neutrality agreement".

Liaison Officers Meet Amid Disagreement

Before the liaison officers held their first meeting on September 24 there was a further exchange of messages in which the opposing Commanders defined their positions and indicated a sharp difference of opinion on the scope of the preliminary meetings and on the question of the responsibility for violations of neutrality. General Ridgway denied that any instances of alleged violations remained unsettled and that the alleged violations made it impossible to continue the negotiations. He stated that he had instructed his liaison officers to ensure that the subject of conditions for the resumption of negotiations "received careful attention in any future discussions". The Communist Commanders in their turn stood by their demand that the United Nations Command should accept responsibility for all the alleged violations and proposed that "appropriate machinery should be set up by mutual agreement after the resumption of the Kaesong talks in order to deal with unsettled incidents". They repeated that their liaison officers would discuss only the date and time for resuming the negotiations in Kaesong.

When several meetings of the liaison officers failed to produce any agreement the United Nations Commander proposed to the Communist Commanders on September 27 that both delegations should meet as early as possible at a point approximately midway between the battle lines in the vicinity of Songhyon-ni, several miles southeast of Kaesong, to return to the discussion of a demarcation line and demilitarized zone immediately following any discussion that might be needed to clarify physical and security arrangements at the meeting place. At the end of the month agreement on resuming the substantive discussions was still lacking.

Meanwhile, on the battlefield the fighting increased in scale and scope, with many local engagements being fought for important hill positions; and from the air and the sea, United Nations forces kept up their intensive pounding of targets in North Korea.



CANADIANS IN CHINA

The Department of External Affairs announced on September 10 that the United Kingdom Chargé d'Affaires in Peking made representations on September 1 to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of China expressing the grave concern of the Canadian Government at China's policy towards Canadians and requesting that measures be taken in the near future to bring about an improvement in this situation. The Canadian Government has availed itself of the good offices of the United Kingdom Chargé d'Affaires in the absence of a Canadian representative in Peking.

Representations were made in April about the arrest of United Kingdom, Australian, Canadian and United States nationals and their detention *incommunicado* often without any explanation of the reason for their arrest. However, the position has in fact deteriorated since that time. Arbitrary arrests and detention for indefinite periods without access to families, friends or national representatives have continued. Harsh treatment has been inflicted on missionaries of all denominations and on other people who have for many years been engaged in humanitarian work in China. In addition continual difficulties and delays are placed in the way of all classes of foreign nationals wishing to obtain entry and exit permits.

The treatment inflicted on Canadians in China is a matter of continuing concern to the Canadian Government which welcomed the opportunity of being associated with the approach of the United Kingdom Chargé d'Affaires to the Peking Government, who spoke on behalf of the Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and the United States.

It will be recalled that seven Canadians are known to be under arrest in China. Five Sisters of the Immaculate Conception are being detained in Canton; Dr. Stewart Allen, a United Church Medical Missionary, is under arrest in Szechwan; Bishop C. M. O'Gara of the Order of the Passionist Fathers was arrested at Yuanling and is now reported to be in hospital but there is no indication that he has been released from detention.

THE JAPANESE PEACE TREATY

*A Statement by the Secretary of State for
External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the Japanese Peace
Conference, in San Francisco,
September 7, 1951.*

Practically everything has been said that can be said and all words used that can be used about the draft treaty that is before us. Nevertheless, it is my duty and my privilege on behalf of my delegation to say a few words concerning it.

Two delegations have attacked this Charter with that kind of "white is black" and "up is down" logic with which we have become familiar and which convinces no one, I suggest, except those whose convictions are prefabricated. In any event, these statements from the delegations of the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia are not primarily directed toward this Conference, nor indeed are they primarily concerned with making peace with Japan. It is particularly unconvincing to hear these two delegations complain of the procedure adopted in negotiating and drafting this treaty, because it was the destructive and delaying tactics of their governments that made this admittedly unusual procedure necessary and indeed unavoidable if we were to have a treaty at all.

My government accepts this treaty and will sign it. As so many speakers before me have said, it is not a perfect treaty. No human document ever is. But it is a good treaty and in our opinion it would not be a better one if we spent two or three months discussing it around the conference table in this lovely and hospitable city of San Francisco. It brings to an end the state of war between Japan and a great majority of those countries which were forced into that war by Japanese aggression, some of which were sorely hurt by that aggression. As such, it is action for peace and not merely talk about peace.

My country, Canada, desires only friendly relations with Japan and with all other countries of the Pacific area, for Canada is by geography a Pacific as well as an Atlantic power. Although in the past the problems of Europe may have seemed to most Canadians the most urgent and the most fateful, the catastrophic events of the past two decades, especially the Communist aggression in Korea in the past year, have made all of my countrymen, not only those living on the Pacific Coast, realize that we cannot insulate ourselves from wars or the threat of wars in the Pacific area merely by directing our gaze and our plans across the Atlantic. There are Canadian military cemeteries in Asia as well as in Flanders Fields. I know that I speak for the overwhelming majority of my countrymen when I say that we welcome this formal and legal ending of the war with Japan, not only for itself but even more because it is a step toward peace and security in the Pacific. We are also glad to meet in a spirit of reconciliation the Japanese people who have themselves suffered so greatly from the policies of their former military leaders. We shall watch with genuine interest and real sympathy their continued efforts toward achieving a free, peaceful, and prosperous way of life which should itself be the greatest guarantee against the rebirth of aggressive militarism in Japan, a greater guarantee, possibly, — and history seems to show this — than anything we could write into the treaty itself.

The Canadian Government has felt for some years that a peace treaty with Japan was highly desirable and we continually gave our support to efforts in that direction. As conferences and consultations took place, we became more impressed than ever with the necessity of seizing every opportunity that might lead to an early and suitable settlement with Japan. From the evidence at our disposal we were satisfied many months ago that the main task of the occupation, so admirably directed by General MacArthur, had been accomplished. Disarmament and demo-

bilization had been achieved and Japan's feet had been set on the path toward free and responsible government. So it seemed to us as well as to others, that future progress could be made only by the Japanese people themselves working out their own solutions to political and economic problems with such assistance as would naturally arise from friendly relations with their erstwhile foes.

Just as the spirit of the occupation was one of moderation, justice, and friendly guidance, so the peace treaty itself, as has so often been said from this rostrum, is just, even generous, and without rancor or revenge. I congratulate those primarily responsible for the drafting of this treaty, the Government of the United States and in particular, Mr. John Foster Dulles, and the Government of the United Kingdom in fashioning an instrument that is imaginative, farsighted, and ungrudging.

The United States, as the chief occupying power, would have been well within its legal rights in continuing the occupation of Japan. Yet she has been striving earnestly and long to convoke a peace conference which would return to the Japanese people their full sovereignty and freedom and relieve them from any position of subservience and inferiority. That is a generous policy but it is also a realistic one. Canadians who have had for so long a close and friendly relationship with their neighbour would expect no other attitude from the great country which is our host at this Conference. I would also like to state that my own government was given an adequate opportunity to comment fully on the various drafts as they appeared. Our suggestions for change were given careful consideration by other governments and although naturally — and of course unfortunately! — not all were accepted, some of our most important points have been met fully in the draft before us. We have therefore a sense of direct participation in the framing of the treaty.

I have been talking in general terms of Canada's interest in a peace settlement with Japan. I would like for a moment to speak about one or two matters of special interest to my country, which are dealt with in this treaty. Under its terms, Japan agrees to enter into negotiations with interested Allied Powers for the conclusion of fisheries agreements. Canada will implement this provision by attempting to reach an agreement with the Japanese Government on this matter with the least possible delay. It should be clear that there is nothing discriminatory, exclusive, or punitive in our desire to draw up such an arrangement. It is, moreover, the understanding of my Government that until such a fisheries convention is negotiated to which both Canada and Japan will be signatories, the undertakings expressed in the exchange of letters on the fisheries question between Mr. Yoshida and Mr. Dulles under the date of February 7, 1951, the effect of which was extended to cover all interested parties on July 13, 1951, will still obtain.

Insofar as general commercial questions are concerned, Japan agrees in the treaty to conform to internationally accepted fair trade practices. It is the confident hope of my government that Japan, in the future conduct of its commercial relations with other countries, will avoid certain prewar practices which were widely condemned at that time by other trading nations. Canada has no wish to see any discrimination against or any unnecessary obstacles to normal Japanese trade. On the contrary, as a trading nation ourselves, we wish to see Japan develop its full trading possibilities. It is only common sense for us to wish for a prosperous rather than a poor Japan. Such prosperity, however, can never, in the long run, be established or even assisted by trading practices considered unfair by other countries, and against which those countries have no alternative but to protect themselves if they unhappily should be adopted.

To turn to another subject, my delegation, like other delegations, very greatly regrets the absence at this Conference of any delegation from China, a great nation whose fate is inextricably interwoven with that of Japan. The Peking Government,

however, must bear the blame for this absence. Had that regime not participated in the aggression already committed by the Communist forces in North Korea; had it lent its efforts to discouraging, rather than extending that aggression, it might have spoken for China at this Conference. The Peking Government must realize that just as it cannot shoot its way into the United Nations, neither can it force its way by violent acts or threats into a conference which has as its prime purpose the making of peace with Japan.

Our regret that the conduct of the Peking regime has made impossible the presence of China at a conference such as this must be the greater since Japan as an important nation in the Far East cannot cut itself off from the mainland of Asia. The industry and thrift of its people, its high educational and technical development, will all combine to insure that Japan will very soon play again a great part in Asian affairs. May that role be beneficent, progressive, and peaceful. We have reason to hope that it will be so, unless its continental neighbours now object to and plot against Japan's right to security and development. This treaty is the recognition of that right by those friendly nations who sign it. It registers the confidence which the nations of the world now have in the ability of the Japanese to work out their own destiny in peaceful co-operation with their friends. It reflects also the wisdom and basic democracy of the United States Government and people in refusing to embark on the imperialistic course of making Japan a mere appendage to the United States; or more subtly perhaps, of attempting to refashion Japan in the image of America. This is a policy which we have seen attempted in Eastern Europe, and one which is abhorrent to all free people. Free people have not only the right peacefully to work out their own destiny, but they have the right to do it in their own way. They can only contribute to the rich variety of culture and experience in the world when they are permitted to develop without foreign interference.

So I think that we of the West would be well advised not to apply too strictly our own national experience as a yardstick to Japanese progress. Men reach the truth by different paths and they can strive toward a tolerant and peaceful society on widely variant roads. The Japanese have learned from their own bitter experience the tragic folly of aggressive war; that immediate success by means of military superiority is not victory, but only the postponement of overwhelming disaster. It is our hope that some of Japan's continental neighbours will learn this lesson.

In this treaty both sides secure real advantages, but not at each other's cost. The Japanese, after waiting with patience and discipline for six long years, will have restored to them now the right to be treated as an equal by all other powers in the world. The Allied Powers on their side exchange an enemy for a friend, and one which we trust will play its part in maintaining peace and security, and in building up the international community in the Pacific area.

In the dark days of Japan toward the end of feudal isolation a century or so ago, a Japanese writer and patriot, Sakuma Shozan, said that at twenty he knew that men were joined together in one province; at thirty he knew that they were joined together in one nation; and at forty that they were joined together in one world.

The Canadian delegation, speaking for the people and Government of Canada, hope that this treaty, unlike so many treaties between victor and vanquished, will become a strong foundation for the co-operation of "one nation", Japan, with other friendly nations in the search for "one world" of welfare and peace.

THE OCCUPATION OF GERMANY (1945-1951)

On July 10, 1951, Canada terminated the state of war with Germany.* This event offers a convenient occasion to provide, for purposes of reference, a brief annotated chronology of the occupation of Germany (with emphasis on the Western zones) which followed the unconditional surrender of the German High Command on May 7 and 8, 1945, and is still in force. Germany lies at the heart of Europe, and Europe lies at the centre of the present East-West tension. It is for this reason that the success or failure of the Allied occupation will be a measure of the success or failure of our attempts to win Europe for the free world.

East and West Zones

The occupation began as a quadripartite venture and has gone through many phases, conditioned largely by the intransigence of the U.S.S.R. which soon made quadripartite unanimity impossible and led eventually to the present division of Germany into two parts, the East zone under Soviet control, and the three Western zones which now form the West German Federal Republic. To be sure, the occupation of one country by another after the cessation of active hostilities between them has seldom been easy; the occupation of Germany by four great powers was of necessity peculiarly difficult. As was to be expected, the Germans did not take kindly to having four masters, particularly when, as sometimes happened, these spoke not with one voice but several. Nor was the occupation liked by the citizens of the United Kingdom, France, and the United States where, from the outset, the taxpayers objected to its cost. Unfortunately, during the first two years some abuses of power were seized on and magnified by the press, which did not always give credit to the hard and unselfish work done by the staffs of the occupying powers in restoring a semblance of normal life to the battered body of Germany. It is only fair to recall in 1951 that in 1945 the tasks which met the conquering armies of the Allies and the Soviet Union were, without exaggeration, colossal. At the end of the war, Germany had collapsed politically, economically, morally and spiritually. Great cities lay in ruins, ordered government no longer existed, displaced persons roamed the countryside or congregated in insanitary hutments, food was scarce, transportation had broken down, and the elementary necessities of civil life were lacking. To bring order out of this chaos was an enormous task which the occupying armies tackled with an energy and, on the whole, a decency, to which scant tribute has been paid.

On June 5, 1945, supreme authority over Germany was assumed by the governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, France, and the U.S.S.R. Excluding the areas east of the Oder-Neisse line, Germany was divided into four zones to be administered separately by the four powers. "Greater Berlin" was divided into four sectors, one to each of the four powers, and governed jointly by an inter-allied authority (the Allied Kommandatura).

Allied Control Authority

To lay down and co-ordinate policy for Germany as a whole, the Allied Control Authority was set up in this same month of June. It consisted of:

- (a) a Control Council, composed of the four commanders-in-chief,
- (b) a Co-ordinating Committee, composed of the four deputy commanders, and
- (c) a Control Staff of twelve divisions or directorates, on which the four powers were equally represented. Decisions of the Control Council and its quadripartite organs had to be unanimous. Liaison with other United Nations governments was established through military missions accredited to the Council.

* See *External Affairs*, August 1951, p. 292.



At the Control Council level, agreement in principle was eventually reached on demilitarization, judicial reform, reparations, industrial quotas, German foreign assets, taxation, control of scientific research, and the punishment of war criminals. Agreement was not reached on such matters as labour organization, national political parties, central economic administration, external and internal trade, currency, land reform, education, and many others.

The Potsdam Declaration of August 2, 1945, laid down the political and eco-

conomic principles which were to govern Germany for the first period of control and dealt with reparations, the frontiers, of Eastern Germany, transfers of Germans from east of the Oder-Neisse Line, and the punishment of war criminals. One result of Potsdam was the influx of millions of Germans from East into West Germany, a mass migration which caused and is still causing some of the gravest problems which Western Germany has to face.

Throughout 1946 it became increasingly clear that unanimity of the four powers did not exist and the United Kingdom and the United States began gradually to merge their policies. From April to July the Council of Foreign Ministers met inconclusively in Paris and in September, Mr. Byrnes, the Secretary of State of the United States, put into words in a speech at Stuttgart what many had been thinking: "So far as many vital questions are concerned, the Control Council is neither governing Germany nor allowing Germany to be governed." From November 4, 1946, to January 31, 1947, the Council of Foreign Ministers met again but made no progress on Germany. On January 2, the United States-United Kingdom Zonal Merger Pact was signed. The other zones drifted further apart, although in all four an active political life was developing at the zonal level, and local elections were held in all of them during the year.

Throughout 1947 economic problems dominated the German scene. The severe winter caused an industrial shutdown and a critical fuel shortage. Food was scarce and the U.S. and U.K. military governments were hard put to it to secure even the meagre rations issued to the German population. In May an economic council for the bi-zone was formed and a plan to raise the level of industry announced. Two further meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers, at Moscow in March and at London from November to December, failed to reconcile the growing divergence in the policies of the U.S.S.R. and the Western powers. On December 17, the United States and the United Kingdom signed an agreement fixing control over the bi-zonal economy in proportion to the share of cost borne by each. This gave the United States the major say in economic matters.

1948 a Turning Point

In many ways 1948 marks a turning-point in the history of the occupation. During this year the split between East and West Germany became final. By the beginning of March a Joint Export-Import Agency, a Bi-Zonal Economic Administration, a Bi-Zonal High Court, and the Bank Deutscher Laender (Bank of the German Provinces) had been established in the West.

Meanwhile relations between the Soviet Union and the other three powers on the Allied Control Council had been steadily worsening since the beginning of the year. There had been trouble in January over the law on the control of dangerous Germans and the directive calling on the four powers to plan for the repatriation of all prisoners of war. In February the Soviet representative, Marshal Sokolovsky, reproached the British for the alleged failure to carry out demilitarization in their zone, and both the British and the Americans for setting up the Bi-Zonal Administration. On March 10, Sokolovsky attacked the Western Powers for their failure to recognize the S.E.D., the communist-dominated Socialist Unity Party, in their zones. At the meeting of March 20, Sokolovsky introduced the Prague declaration of the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia, which was in effect an attack on the policies of the Western powers in Germany. The representatives of these powers refused to consider this declaration on the grounds that it had been addressed to their governments and not to the Allied Control Council. The Soviet representative then demanded to be informed of all agreements on Western Germany made by the three Western powers at London in February and March, 1948. Not receiving immediate satisfaction on this point, he read a long prepared statement in which he repeated all the old charges against the policies and conduct of the Allies

in Germany. Without waiting for his colleagues to reply, he then rose and saying, "I see no sense in continuing this meeting; and I declare it adjourned", he left the room. The Allied Control Council, and with it the quadripartite government of Germany was over. On June 16 Soviet representatives withdrew from the Allied Kommandatura (which, however, resumed its work on a tripartite basis on December 21, 1948, and is still functioning). On March 31 the Soviet Union began the blockade of Berlin which was successfully countered by the now historic airlift which started on June 25. The blockade was not finally ended until May 12, 1949.

This political victory of the West was matched by the successful carrying through of a major currency reform in June 1948, which improved the economic situation of Western Germany in a way which seemed to those who were there at the time little short of a miraculous. Since then, in spite of occasional difficulties with their balance of payments, the recovery of West Germany has continued to astonish the world.

In September 1948, as a result of the London Agreements announced in June 1948, between the Western powers and the Benelux countries, a significant event took place, namely, the meeting at Bonn of a Parliamentary Council, consisting of representatives elected from each of the 11 Laender (provinces), to draft a constitution for West Germany. The London Agreements also made possible in 1948 the setting-up of the International Authority for the Ruhr, the Military Security Board to guard against any revival of German militarism, and the participation of the Western zones in the European Recovery Plan. Thus while economic recovery continued, the foundations of democratic government were being laid.

First Elections Held

This development continued throughout 1949. At Paris in June, an Allied High Commission was set up and military government came to an end. In the previous month the constitution of a West German government had been adopted by the Parliamentary Council, approved by the Military Governors, ratified by the Laender Governments and promulgated. This was followed on June 15 by the promulgation of an electoral law, and on August 14 the first elections of the Federal Republic were held.* Final results showed that 78.5 per cent of the 31,179,422 eligible voters participated. Of the 402 seats in the Federal Parliament (Bundestag), the C.D.U./C.S.U. won 139, the S.P.D. 131, and the F.D.P./D.V.P. 52.† Dr. Konrad Adenauer of the C.D.U. became Federal Chancellor and Professor Theodor Heuss was named President of the Federal Republic.

On September 21, 1949, the occupation statute entered into force. This necessary counterpart to the federal constitution defined the relations of the occupying powers to the German Government and listed those powers which the Allied High Commission reserved to itself.‡ As a result of the Washington Agreements of April 1949, France had consented to a tri-zonal fusion so that the occupation statute was binding on all three Western powers. France had also adhered to the Prohibited and Restricted Industries Policy in April 1949. At the end of November, the Petersberg Protocol of Agreements reached between the Allied High Commissioners and the

* See *External Affairs*, September 1949, pp. 15-19.

† C.D.U.—Christian Democratic Union;
C.S.U. (Bavaria)—Christian Socialist Union;
S.P.D.—Social Democratic Party (Sozial-demokratische Partei Deutschlands);
F.D.P.—Free Democratic Party;
D.V.P.—Democratic People's Party (Demokratische Volks-Partei).

‡ In view of the special position of Berlin, the Western Powers had issued in May 1949, a statement of principles guaranteeing the powers of the city government under the temporary constitution, setting forth those fields in which powers were reserved to the Allied Kommandatura and guaranteeing the civil rights of all persons.

Chancellor of the German Federal Republic marked a further step towards the goal of transferring full responsibility for the conduct of its affairs to the German Government.

During the early months of 1950 the conflict between East and West dominated developments in the Federal Republic. Both the United States High Commissioner (in February) and the German Government (in March) proposed all-German elections which the Soviet-sponsored "National Front" of the East zone rejected. There were also signs in the Federal Republic that German gratitude for the concessions made by the occupying powers was taking the form of "a lively anticipation of favours to come".

Preparations were made at this time to open German consulates abroad and West Germany was admitted to a number of international agencies. German opposition to French policy in the Saar provided evidence of latent nationalism; and dismantling continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the Government and the Allied High Commission. The attacks on dismantling came mostly from the Socialist party (S.P.D.) under the fiery leadership of Dr. Kurt Schumacher. For different reasons the Communist Party under Max Reimann joined in these attacks. Resentment of the occupation grew more vocal, particularly with regard to the power of disallowance of legislation and to occupation costs.

On April 1 the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe invited the German Federal Republic to become an associate member of the Council. On May 25 the Upper House accepted the invitation in principle, and on June 15 the Lower House followed suit. In this same month the United States and the United Kingdom accepted German consuls general.

Closer to Family of Free Nations

Thus by 1950 Western Germany had gradually moved closer to the family of free nations. The proposal for the Schuman Plan paved the way towards Franco-German rapprochement and eventual integration. Germany's economic recovery continued but the problems raised by refugees, unemployment, and the lack of investment capital remained far from solved in spite of the general increase in industrial production throughout Western Europe, caused in part by the anticipated defence effort. Soviet rejection of Western proposals for all-Berlin elections and Soviet refusal to reply to the foreign ministers' proposals for unifying Germany widened the split between East and West Germany. The Whitsuntide rally in Berlin of the Communist Free German Youth (F.D.J.) brought a sharp reminder that the young people of East Germany were being gathered into the communist fold.

In October, the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet bloc announced in Prague conditions for the unification of Germany which the Western powers and the German Government found unacceptable. Both the Soviet and the East German Governments made further propaganda efforts to prevent West Germany's rearmament and to split the Western powers. Sporadic communist demonstrations in the Western zones were troublesome but not successful. The Soviet Union and the three Western powers charged one another with remilitarising their respective zones. In November, Minister-President Grotewohl of the so-called German Democratic Republic set up a government to replace the provisional one which had functioned up to the East zone elections of October 1950. In December this regime promulgated the "law for the protection of peace" which laid down heavy penalties, including death, for such acts as propagating "aggressive action", restoring militarism, and using atomic weapons.

As a result of the Brussels decisions of the North Atlantic Council in November 1950, the High Commissioners were empowered to discuss with the Federal Government the Council's proposals to associate Germany with the defence of the West.*

* These discussions have continued intermittently and have been paralleled by the Conference on the creation of a European Army which began in Paris on February 15, 1951.

Although the Federal Government has placed Germany squarely on the side of the West, there have been voices of protest from the neutralists, from Pastor Niemöller's followers, and from various neo-Nazi groups. Some of this dissent stemmed from a very real fear that Germany might become another Korea. The S.P.D., although agreeing that Germany belonged to the West, insisted that she should be allowed to come in on her own terms!

This rapid march through time brings us now to the year 1951. The sixth quarterly report of the United States' High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, sums up the first three months of this year thus: "The initialing of the Schuman Plan, the promulgation of the first instrument of revision of the occupation statute, and the sense of national unity which the West German Parliament displayed in rejecting the East Zone's bid for the unification of Eastern and Western Germany on communist terms, mark the significant progress during the past quarter of the Federal Republic's integration into free Europe, its further advance towards sovereignty and its growth in political maturity. The favourable effect of these political developments was somewhat beclouded by a deterioration in the German economic situation . . .".*

At the end of March 1951, the Allied High Commission approved a relaxation of the controls imposed on industry during the Prohibited and Restricted Industries Agreement, already referred to in this article. Progress was also made towards the eventual replacement of the occupation statute by some form of contractual agreement, and the study of a federal German contribution to Western defence was continued both in Bonn and in Paris.

Economic Crisis

Unfortunately, West Germany's growing foreign exchange indebtedness to the European Payments Union produced an economic crisis in February. This led to the drawing up of a more realistic programme by the Federal Government. The two-fold aim of this programme was to raise the levels of production and employment by expanding the output of coal and other basic materials and by providing needed investment funds, and to improve the balance of payments by increasing exports and limiting imports to a level which could be financed from anticipated export earnings and external aid.

Throughout this period, communist propaganda continued to rage furiously and the World Peace Council which met in Berlin in February looked for a time as if it might become a Soviet-dominated rival of the United Nations organization.

Legislation to carry out an agreement between Chancellor Adenauer and representatives of labour management on the question of co-determination† of workers with management in the coal industry and the iron and steel producing industries was initiated and eventually passed in April.

In May, Western Germany became a full member of the Council of Europe and Chancellor Adenauer brought before the Council's Consultative Assembly a strong plea for an international solution of the refugee problem. In June both Houses of the Federal Republic passed legislation eliminating from German law all references to the state of war. The way was now open for the occupying powers and other foreign countries to terminate the state of war with Germany and this step was taken, without prejudice to the eventual peace treaty, by the three occupying powers and a number of other countries on or shortly after July 9, 1951. As stated at the beginning of this article, Canada terminated the state of war on July 10, 1951.

* Sixth Quarterly Report on Germany: Office of the United States High Commissioner for Germany, pp. III-IV.

† Co-determination (Mitbestimmungsrecht) is a term used by the German trade-unions to describe the right of workers to participate, on terms of equality with the management, in decisions which concern the plant where they are employed.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY*

By the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

In May of this year, 5,500 additional Canadian troops arrived in Korea to join the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry which were already there as part of the United Nations forces. At Valcartier, near Quebec City, another brigade group is now in training and is scheduled to become part of the North Atlantic force commanded by General Eisenhower in Western Europe before the end of the year. The presence of these Canadian forces in areas so far distant from Canadian shores, and in a period of at least nominal peace, will provide perhaps the best indication of the development that has been occurring in Canadian foreign policy.

In some ways this change is as remarkable as the parallel and vastly more important one that has transformed the foreign policy of the United States. The break made by the United States with the policy of isolation — which has already produced so many acts of imaginative statesmanship — is one of the most important facts in the history of our time. Nevertheless, in spite of the abruptness of the transition, there are some aspects of American experience which have helped American people to adjust themselves to the tremendous responsibilities they now shoulder. The United States has been a great power for at least half a century. During that period it has held a number of overseas possessions; and in many areas of the world its political influence has been of great importance. The effects of its economic and commercial policies have long been apparent everywhere. Furthermore, its power now matches its responsibilities. It is the unquestioned leader of the coalition of free states.

Canada, on the other hand, is neither a great nor an overseas Power; and only occasionally can her voice be influential in deciding the policies of the free world. The key to Canada's present position in international affairs and to the special problems of Canadian diplomacy may be found in the fact that, notwithstanding these limitations on its power and influence, it has accepted heavy international responsibilities.

Before the Second World War the activity of Canadian governments in external affairs was to a considerable extent concerned with the development of Canada's national position in the international community. But the period ushered in by this successful effort (during which it was theoretically possible for Canada to remain neutral in a general war) was of short duration; lasting, indeed, only from the early 'thirties until September 10, 1939, when Canada declared war on Germany. After that date, Canada for six years committed her resources without reserve to the prosecution of a world-wide war; later became increasingly involved in world problems; and recently has accepted far-reaching collective security obligations. In this process, questions of national status have been subordinated to the necessity of thinking in terms of national security, and to attempts to realize this security through international collective action. Our experience in this regard has been shared by other states which have had far longer participation in international affairs.

The main reason for this growing emphasis on national security through collective action has been, of course, the threat to the free world which is presented by Soviet imperialism. The gravity of the danger has been unveiled in successive stages, so that now it is impossible for any country which values freedom to be unaware of

* Reprinted in two parts, of which this is the first, from an article in *Foreign Affairs*, October 1951, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, New York City. The second part of this article will be reprinted in the November issue of *External Affairs*.

it or to overlook its implications. The danger is complicated and multifold. It is complicated because international Communism is now used as a weapon of Soviet imperialism. It is multifold because the conspiracy with which we are confronted works sometimes through plausible propaganda, sometimes through espionage and subversion, sometimes through the threat of force, and sometimes, as in the case of Korea, through naked military aggression. The response to such a challenge, it is clear, must show not only strength, but wisdom and versatility. But the need for proper tactics cannot obscure the brute fact that military aggression is included in the armory of Cominform weapons and that, if the expansive force of Soviet imperialism issues in armed attack against other countries, it must be met by collective and armed resistance. The armed forces of the free world must, therefore, be increased in the face of the much greater forces which are now at the disposal of the Soviet Union and its satellites. Even more important, however, is the justified conclusion that the creation of adequate military strength, under collective control and for collective use, is now our best hope of deterring the Soviet Union from attempting further acts of aggression. As clearly as any other people, Canadians realize the jeopardy in which their own freedom, and indeed the cause of freedom throughout the world, has been placed by the imperialist ambitions of the Kremlin. It is for this reason that no substantial body of opinion in Canada has advocated a policy of isolation or "neutrality". All parties have been united in support of Canada's efforts, in co-operation with other countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in the United Nations to preserve peace by building collective strength as a deterrent to aggression.

II

The part that Canada is playing in this concerted international effort would not be possible were it not for the remarkable industrial growth which has been taking place during the last ten years. During the Second World War, the base of Canadian production was greatly widened by the establishment of new industries. Since 1945, our economy has shown exceptional resilience. The commercial dislocations produced by the war inevitably created difficulties for a country so heavily dependent on foreign trade. Nevertheless, though many of Canada's traditional markets have, unhappily, been curtailed, we have been able to find new markets in the United States and elsewhere. At the same time, great new natural resources, such as the oil fields of Alberta and the iron ore deposits of Labrador, are being opened up. Perhaps the most comprehensive index of Canada's increasing industrial maturity is provided by her progress in the field of atomic energy. The country's natural resources and its scientific and technical competence have been such as to permit the construction of an atomic energy plant at Chalk River in Ontario to house what is perhaps the most advanced atomic reactor in the world today.

Even before the worsening international situation had led Canada into wider defence commitments, the growth and soundness of the Canadian economy had made possible a vigorous foreign economic policy. Between 1946 and 1951, for example, Canadian contributions for relief and development in other countries totalled 2 billion dollars. The bulk of this took the form of loans to the United Kingdom and other countries of Western Europe. In part, these loans were designed to finance Canada's export surplus during the years immediately after the war and to prevent the domestic dislocation which would have occurred if traditional customers had been forced by exchange difficulties to reduce drastically their imports from Canada. The loans were also, however, regarded in Canada as a contribution toward the re-establishment of a multilateral world economy based on liberal, nondiscriminatory trade policies and stabilized exchange rates, which would make possible a steady expansion of trade and the maintenance of high levels of employment in all countries.

Although Canada's foreign lending after the war was largely concentrated in Western Europe, some of it was directed to the Far East. Loans, for example, were

made both to China and to Indonesia. And previously, during the course of the war, the Chinese Nationalist Government had been the recipient of some Canadian Mutual Aid.

In making the detailed arrangements for these transactions, the Canadian Government for the first time was involved in some of the general problems of the Far East. During the last three years that involvement has increased at a very rapid rate. Far Eastern questions now absorb much of the attention of the Canadian Parliament and Government. The increase in interest in Asian matters among the public and the press has also been remarkable. In our Far Eastern relations, we have not so much been opening a new chapter as opening a whole new volume; for, until recently, Asia to most Canadians was a closed book. One of our provinces is on the Pacific and through its ports for many years missionaries, businessmen and travellers had passed on their way to and from the Far East. There had been a Canadian Legation in Tokyo before the war and substantial Canadian economic interests in Japan. The Canadian Government had participated in a number of negotiations on particular questions dealing with commerce, with the position of Canadian missionaries and with Asian immigration. But none of these concerns made it necessary for Canada to have what could conceivably be called a Far Eastern policy.

The extent of the recent change may be illustrated by Canada's active participation in the Colombo Plan for economic development in South and South-East Asia. Unlike previous Canadian financial assistance, it is not expected that this participation will be of direct economic benefit to Canada, since our export surplus has now dried up and any grants or loans must inevitably compete with the demands of our own economic development. The purpose of the Canadian contribution to the Colombo Plan is, simply, to assist in raising the standard of living of friendly peoples on the other side of the globe whose well-being and stability are of importance to the whole of the free world — ourselves included.

As the area covered by the Colombo Plan would suggest, the main avenue of approach for Canada to the problems of Asia has been by way of the Indian sub-continent. India, Pakistan and Ceylon are all members of the Commonwealth, and Canadians have watched with close and sympathetic attention their achievement of independence. Precedents from Canadian constitutional history were not without value in arranging for the transfer of sovereignty to India and Pakistan which occurred in 1947; and the Canadian Government was able at a Commonwealth conference in April 1949 to offer some suggestions which made it easier to find a formula which would permit India to remain within the Commonwealth even after it had become a republic. The meeting of Commonwealth Foreign Ministers which was held in Colombo in January 1950 — the first Commonwealth conference to be held in Asia and the first to consider chiefly Asian issues — not only witnessed to the success of the constitutional evolution which had been taking place but also provided a further opportunity for Canada and other Commonwealth countries to become better acquainted with Far Eastern problems.

It will be noticed how significant a role the Commonwealth of Nations has played in this reorientation of Canada's interest toward the Far East. Of late years, Canada's attitude toward the Commonwealth has entered, I think, on a new phase. During the period when Canadian political leaders were achieving and consolidating autonomy for Canada in her external relations, it was perhaps natural that appreciation of the value of the Commonwealth association should not exclude, in many quarters, some considerable grain of wariness. This diffidence was kept alive by repeated proposals for centralized machinery which would have given institutional form to the very close and continuous, but often informal, co-operation already existing between members of the Commonwealth; proposals which were primarily designed, in the eyes of many who favored them, to enable all Commonwealth coun-

tries to have a single foreign policy. Canada consistently opposed these proposals, partly because, to many Canadians, collective action in those days seemed likely to be overly influenced by imperial interests; partly because such Commonwealth arrangements might have appeared to be an obstacle to closer co-operation with the United States. Canadian opinion is, I think, as strongly opposed as ever to a centralized Commonwealth; though for different reasons which arise out of the different circumstances of today. The problem, however, is no longer a serious one, because the new Commonwealth, with three Asian members, lends itself even less to centralizing proposals than the old one.

The nature of the present-day Commonwealth is now well understood, I think, in all of the member countries; and, for that reason, the reservations and even suspicions that have sometimes marked Canada's attitude in the past have largely died away. At the same time Canadians have been discovering new and positive advantages in their membership in this family of free nations. The lifeblood of the modern Commonwealth is constant exchange of information and constant consultation. This process brings Canada into close and friendly touch, not only with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries which share with us the heritage of Western civilization, but also with some of the most important countries of Asia. In a world so plagued by divisions and misunderstandings as ours, it is no small advantage, I think, that Asian and Western leaders should be able to sit down together in Commonwealth meetings in an atmosphere of intimacy and complete equality. There are other links which connect the countries of Asia to the West — and in the course of time I hope there will be many more. Of those which exist at present, the Commonwealth of Nations provides, in my opinion, the most important. It is essential that it should be maintained, in the interest not only of its members but of all free states.

III

The Commonwealth, then, has helped to make Canada more conscious of Asia. We recognize that the growth of freedom in Asia is primarily the responsibility of Asian peoples themselves. There is much, however, which the countries of the West can do either to help or hinder this process; and it is clearly vital that their policies should be so designed as to promote development of free political institutions on a sound basis of social and economic well-being. If, through aggression or folly or inertia, the whole of Asia were to be allowed to fall under Communist domination, the free world would be tragically maimed and would be exposed to even greater dangers than it faces today. The problem of what Western countries, including Canada, should do is difficult, since the Asian panorama is so broad and, to Western eyes at least, so confused. Nevertheless, there are a number of landmarks which stand out through the mist and which have been taken by the Canadian Government as guides for policy. In the first place, in some Asian countries as elsewhere social changes are required. It is essential that nothing done by Western countries should impede in any way changes which are thought necessary and desirable by Asian opinion. Secondly, the standard of living throughout most of Asia is pitifully low. If ordinary men and women in the free countries of Asia are to feel attached to the new political institutions which they have established, they must be given hope of receiving some tangible benefits for themselves in the form of more food, more clothing, better housing and better protection from disease. This can be done only if the wealthier and more highly industrialized countries of the West are willing to assist. In honesty it must also be added, however, that economic help from abroad will have little effect if political animosities between Asian countries prevent them from making the best use of their own resources in the work of economic development. Third, the countries of Asia must be encouraged to take a large share in settling the many vexing political issues which cry out for solution. There is a complex network of racial, religious and cultural affiliations among the countries of Asia which cannot safely be

ignored and which can be of great use in the search for a stable and acceptable settlement of Asian problems. Fourth, the forces of nationalism are probably the most powerful influences on Asian opinion today. The achievement of national independence by these countries was to them an essential prerequisite for further progress. Any action by the West which could be interpreted as showing a desire for their retrogression to subordinate or colonial status would be bitterly resented. Absolute equality is now the only possible foundation for friendly relations between the countries of East and West. We must not let Communism become the accepted champion of nationalism and racial equality in Asia.

We in Canada have built a nation based on equality between two different cultures. I think that in working out a satisfactory and fruitful relationship between Asia and the West, this principle may prove as valuable as the doctrine of universal human rights. Certainly, we must remember that the civilization of the West has now to be regarded as only one of the independent civilizations to be found throughout the world. After a sleep of many centuries, the civilizations in the Far East, which had long lain quiescent or subdued, are stirring. They have had glorious achievements. They still have their own values; and they are demanding the right to develop them in their own way. The reemergence in a modern political form of these ancient civilizations, with their own individual traditions, should enrich the life of all men throughout the world.

If the Western world is successful in convincing the peoples of Asia that its policies are not dictated by considerations of pride or power, but are intended to create a world in which Far Eastern civilizations can develop freely; if we can show them that collective action against aggression does not mean support for reaction, or resistance to necessary change, then I think we may be confident of retaining the friendship of those Asian countries which are still free. We may also be bold enough to hope, I think, that the people of China will not indefinitely be willing to have their national interests subordinated to the imperial interests of Russia, and that the present unnatural alliance between Chinese nationalism and Soviet imperialism may be broken. In our determination, however, to meet the menace of Communist aggression in Asia or elsewhere, we should not be led, or misled, into policies which harness us to reactionary forces or blind us to the sincere gropings of millions of Asians for more bread and more freedom.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Forthcoming Session of the General Assembly

The Sixth Regular Session of the General Assembly will convene at the Palais de Chaillot, Paris, on Tuesday, November 6. The provisional agenda contains fifty-eight items, to which a number of supplementary items may be added. The session is expected to last until February 1952.

The Korean crisis will, of course, play a dominant role at Paris. At the present, however, it is profitless to speculate on the nature of the Assembly's debates on this question, until the results of the efforts now being made to achieve a cease-fire are known. Nevertheless, the problem of the relief and rehabilitation of this war-ravaged country is bound to be of primary importance for the Assembly, regardless of the outcome of the cease-fire talks.

Maintenance of Collective Security

Other items on the agenda will undoubtedly bring to the fore fundamental problems concerning the functions of the United Nations in maintaining collective security. For example, one question which will have to be decided is whether the studies of the present Collective Measures Committee will be continued in some form, or whether this body, set up by the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, should be discontinued. Another similar question concerns the role of the Peace Observation Commission, which was also established by the "Uniting for Peace" resolution. This body was formed in order to observe and report on situations in any area where international tension exists, the continuation of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of peace. Up to date the Peace Observation Commission has not sent out any observers.

At this session another debate will probably take place on disarmament and the control of atomic energy. The immediate question to be decided is whether a single commission, responsible to the Security Council, should take over the functions now assigned to the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments. It cannot, however, be expected that the debate on these vital problems will be confined to the narrow question of machinery.

A number of items on the agenda of this session have been discussed at least once before by the Assembly. The question of human rights is certain to be debated in several contexts, particularly in relation to the treatment of the indigenous inhabitants of dependent territories, and also perhaps with reference to the violation of fundamental human rights in several of the Balkan countries. The problem of Palestine is once more on the agenda. Once again, also, the Government of the Union of South Africa will be called upon to explain its position regarding the status of South-West Africa and the treatment of people of Indian origin living in South Africa. The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans has now made its report to the Assembly. The future of this body, which was established in order to observe violations of Greece's borders by her northern neighbours, will also be one of the important political subjects before the Assembly.

Economic and Social Questions

In the economic and social field several questions will be coming up for consideration, arising principally from the recent session of the Economic and Social Council. Among these will be the financing of the economic development of under-developed countries, the draft Covenant on Human Rights, and the provision of

technical assistance to under-developed areas. The Assembly will also review the recommendations made by the Economic and Social Council for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the United Nations and the various specialized agencies with a view to increasing their efficiency and eliminating duplication. One other subject of urgent importance is the relief and resettlement of the vast numbers of refugees and displaced persons in various parts of the world. This problem has, of course, been greatly intensified during the past year by the huge number of refugees who have lost their homes because of the war in Korea.

Other items on the agenda concern trusteeship, legal and financial questions. Two of these items will no doubt give rise to considerable debate. One is the question of the participation of Italy in the Trusteeship Council, and the other is the problem of the scale of contributions by member states to the United Nations budget.

Finally the Assembly will be required to elect three member states to the Security Council and six to the Economic and Social Council. Elections to the International Court of Justice will also take place at this session.

The Economic and Social Council

The Thirteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council adjourned on September 21, 1951. An account of its work during the month of August appeared in the September issue of *External Affairs*. Since then, the Council has examined a number of important problems.

Economic Questions

On the economic side, the Council reviewed the technical assistance activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. It approved a limited participation of the International Telecommunications Union and of the World Meteorological Organization in the expanded programme of technical assistance, and made provision for the financing of the programme in 1952. It also agreed to a more generous interpretation, in future, of the rules governing the furnishing of supplies and equipment in connection with training and demonstration projects.

On the initiative of the United States, which asserted that a number of pre-war international cartels were now being revived, the Council considered the need for international action in this field. It reaffirmed the principles relating to restrictive business practices contained in the Havana Charter for an International Trade Organization, and set up an ad hoc committee of nine members, including Canada, responsible for the submission of proposals for the implementation of these principles by international agreement.

Social and Humanitarian Questions

Among other social and humanitarian items, the Council had to determine whether the Convention on Freedom of Information, drafted by an ad hoc committee appointed by the General Assembly in 1950, was satisfactory, and whether a plenipotentiary conference should be called to complete and sign the proposed Convention. After having rejected a resolution proposed by France, Chile and India recommending such a conference, it adopted a resolution, sponsored by Canada, Peru and the United Kingdom, which states that the existence of a wide divergence of views concerning the restrictions and limitations which may legitimately be imposed upon freedom of information renders impossible, for the time being, the conclusion of a generally acceptable convention. This action by the Council conforms with the Canadian attitude toward the draft Convention and with the views submitted to the Canadian Government by the principal press, radio and film agencies in Canada.

Part of the debate on freedom of information was devoted to the Oatis case. After prolonged and bitter exchanges, mainly between the United States and Czechoslovakia, Poland and the U.S.S.R., the Council endorsed a United States resolution which "views with extreme concern all governmental action aimed at the systematic exclusion of bona fide correspondents" and urges strongly that personal restraints on such correspondents "be removed and sentences imposing arbitrary punishments be revoked".

The Council also had before it a report from the Commission on Human Rights regarding the draft International Covenant on Human Rights. Because of the difficulties encountered by the Commission in its attempts to formulate economic, social and cultural rights, the Council decided to invite the General Assembly to reconsider its earlier instructions to include, in one covenant, articles on those rights together with articles on civil and political rights. While recognizing the importance of economic, social and cultural rights, the Canadian delegation believed that it would be extremely difficult to formulate them in a way that could give rise to enforceable legal remedies. It therefore considered that the United Nations should at this stage concentrate on the completion of a covenant on political and civil rights.

The Council took note of a report by the Secretary-General on methods of international financing of European emigration. It deferred however any action on the Secretary-General's substantive recommendations until after the Migration Conference, held in Naples in October under the auspices of the International Labour Organization.

The Council also noted a report by the Secretary-General on measures for the relief and rehabilitation of Korea. The report lists the offers of assistance for civilian relief, including the sum of \$7,250,000 already contributed by Canada to the United Nations Korean Relief Agency. The Council reaffirmed the hope that all members of the United Nations would, to the extent that their resources permit, find it possible to contribute to the Agency.

Reorganization of the Council

Finally, the Council took a number of decisions aimed at simplifying its complex structure and at organizing its work on a more efficient basis. In particular, it abolished the Economic, Employment and Development Commission and the three Sub-Commissions on Statistical Sampling, on Freedom of Information, and on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The Human Rights and Narcotic Drugs Commissions will as before meet annually, while the remaining functional commissions will henceforth meet every two years. The three regional economic commissions (for Europe, for Latin America, and for Asia and the Far East) are maintained with only slight modifications in their terms of reference. The Council itself will continue to hold two regular sessions a year. Its second session will adjourn at least six weeks before the General Assembly and will be resumed for a few meetings in December to plan the work of the Council for the following year in the light of the new instructions addressed to it by the Assembly.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. M. Cadieux was posted from Ottawa, and attached to the Canadian Embassy in France until November 19, at which time he will proceed to the NATO Staff College on course.
- Mr. H. F. Davis was posted from the National Defence College, Kingston, to Ottawa, effective August 26, 1951.
- Miss F. M. Carlisle was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in Mexico, effective September 1, 1951.
- Mr. G. P. Kidd was posted from Ottawa, to the National Defence College, Kingston, effective September 1, 1951.
- Mr. J. L. Delisle was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective September 13, 1951.
- Mr. G. W. J. Charpentier was posted from Ottawa, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, effective September 19, 1951.
- Mr. C. Hardy was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, effective September 15, 1951.
- Mr. E. H. Gilmour was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in the United States, effective September 15, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Mr. José de Oswaldo de Meira Penna, Second Secretary, Embassy of Brazil, September 6.

Mr. Raul José de Sa Barbosa, Third Secretary, Embassy of Brazil, September 6.

Captain Roberto A. Cabrera, Assistant Naval Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, September 7.

Mr. Jacques François Lorilleux, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of France, September 8.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mario de Perdigao Coelho, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, September 13.

Miss Rukmini Menon, Second Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for India, September 26.

Departures

Mr. H. H. Woodward, Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, September 4.

Mr. Fernando Ramos de Alencar, First Secretary, Embassy of Brazil, end of September.

His Excellency Vicomte du Parc, Ambassador of Belgium, resumed charge of the Embassy on September 1 on his return from a vacation in Belgium.

His Excellency Primo Villa Michel, Ambassador of Mexico, left on September 10 for a visit to his country. During his absence Mr. Luis Fernandez MacGregor, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Mr. John C. L. Allen, Honorary Consul of Thailand at Toronto, August 27.

Mr. Ellis A. Bonnet, Consul of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, August 27.

Mr. Arthur Henry Carson, Honorary Consul of Thailand at Vancouver, August 27.

Mr. François de Vial, Consul General of France at Quebec, August 27.

Mr. Ricardo Almanza Gordo, Consul of Mexico at Vancouver, August 27.

Mr. Frederick W. Hinke, Consul of the United States of America at Victoria, August 27.

Mr. Vernon V. Hukee, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, August 27.

Mr. Perry N. Jester, Consul General of the United States of America at Hamilton, August 27.

Mr. Eugene H. Johnson, Consul of the United States of America at Regina, August 27.

Mr. Ernest de W. Mayer, Consul of the United States of America at Quebec, August 27.

Mr. Eduardo Padro Meyer, Consul of Mexico at Toronto, August 27.

Mr. Horatio T. Mooers, Consul General of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, August 27.

Mr. Ernesto Anselmo Nogues, Consul of Argentina at Montreal, August 27.

Mr. Guy Radenac, Consul of France at Vancouver, August 27.

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. Norman E. Lamb as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, August 16.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Andrew E. Hanney as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, September 6.

Miss Eva Taylor as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, September 15.

Mr. Ernst Wanner as Acting Consul of

Switzerland at Winnipeg, September 15.

Departures

Mr. Jay F. Steinmetz, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, August 20.

Mr. Francis C. Jordan, Consul of the United States of America at Quebec, August 24.

Mr. Edwin A. Steiner, Acting Consul of Switzerland at Winnipeg, September 11.

Mr. William A. Just, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, September 13.

Mr. D. V. Klein, Honorary Consul of Denmark at Toronto, September 25.

Mr. C. C. Busch, Honorary Consul of Denmark at Vancouver, September 25.

Mr. Perry N. Jester, Consul General of the United States of America at Hamilton, was absent from August 31 until September 24. During that period of time, Mr. G. Edward Reynolds, Vice-Consul at Toronto, was in charge of the Hamilton Office.

The appointment of Mr. John H. Morris as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, has been cancelled.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of September 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future: earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. The decision as to Canadian participation at such conferences is made by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the Department of Government functionally concerned.)

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1, 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions.)

Conferences Attended in September

1. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris — February 15. Observer: Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Mission, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
2. *13th Session of ECOSOC.* Geneva — July 30. Representative: J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Deputy

Representative: J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Principal Adviser: E. B. Rogers, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i., Canadian Legation, Prague; Advisers: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs; S. S. Reisman and W. J. Callaghan, Department of Finance; L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; Secretary: K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of

- Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
3. *Eighth Congress of the International Institute of Refrigeration (Executive Committee and General Conference)*. London — August 29 - September 11. W. H. Cook, Department of Agriculture; O. C. Young, Fisheries Research Board; J. G. Malloch and J. G. Robertson, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
 4. *First International Congress of Mass Radiology*. Sondalo, Italy — September 1-3. Dr. M. J. M. LaSalle, Canadian Immigration Medical Service, Rome. (Observer).
 5. *12th Session of Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry and the 16th Session of the General Conference of International Union of Chemistry*. New York and Washington — September 3-13. E. W. R. Steacie, National Research Council.
 6. *ILO-WHO Meeting of Experts on Medical Standards for Immigration*. Rome — September 3-6. Dr. H. B. Jeffs, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
 7. *Forest Fire Study Tour (FAO)*. Washington — September 4 - October 12. J. C. MacLeod, Department of Resources and Development; T. E. Mackey, Department of Lands and Forests of the Province of Ontario.
 8. *Conference to Conclude a Treaty of Peace with Japan*. San Francisco — September 4-8. Delegates, L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; R. W. Mayhew, Minister of Fisheries; Chief Adviser: E. H. Norman, Acting Canadian Representative of Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York; P. T. Molson, Executive Assistant to the Head of Delegation; Secretary: J. J. McCardle, Department of External Affairs.
 9. *Sub-Committee on Rules of Procedure and Working Methods of the Legal Committee of ICAO*. Madrid — September 8. C. S. Booth, Council Member for Canada.
 10. *Fifth World Congress of the International Society for the Welfare of Cripples*. Stockholm — September 10-14. H. C. Hudson, Unemployment Insurance Commission.
 11. *International Foundry Congress*. Brussels — September 10-14. J. E. Rehder, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
 12. *Eighth Session of the Legal Committee of ICAO*. Madrid — September 11. C. S. Booth, Council Member for Canada; G. W. Nadeau, Air Transport Board.
 13. *Building Research Congress*. London — September 11 - October 16. R. F. Leggett, National Research Council; M. F. Goudge, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
 14. *Fifth Conference on the Principles of Declassification of Atomic Energy*. Washington — September 14-15. Dr. W. B. Lewis, Dr. L. G. Cook and C. W. E. Walker, Representatives, Canadian Atomic Energy Project.
 15. *North Atlantic Council*. Ottawa — September 15-20. Delegates: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; B. Claxton, Minister of National Defence; D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Advisers: Department of External Affairs — A. D. P. Heeney, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; L. D. Wilgress, Canadian High Commissioner, London, and Member of NATO Council Deputies; J. Déry, Canadian Ambassador to Italy; H. O. Moran and C. S. A. Ritchie, Assistant Under-Secretaries; R. A. MacKay, A. F. W. Plumptre; A. G. S. Griffin; R. Campbell and J. Côté; Department of National Defence — R. O. Campney, Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of National Defence; C. M. Drury, Deputy Minister; Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff; Commodore H. S. Raynor; Air Commodore C. L. Annis; Department of Finance: W. C. Clark, Deputy Minister; R. B. Bryce, Assistant Deputy Minister; J. J. Deutsch; J. F. Parkinson; Department of Defence Production — M. W. Mackenzie, Deputy Minister; H. R. MacMillan; Press Officer: A. C. Anderson, Department of External Affairs; Secretary: H. F. Davis, Department of External Affairs.
 16. *World Tobacco Conference*. Amsterdam — September 17-24. Delegate: N. A. Macrae, Department of Agriculture; R. J. Haslam, Dominion Experimental Farm, Harrow, Ontario.
 17. *Sixth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*. Geneva — September 17. Chairman: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce; Deputy Chairman: C. M. Isbister, Department of Trade and Commerce; Parliamentary Adviser: J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Delegates: L. Couillard, Permanent Delegate of Canada to O.E.E.C., Paris; W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; M. Schwarzman, Department of Trade and Commerce; Secretary: M. K. Goldschlag, Department of External Affairs.
 18. *Sixth Meeting of the International Tin Study Group*. Rome — September 24. Delegate: V. L. Chapin, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.

19. *Fifth Meeting of the Pan-American Sanitary Organization* (WHO). Washington — September 24 - October 2. R. W. A. Dunn, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
20. *Meeting of Commonwealth Supply Ministers*. London — September 24-29. C. D. Howe, Minister of Defence Production;
- T. N. Beaupre, Special Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Defence Production; R. P. Bower, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
21. *International Plant Protection Convention* (FAO). Rome — September 25-27. W. N. Keenan, Department of Agriculture.

Conferences to be held in October and November

1. *Preliminary Migration Conference* (ILO). Naples — October 2-16.
2. *Second Meeting of the Executive Council of the World Meteorological Organization*. Lausanne — October 3.
3. *Fifth American and Fourth Mexican Congresses on Urology*. Mexico City — October 8-23.
4. *Economic Commission for Asia and Far East — Regional Conference on Trade Promotion*. Singapore — October 9-18.
5. *Sixth International Conference and General Assembly of the International Union of Travel Organizations*. Athens — October 9-12.
6. *World Metallurgical Congress*. Detroit — October 15-19.
7. *79th Annual Meeting of the American Association of Public Health*. San Francisco — October 15.
8. *Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe*. Strasbourg — October 15.
9. *Tenth Session of Executive Committee of IRO*. Geneva — October 18.
10. *First Pan-American Congress on Veterinary Medicine*. Lima — October 20-26.
11. *Eighth Session of the General Council of IRO*. Geneva — October 22.
12. *Third Session of the Permanent Committee of the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*. Paris — October 25-27.
13. *First Inter-American Convention on Mineral Resources*. Mexico City — October 29 - November 4.
14. *Programme Committee of UNICEF*. Paris — October 29.
15. *Fifth Meeting of the South Pacific Air Transport Council*. Wellington, N.Z. — October 29.
16. *Meeting of Fisheries Statistics of FAO*. Rome — October 29 - November 3.
17. *Meeting of Commonwealth Auditors General*. London — October.
18. *North Atlantic Council — Military Committee*. Rome — October - November.
19. *North Atlantic Council — Annual*. Rome. October - November.
20. *Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly*. Paris — November 4.
21. *Executive Board of UNICEF*. Paris — November 4.
22. *Conference of British Commonwealth Statisticians*. Canberra — November 12-24.
23. *13th Session of the Council of FAO*. Rome — November 12-17.
24. *117th Session of the Governing Body of ILO*. Geneva — November 14-24.
25. *Sixth Session of the Conference of FAO*. Rome — November 19.
26. *Technical Problems Relating to Food Aspects of Civilian Defence*. London — November 21 - December 13.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

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STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

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*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

REVIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Statement made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, in the House of Commons on October 22, 1951.

Relations with the United States

In making what I might call a "tour d'horizon", I think it is desirable that I should begin with our relations with that country which is nearest to us, the United States of America. The day-to-day problems between Canada and the United States are growing in complexity and number and scope, but are approached in almost every case from either side with a desire to find fair and mutually satisfactory solutions. It is natural that these contacts between our two countries, especially in the field of defence and defence supply, should have increased as we work together with other states in a closely knit coalition to safeguard the peace. The United States is the powerful leader of that coalition, I suppose by any test.

Of course it is quite normal that we in Canada should be preoccupied with that leadership and with the power behind it. Not long ago the spectre that haunted Canadian policy makers in this field of foreign affairs was that the United States would remain aloof from international efforts which were being made to protect the peace against nazi and fascist aggression. We sometimes worry now lest the United States may feel it necessary to pursue policies inside our coalition which the other members cannot wholeheartedly follow, or that inadequate co-operation from those other members may discourage American effort and leadership to the point where Washington may even decide, on some unhappy day, to go it alone.

Any Canadian government is bound to do what it can to remove either of these unhappy possibilities. This may mean at times expressing its own views forthrightly in other places including of course Washington itself. This is indeed a first principle of Canadian diplomacy deriving from the inescapable fact that no country in the world has less chance of isolating itself from the effect of American policies and decisions than Canada. We must recognize, however—and I am sure we do recognize—that a diplomacy of this kind, depending as it does on the influence we exert with greater powers, can only be carried out successfully if our interventions are restrained, responsible and constructive, and if we act in discharging our own obligations in a way which deserves the respect of our friends.

In addition, all of us inside the coalition must avoid words, actions or reactions which will weaken our unity without any compensating advantage to the national interest. I do not mean by this that we should hide our differences by pretending that none ever existed. In any coalition, indeed in any neighbourly relationship, there are bound to be honest differences, and unless they are examined and discussed frankly they may fester underground and poison the relationship. It is, however—and I am sure all hon. members will agree with me—of vital importance that in any such discussions of differences we should act with good temper and in good faith; that we should always display a sense of responsibility, a sense of proportion, and indeed I suggest at times a sense of humour. Our effort should constantly be not to score points at each other's expense but to come to agreed solutions.

St. Lawrence Seaway

There is one question in our relations with the United States, that of the St. Lawrence seaway, concerning which we have not been able to reach such an agreed solution. We would like to see that seaway built as an international project as a witness to our good neighbourhood and close co-operation. That, however, has not been possible, and the action, or rather the inaction, of the United States Congress,

which adjourned last Saturday night, shows, I think, that it is not going to be possible to secure agreement with the United States on this matter at an early date. Therefore we are prepared to recommend that this seaway should be built by Canada, and we shall soon request and expect to receive that co-operation from the United States government which it must be remembered is required under the boundary waters treaty.

The following steps remain in fact to be taken before the Canadian development can take place. In Canada, authorizing legislation, as announced in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session of Parliament, is required and will be introduced to provide for the construction of the St. Lawrence seaway and power project, and to provide for an appropriate agency of the Federal Government to deal with the construction of the seaway. Then an agreement, the terms of which have already been worked out, must be concluded with the Government of Ontario for the construction by the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, together with the appropriate authority in the United States, of the power development in the international rapids section of the river, and with respect to the division of costs between power and navigation. There must also be an agreed division of responsibility with the United States agency for the construction of these power development works. Then, although the situation is somewhat different because the international section of the St. Lawrence stops before the Quebec border is reached, steps are being taken to work out an agreement with the Province of Quebec covering possible power developments in that province arising out of the Canadian waterways construction.

And, finally, from the point of view of Canadian action, an application by the Ontario authorities for the construction of the power works must be transmitted by the Canadian Government to the International Joint Commission for approval there.

Then, on the United States side, a decision must be made—and I am now talking of the construction of the Canadian seaway—a decision must be made and approved by the President as to what agency in the United States will be responsible for constructing the United States part of the power project in the international section of the St. Lawrence River. That is a complicated problem in which many United States political considerations are no doubt involved, and the solution of the problem may take some time. At least, it cannot I suppose be reached overnight.

Secondly, for United States action, the agency which is to be responsible for the construction of the United States part of the power development must obtain a licence from the United States Power Commission. The procedure for obtaining such a licence involves public hearings before the Commission, to which all interested parties must be given an opportunity to present their views.

And thirdly, for United States action again, an application by the agency responsible for the construction in the United States must be transmitted for approval by the United States Government to the International Joint Commission in conjunction with a similar application by Ontario.

So far as Canadian action is concerned, that part of it which is a responsibility of the Federal Government will be pressed without any delay. That is all I wish to say this afternoon, though I could say much more if time permitted, on our relations with our great and friendly neighbour.

Relations with the Commonwealth

May I say a word at this time about our relations with the nations of the Commonwealth? Those are, as usual, on a good and friendly basis. There is full exchange of information and adequate consultation. We are satisfied with the existing position. . . . There is nothing static about our Commonwealth of Nations, nor is there anything static in Canada's attitude to this Commonwealth of Nations . . . Our attitude has I think altered somewhat toward the Commonwealth in recent years. During the

period when Canadian political leaders of all parties were achieving and consolidating autonomy for Canada in her domestic, and later in her external, relations it was I think natural that appreciation of the value of the Commonwealth association should not exclude in many quarters some degree of what I might call wariness. This wariness was kept alive by repeated proposals for centralized machinery which would have given institutional form to the very close and continuous, but often informal, co-operation which existed between the members of the Commonwealth. Canada consistently opposed these proposals, because, to many Canadians, collective action in those days seemed likely to be overly influenced by imperialist interests, also because such Commonwealth arrangements might have appeared to be an obstacle to closer co-operation with the United States. Though Canadian opinion is I think as strongly opposed as ever to a separate and centralized Commonwealth, that problem however is no longer a serious one because the new Commonwealth, with its three Asian members, lends itself less to centralizing proposals than the old one did.

The nature of the present-day Commonwealth, based on complete freedom of its members, along with the accepted obligations of those members to work together to the greatest possible extent, is now well understood in all the member countries. For this reason, I think the reservations and indeed even the hesitations that have sometimes marked Canada's attitude in the past have largely died away. At the present time Canadians have been discovering new and positive advantages in their membership in this association of free nations. The life blood of the modern Commonwealth is constant exchange of information, free and full consultation and a strong and genuine desire to co-operate. That process brings Canada into close and friendly touch not only with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries which share this heritage of western civilization, but also with some of the most important countries of Asia. In a world so plagued by division and misunderstanding as ours is today, it is no small advantage that Asian and Western leaders should be able to sit down together in Commonwealth meetings in an atmosphere of close, friendly and complete equality.

There are other links which connect the countries of Asia to the west, and in the course of time I hope there will be many more. Of those which exist at the present time, in my opinion, the Commonwealth nations provide the most important. It is essential that it should be maintained in the interest not only of its members but of all the states.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

There is another group of free states with which we are proud to be associated, namely, those of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The seventh meeting of the Council of the organization took place in Ottawa in September last. I think we were proud and privileged that Ottawa should have been chosen as the scene of that meeting. It was the first time that the North Atlantic Council meeting met under the new order by which it is a council of governments rather than a council merely of foreign ministers. On this occasion the countries were represented by two or three members of each government.

It was a successful meeting itself, and also a great deal of valuable preparatory work was done towards the next meeting which will take place in Rome near the end of November. This may prove to be an even more important session than the recent one. I believe it would be agreed by all those who had the privilege of attending this meeting that the habit of consultation is growing up amongst the North Atlantic group, and that a feeling of community is being developed. We have come to the conclusion that meetings of this Council should be held, not merely to settle crises, but for the continuing business of co-operation. Meetings for that purpose, and it was agreed we should have more of them than we have had in the past, should become as normal as meetings of Parliament.

At this council meeting two goals of the North Atlantic organization were discussed, the short term goal and the long term goal. The short term goal is how to increase our security against military aggression, and the long term goal is how to promote economic and social stability among all the nations of the North Atlantic community; how to bring those nations that make up that community closer together. As for the short term goal, we reviewed our defence programme, and we took an important step which is, I think, related to this programme. We recommended the admission of Greece and Turkey to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. A protocol for that purpose was drawn up and signed in London on Wednesday last by, among others, our representative, the High Commissioner. This protocol will be submitted to this Parliament later for approval before ratification by the Government.*

In this connection it might be desirable to postpone that discussion until we see what happens in regard to ratification in other countries which are even more directly concerned with this matter than we are, the United States, the United Kingdom and France. To my mind there is no question about the desirability of bringing Greece and Turkey into closer association with North Atlantic defence plans. In recent years these two countries have stood in the forefront of the common defence against communist imperialism and aggression. They have given proof of their devotion to the cause of freedom and collective security, not only at home but on the hills and plains of Korea. I believe it is true to say that a full-scale attack on either of them would vitally weaken the defence of Western Europe, and would probably mean a general war.

The problem, then, is how to remove the temptation for such an attack by building up collective defence arrangements in the areas of the Mediterranean. It was felt by some members of the North Atlantic group that probably the best way to do this would be by agreement on a Mediterranean security pact which could have some form of association with the North Atlantic pact. That was a non-NATO solution, and was attractive to some members of the Council but was opposed by others, more particularly the United States of America. Indeed, it was opposed by those countries most concerned with this matter, Turkey and Greece, as well as by the military authorities of the North Atlantic Organization. It may be argued that the full membership of these nations in the North Atlantic group will mean the extension of our commitments. In theory, that is the case, but I suggest it is more than compensated for by the deepening of our security, adding greatly to our collective defensive strength and thereby making an attack on any one of us less likely.

In any event, the extension of our commitments in this way is more theoretical than actual. If an attack took place on Greece or Turkey, it would not really make very much difference in regard to the extension of the war whether or not they were members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, whether or not they belonged to a Mediterranean pact, or indeed whether Turkey or Greece had only their existing treaty obligations. I, for one, agree it is normally unwise to extend the specific commitments of this country, in contrast with our general commitments under the United Nations Charter which, as we know from Korea, can be specific enough. I agree it would be unwise to extend these additional specific commitments, unless such extension is effective from the point of view of enlarging the defensive strength of the coalition and strengthening peace. It was felt by the Council that the admission of Greece and Turkey to the council would have this result. It is not, I submit, a provocation to any power that does not contemplate aggression, any more than the membership of Norway on the north flank of the North Atlantic community is a provocation.

In any event the greatest provocation to Soviet imperialism is not strength but is weakness. It was Karl Marx himself who said that the Russian bear is capable of anything, especially when he knows the other animals are capable of

* See p. 387.

nothing. Well, the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will be capable of doing much more for the defence of peace with Greece and Turkey as members. I hope, therefore, that the Russian bear will be capable of doing much less against us.

Other defence questions were discussed at this Council meeting. The Council received the report of the Finance and Economic Board and the Defence Production Board, which were concerned with two more forms of the problem of creating the necessary military strength for General Eisenhower's integrated force in Western Europe. It was realized by the Council that the studies which had been under way in this field through subordinate agencies of the Council had reached the stage where they should be coordinated, and that this could be achieved by a consultation on the high political level, to reconcile the political, economic and military aspects of the problem. This problem is not simply one of providing forces. The European members of the organization made that quite clear to us. It is also the problem of preserving the economic stability of the member countries, so a temporary ministerial committee was set up by the council to solve this fundamental problem. Lest it be thought that this is just another high level piece of international machinery being created for an indefinite time, it was made clear that this committee was set up for the single purpose of recommending a course of action and reconciling and I quote:

... the requirements of fulfilling a militarily acceptable NATO plan for the defence of western Europe, and the realistic politico-economic capabilities of the member countries.

That committee is to report at the next meeting in Rome...

So much then for the short term objective. The long term objective of the North Atlantic pact was also given much more serious discussion at this meeting of the Council than it had received at any time previously. It was admitted by all that that is not an objective of prior and immediate importance. Defence must come first. In our preoccupation with anything else, we must never forget that. We did feel, though, that it was important also to give serious examination to the non-military objectives of NATO, especially as some of them have a direct bearing on defence itself. They include the closer association of member countries for the promotion of collective well-being and economic and social stability. It became increasingly clear at the Council meeting that particularly those countries in Europe which were feeling most the economic burden of their defence contributions needed a long term aim for the backing of faith and confidence which is so necessary if this organization is to succeed.

To them the problem is not merely to provide for military defence from an abundance of resources; it is a peacetime struggle for stability and indeed for survival after a period of great difficulty, distress and even destruction. So we thought that this required that attention should be paid to the non-military aspects of the treaty which are described in Article 2 of that treaty; to the building up of the North Atlantic community. One often hears this term "Atlantic community" these days without any clear idea what it means. I readily admit that I am probably one of those most guilty of using it without a definite picture of what path its development may follow. But I believe this lack of precision is the result of the healthy circumstance that this community is growing out of satisfactory and practical solutions to common problems, not from preconceived plans for a grandiose if airy structure. At the Ottawa meeting it was clear that a spirit of community, as I have already stated, was developing on solid foundations; that these foundations should now be strengthened; that they should form the basis for closer consultation on foreign policy matters so that decisions would not be made, or certainly would not be announced by any one member of the group without discussing that problem with the other members of the group.

It was also felt that we should work for greater co-operation in the economic sphere, for the strengthening of our free institutions, and for promoting a better understanding between and conditions of well-being among our various peoples.

To promote this development a ministerial committee of five was set up in Ottawa, representing Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and Canada. It will begin its work at Paris on Monday next, though useful preparatory work has been done in London by a group of officials under the chairmanship of a member of the Department of External Affairs. The chairmanship of this ministerial committee falls to me as the next president of the Council; so, as the Prime Minister has indicated, I shall have to attend its meetings when I am in Europe for the meetings of the United Nations Assembly. We have welcomed the appointment of this committee but we do not expect, nor should we expect, immediate or, indeed, early concrete results. Indeed, the Atlantic community is something which will take many years, many decades to develop. That does not mean, however, that we should not work and plan towards this great end now.

To work towards the establishment of a North Atlantic community of nations, all sharing in the great legacy from the past, all with their own special contributions to make in the future, all pledged to be of mutual assistance to one another, is surely a task worthy of our finest efforts and of our greatest zeal. The goal of such a society, strong, varied and secure but not self-centered or exclusive, and anxious to profit by contact with other civilizations, is, it seems to me, an ideal which can support and encourage us all through all the difficulties of the present time.

The Position of Germany

There is one great Western European state which was absent from our Ottawa meeting, but which was very much in our thoughts. I refer to Germany, a country which has made such a great contribution to the growth of and indeed to the destruction of European civilization.

At our Rome meeting the question of free Germany's association in our common defence will be considered, and some highly important decisions may require to be taken then.

I am sure that all hon. members of the House are familiar with the reasons which have made it impossible to conclude a peace settlement with Germany. The main one is the continued division of that country into two areas of occupation, and the refusal of the U.S.S.R., which occupies one area, to permit any German unity except on a basis which they think will ensure communist control—that is Russian control—of the united country. Unity, based on free self-government, must one day soon come to Germany; and, if it is on the right basis, the sooner the better; but it must not come in such a way that a united Germany will be forced to go the way of a united Poland and Czechoslovakia, and become a united Russian satellite.

In the absence of a peace settlement, I think it will be agreed that this nation, whose continued democratic and peaceful development is so important to all of us and to the future of Europe, should not remain indefinitely in its present position. It is in all our best interests that Germany should be encouraged to assume increasing responsibility for the guidance of its own destinies, on the basis of equality within but not domination of the European community. We therefore welcome the progress that has been made toward the closer association of Western Germany with the free world, both at the political level and in terms of German participation in European defence. We also share the desire that a satisfactory conclusion of arrangements for a new contractual relationship replacing the present occupation statute should be achieved in the near future in such a manner as to secure the

wholehearted co-operation of the German people. Yet it must be recognized that the path towards this goal may not be an easy one and that many difficulties lie ahead. However desirable may be the integration of Western Germany in the European community, we must not forget, nor must the Germans forget, the fact that co-operation involves a sharing of responsibilities and that no encouragement should be given to any tendency in Germany to look upon the present negotiation as an opportunity to obtain unconditional guarantees of German security or to assume that we are willing to pay almost any price for German assistance in the defence of Western Europe, even to the extent of accepting with complacency neo-nazi tendencies.

The Middle East

I should like to cross the Mediterranean and say a few words about the Middle East, which is very much on our minds these days, and about which I spoke in a special connection in the House last week. The crisis in Egypt following close on the heels of another dispute in the Middle East which for a time threatened to erupt into violence and which still smoulders. This Anglo-Iranian oil dispute which had been developing for some time, began its present phase on March 20 with the passage of the oil nationalization law by the Iranian Parliament. It has since witnessed the complete shutdown of the vast Iranian oil industry, the expulsion of all United Kingdom oil personnel from that industry, and a reference of the dispute to the United Nations Security Council, the inconclusive result of which brings little credit to that body.

I do not intend to review in detail, because I have not sufficient time in which to do so, the events which have taken place in Iran, in Egypt and elsewhere throughout the Middle East in recent months; but I should like to refer briefly to some of the forces which are at play behind the present unrest in this strategic Middle East area and to try to place them in perspective against the wider background of the security of the Western world. The Iranian and Egyptian disputes have many elements in common; and indeed there is reason to believe that one is the emotional and possibly the political consequence of the other. Both disputes have been characterized by the unilateral breach of a solemn pledge, thereby injuring the structure of international law. Both have had as their original inspiration the natural and justifiable wish of states which have experienced periods of foreign intervention to assert their right to be masters of their domestic affairs, even if in the pursuit of this understandable objective they may do great damage to their own countries.

What is happening in the Middle East is another manifestation, if a distorted one, of the national awakening which in so many parts of the Middle East has led to revolt against outside influences, which often has very quickly deteriorated from legitimate nationalism to militant xenophobia, and indeed now threatens to upset by force all stability in the Middle East, and possibly also in North Africa.

It would be folly indeed to underestimate the strength of this movement, as it would be folly to misunderstand the basis of its inspiration. The tragedy for these countries and a danger to themselves, and indeed to world peace, lies in their blind refusal to recognize that, in their anxiety to gain full control of their affairs by the elimination of foreign influence, they are exposing themselves to the menace of communist penetration and absorption—absorption into the Soviet sphere.

Certainly there is no assurance that countries of the Middle East are capable of defending themselves from outside attack, and with their present stage of economic, political and social development, it is doubtful whether, without the support which the West is able and willing to give them, these countries are capable of maintaining a sufficient level of internal stability to resist the relentless pressure of international communism. On the contrary the unsatisfactory social and economic

conditions which prevail throughout this area render that whole area a fertile ground in which communism, which has already succeeded in falsely identifying itself with nationalism, will thrive and eventually dominate, if allowed to grow unchecked.

Surely it must be abundantly clear that such development would remove at one stroke the independence which the countries concerned claim to be their only objective. The Middle East is strategically far too important to the defence of the North Atlantic area to allow it to become a power vacuum or to pass into unfriendly hands.

It is therefore a matter of major importance to the security of the whole free world, and that includes us, and in the interest of the Middle Eastern states themselves, that the situation in the Mediterranean area be stabilized as quickly as possible, and that the principle of collective security and collective action be extended to embrace this vital area. And indeed a proposal to that effect, as I said last week in the House, had already been made to the Egyptian Government just before they took the action they did take. As we know in the North Atlantic pact, there is no incompatibility between responsible participation in such a collective system and the full exercise of national sovereignty.

The Situation in Korea

Now I turn for a moment to the Far East, to Korea, where a war sometimes called, but is not in our minds, the forgotten war, drags on its weary and bloody way. The aggressor there shows no disposition to cease his aggression. However, the United Nations forces, more broadly representative than when I spoke on the subject last, are showing at heavy cost to themselves, but far heavier cost to the enemy, that aggression does not pay.

The temporary optimism from the initiation of the cease-fire talks was not maintained for very long, but there had been better news in the last few days, and I hope that the period of delaying tactics by the communists may be now over, and that an armistice can be arranged. Certainly the United Nations are not rebuffing any move which might lead to the end of the war. But certainly we also have to be careful in how we deal with any such proposal made from the other side.

If I may adapt a quotation, our motto in that part of the world at the present time might well be: Trust in Kaesong but keep your powder dry. I think it is fair to say also that the United Nations Supreme Commander in the field, General Ridgway, is handling these negotiations with skill, patience and an unprovocative firmness which must command our wholehearted admiration.

Korea is only one problem. There are other Asian questions. So far as we are concerned in this government, we remain willing to discuss these other Asian questions with all those concerned, and to negotiate in respect of them through the United Nations.

There is very real danger in having our diplomacy frozen in the Far East and allowing ourselves no room to manoeuvre. So I suggest we should keep our policy in that part of the world, even now, as flexible as possible. However—and this is important—before we can proceed to any of these further Asian matters which are dealt with in the United Nations resolution of last February, which I think is still valid, the aggression in Korea must first be brought to an end. That is the immediate danger, and that is our immediate purpose, to end that war on honourable terms. If and when that can be done we will not refuse to discuss any other Asian questions relevant to the situation out there.

But aggression is not the only enemy in Korea. There is the enemy of hunger, poverty and misery, the source and the strength of that communism which the Russians have used in other countries for their own unworthy purposes.

I know the House will be glad and proud to know that in the matter of relief of distress in Korea in recent months no country has made a greater contribution than Canada. Indeed I do not know whether any country has contributed as much as Canada. I think however it is true to say that no matter what happens in Korea, the people there have already lost. They are disillusioned and desolate. In that sense the West has also lost; and this is not the least of the tragedies arising out of the Korean aggression.

The Colombo Plan

In referring to this important matter of fighting communism by fighting distress hunger and privation in Asia I should—perhaps I should apologize for the length of time I am taking—say a few words about the development of the Colombo Plan since we last met.

On May 14 last I reported that shortly after our contribution of \$25 million had been voted by this Parliament we took steps to implement our share of the plan by asking the Indian and Pakistan Governments to send over representatives to discuss with us the projects we might finance, or help to finance, having in mind those items which Canada is best fitted to undertake.

Since then we have made some considerable progress, and have had discussions with representatives of those two Governments. In the case of Pakistan, to which we have allocated approximately two-fifths of the total contribution, several interesting projects have been selected. Among these, to name only a few, are an experimental and demonstration livestock farm which we are undertaking, jointly with New Zealand and Australia, and for which Canada expects to supply machinery; an irrigation project for which we expect to provide some pumping equipment; a large colonization or settlement project in the Thal area of the Punjab, for which we hope to provide such items of equipment as dump trucks, motors, pumps and some electrical and transport equipment.

So far as India is concerned, as we foreshadowed in my earlier statement, we have been asked by the Indian Government, and have agreed, to make available a large part of our allocation to that country in the form of wheat. The provision of foodstuffs was clearly envisaged in the original Colombo Plan report, and we think will provide a most welcome support to India in her efforts to combat famine and basically to strengthen her economy. The Indian Government intends to set up what are known as counterpart funds. The rupee equivalent of the value of the wheat we are providing to them will be used as internal financing for development projects they are undertaking under the plan. Those funds would be available for purchases of material within India and of course for Indian labour. We are continuing at the present time to explore with the Indian authorities projects requiring external finance to which we could apply funds over and above those which are being used for wheat. One particular project is an irrigation project in west Bengal to increase rice production in that area.

Japanese Peace Treaty

I cannot leave this part of the world without making a reference to the Japanese peace treaty . . . which was signed at San Francisco on September 8. That was a conference called, not to negotiate a treaty but to sign a treaty. The signature took place only after eleven months of serious diplomatic discussions during which time all the governments concerned including the government of the U.S.S.R., had ample opportunity to express their views. Certainly we expressed our views in regard to the draft which had been submitted originally to us by the United States of America. As a result of those views certain changes were made in the draft. Not all the changes were made that we wished to have made, but in a treaty of this kind you cannot get unanimity with perfection.

On the whole, the treaty as it was signed was considered by the Canadian representatives there to be a good treaty. Of course there were some important omissions in the countries represented at San Francisco, particularly China and India. As far as China was concerned, the reason for that omission was obvious. If the representatives of the Chinese Government on Formosa had been invited to attend that conference, certain delegations would not have turned up. If the representatives of the Communist Government in China had been invited to attend that conference, then more delegations would not have turned up. The obvious thing to do under the circumstances was to postpone the problem of Chinese representation and Chinese accession to the treaty. We regretted also the absence of India for reasons which seemed good to that Government.

But there were other free Asian nations which were present at San Francisco and they spoke in no uncertain way. In signing this treaty we did so, not as a treaty of revenge but of reconciliation. Of course the treaty leaves Japan a much weaker state than she was when she entered the war, and that is as she should be. She has been stripped of all her outer islands and has been reduced to the four main islands. Her capacity to commit aggression again in the future has been very sensibly and very rightly diminished. But although Japan is weaker as a result of this treaty, she is not prostrate, nor, I hope, bitter. I like to think also that this treaty is one treaty after a war which does not bear within it the seeds of future wars. We do not know about that, of course, for sure, and we may not know for many years. In signing a treaty of this type you have to take a calculated risk, but in view of the alternatives those risks on this occasion were worth taking.

This treaty brings Japan back into the family of free nations on the Pacific and gives her an opportunity to contribute to the peace and security there. We hope that she will take advantage of that opportunity. In any event 83 million disciplined, frugal, hard-working and intelligent people cannot be ignored, whether we sign a treaty with them or not.

We also had some special interests in this treaty and we made those known at the conference. We expressed the hope that Japan would not return to certain international trade practices of before the war which had caused so much trouble to so many countries, including our own. We were also interested in the fisheries question. We had hoped at one time that a fisheries agreement would be included in the peace treaty, but that was not possible. However, there was included in the treaty a clause which made it incumbent upon Japan to begin discussions with the United States and Canada for a fisheries arrangement. Those discussions have been going on since the treaty was signed. Satisfactory progress has been made and I hope that an announcement in regard to that progress can be made within the next day or two.

The treaty is now ready for ratification. I think it would be wise on our part before it is submitted to parliament for approval or otherwise, before ratification, to wait and see what happens in Tokyo and Washington, especially in Tokyo where it is now being considered by the Japanese Legislature. It opens a new chapter in our relations with Japan. I hope it will be a happier chapter than that which we have just closed. I think it also opens a new chapter in the security of the Pacific which is just as much a Canadian interest as is the security of the Atlantic.

Pacific Security Arrangements

It may be asked, indeed, and it has already been asked, "why not try to guarantee peace in the Pacific with a pact as you have tried to guarantee it in the Atlantic?" Within a few hours of signing the Japanese Peace Treaty the United States signed a defence pact with Japan. Recently she signed a defence pact with the Philippines, I think on August 30 last. She signed a security arrangement on September 1 last with New Zealand and Australia. But none of these arrangements, not even the tripartite arrangement which I referred to last, constitute anything like a Pacific pact.

Mr. Truman called the New Zealand-Australia-United States security arrangement a natural initial step in consolidation of peace in the Pacific, and that is what it is. It differs from the North Atlantic pact in another way. The obligation assumed under this tripartite Pacific arrangement is to be found in article 4 which reads:

That an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties would be dangerous to its own peace and security and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.

As far as this government is concerned, I think we could almost accept that obligation at the present time, without any Pacific pact, with most of the countries with whose security in the Pacific we are concerned. But this is not a Pacific pact, so the hon. member for Vancouver-Quadra asks why we do not take the lead in negotiating such a Pacific pact. Leaving aside for the moment the propriety of Canada taking leadership in this effort, I suggest that it would be impracticable at the present time to negotiate a Pacific pact similar to the North Atlantic pact. The best proof of that fact is that the United States has separate pacts with Japan, with the Philippines, with New Zealand and with Australia. If the United States has made separate pacts with those countries she did so because she did not think it desirable or practicable to make a general pact.

I think this reasoning of the United States and the other governments referred to seems sensible. If you tried to negotiate at this time a general Pacific pact, whom would you leave out? What about China? Would you include the Chiang Kai-shek Government in Formosa as part of a general Pacific pact, along the lines of the Atlantic pact? If you did not include that Government, would it be easy in the eyes of some governments to leave them out? Would you include the three Indo-Chinese states? Would you include Thailand? Would you include an Asian state that wished to join? If not, how would you exclude them if they wished to join? I suggest that any attempt to negotiate that kind of general Pacific agreement at this stage would not strengthen but weaken security in the Pacific. But I can assure the House at the same time that this Government is vitally interested in security in the Pacific. We are a Pacific country in a geographical as well as in a political sense, and we desire to play our proper part in the Pacific in political and economic as well as in diplomatic matters because that area is becoming of great and growing importance to Canada.

Speaking in Vancouver immediately after the signing of the Japanese Peace Treaty, in a statement to which my hon. friend, the hon. member for Vancouver-Quadra made a reference the other day I said:

We have now in the Pacific certain defence arrangements. The United States and Japan have one. The United States and the Philippines have one. The United States, Australia and New Zealand have one. Canada and the United States, both Pacific powers, have one. It may well be that in the future we will be able to gather together these arrangements into a general Pacific pact, and if that time comes—

And I suggest it has not come yet.

—I am sure that Canada will show her appreciation of the importance of collective security in the Pacific as we have already done in the North Atlantic . . .

The United Nations

My last subject in this survey—and it may be one I should have mentioned first—is our relations with the organization which still remains, with all its weaknesses and its disappointments, our best hope for peace, the United Nations. I do not think I should close my statement without some reference to our world organization, the

Assembly of which is to meet very shortly in Paris, and the Canadian Delegation to which has already been appointed. In that Delegation we have continued what I think is the useful principle of all party representation. This forthcoming meeting of the Assembly may be a very significant one. There are a good many important subjects on the agenda, but even more important than the actual subjects on the agenda is, I think, the feeling in the minds of most delegations which will attend this meeting that the United Nations is now either at or coming close to the crossroads.

There are two main developments which lead me to say that. One is the division of the world which has now become hardened into competing and conflicting blocs, and which has been reflected at the last two Assemblies in every discussion there. If this is going to continue indefinitely, it certainly is going to undermine the usefulness of the assembly as a universal organization. For that development we of the Western world are not of course primarily responsible, but whoever is responsible is doing his part in undermining the foundations of our world organization. We are in danger of that organization becoming nothing more or less than an instrument in the cold war. We have to be on guard against that, because if it does become that then we will have completely altered the ideals which we had for this organization when we signed the charter, long years ago now, as it seems.

Another danger, and it seems to be an increasing one too, is that some members of the United Nations, and not always those who do the most to promote its principles, treat its resolutions almost with contempt. They certainly ignore them if they happen to be against their national policies, and if it becomes the accepted practice of this world organization that any resolution which is against the national interest of any member state can be ignored because of that fact, then it will not be very long before the United Nations will go the way of the League of Nations. We must be on guard against that development and do what we can to stop it.

On the more positive side, the United Nations has shown of course in the last year since the last assembly what it can do in stemming aggression in Korea. The Prime Minister said in this House on April 29, 1948:

Our faith in the United Nations as an effective organization for peace and security has been pretty severely shaken.

However, he added:

What is unshaken is our determination to make of it or within it an effective organization for this purpose.

We have endeavoured to respond to this determination in Canada by supporting, as the Security Council becomes less effective, measures taken within the United Nations Assembly itself to increase its capacity for dealing effectively with any active aggression it might be called to meet. However, far more notable than any resolution or any step of that kind taken at the Assembly is the application of the principle of collective resistance to aggression by those men who are actually fighting for the United Nations in Korea. The Korean experience has provided the free nations with a number of lessons which, if carefully studied and properly interpreted, can be of great benefit to the United Nations in the days ahead. There can be little doubt that the first application of the principle of collective security—and this is an optimistic observation—has strengthened both the principle of collective security and, indeed the United Nations itself.

There are developments of danger and developments of hope in this organization, and I hope that in the forthcoming assembly we may be able to do something which will advance the hopeful developments and cause the dangerous developments to recede. I believe, I have always believed, and most members in this house believe that collective security is a necessity for Canada, and so I believe that we should support all responsible and reasonable proposals for achieving it. Having said that,

I would add that, though aggression of all kinds and in all places should be met and condemned, we must face the fact that at the present time—and the lesson of Korea is very much in my mind when I say this—the free world may not possess the necessary strength to make that principle of collective action effective in every part of the world. Carried to an extreme degree, the theory of unlimited collective security everywhere might, because of the dissipation of strength its application would involve, mean no security anywhere. On the other hand, failure in any instance to defend collective security would deal a serious blow to the hopes of millions who have placed their trust in the United Nations.

This certainly involves us in a dilemma. Those of us who are charged with responsibility in these matters have therefore to exercise pretty careful judgment as to how on any given occasion this principle of collective security can best be put into effect without fatally weakening us for other and possibly more difficult tests. What is involved is essentially an ad hoc calculation of the political, strategic and moral factors which will be present in any particular issue.

The General Outlook

... I am sure the House would expect me to make a few general concluding observations on the situation as I see it, and what my own views are about the days immediately ahead. I think myself that there has been a little general improvement in the international situation in the last six months. I doubt, however, whether there has been any substantial easing of world tension in any respect. It is true I think that in the countries of Western Europe, which I had the privilege of visiting this summer, and where I discussed with those concerned with foreign affairs the possibilities and dangers that lie ahead, it is true in those countries morale is higher, and the persistent and pressing fears of an immediate armed aggression seem to have lessened somewhat. However, against this possible brightening of the picture in one area is the fact that in the Middle East, as I have tried to indicate, there are grave and growing dangers to stability and peace, and that in the Far East the aggressive forces of communist imperialism remain as militant and as defiant as ever. Even in Western Europe itself, the danger of military aggression is ever present, while economic and social difficulties remain a constant threat to stability, and one which the forces of Soviet imperialism are exploiting and will continue to exploit to the limit. Furthermore, if the strictly military picture has improved in the European area, that has been, I think, owing to the certain realization by any country which may now be tempted to break the peace that a group of free countries stand together in resistance to any such aggression, and that the ground on which they stand is becoming firmer. The moral to be drawn from this is therefore not that we should slacken our efforts, but that we should go ahead steadily and with determination to complete the job.

However, there are two types of aggression that we have to fear. There is military aggression, expressing itself in armed action, but there is social and economic aggression which expresses itself through the subversive activity of international communism. As to the first, military aggression, our military weakness—and in the face of Soviet land and air strength it is still a weakness—has been a standing temptation to Soviet attack. In strengthening ourselves, as we have done, and rightly so, to remove that temptation, we have, of course—and this I suppose applies particularly to the European countries—to be careful not to weaken ourselves unnecessarily in the economic and social field, and by doing so encourage the other kind of aggression. How to maintain this proper balance in the days ahead between military power, economic stability and social progress is probably the paramount problem of the free world today, and will only be solved by co-operative action which takes into account every factor, moral, social and economic, as well as military, that makes for strength.

It may well be that the Soviet Union, impressed by the action of the United Nations in Korea, and aware of the far greater residual strength of the West, will

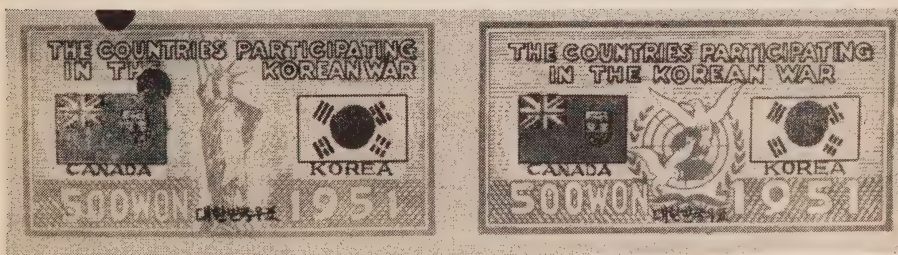
now wish, for tactical reasons, to avoid an open conflict, and try to sap our strength by other means. It may even attempt—indeed it has already attempted and with some effect—to deceive and divide us by false peace campaigns, by exploiting economic and social difficulties. In short, as it has been put very graphically, it may put poison in our soup instead of cutting our throats.

It is, I think, necessary for free countries to take counter measures against this danger as well as against the danger of military aggression. We should, for instance, never lose a chance to drive home the fact—it may be more obvious to us than it is to others — that we are for peace alone; that while we in NATO, for instance, are determined to press forward with our defence programme, undeterred either by threats of war or phony promises of peace, nevertheless our primary purpose is always to prevent war and not to fight one; to ensure that D-day like tomorrow never comes; to underline our desire to use our energy and wealth not for arming but for peaceful, social and economic progress in a world where armaments will not be necessary.

In the kind of situation with which we are faced today, it may be that if we have achieved our defence objectives by, say, the end of 1954, we will have surmounted the most acutely dangerous period; but that in its turn may be followed by the longer term phase of the conflict, the marathon race as opposed to the sprint, and that may last for many, many years. It will require discipline, steadiness and perseverance; a refusal also to yield to the temptation to adopt the policies of even the tactics of those who would destroy us. We must not only maintain, as a normal part of national activity, the level of defence effort required, but also prove to our own and other people that our civilization and our way of life are worthy of this effort.

The achievement of military and social strength, of short-term and long-term objectives, is now a main feature of the policy of every free state. To secure these objectives there must be mutual understanding and confidence. This can be blocked by a feeling, on the one hand, that there is an unequal sharing of the burden of defence. It can be blocked by the feeling on the other hand that there is an unequal sharing of the burden of existence.

This partnership of the free world must then be founded on mutual respect, mutual understanding and mutual aid. It is now backed by increasing strength. With that strength, we can defend ourselves if we have to. From it we can negotiate, if we are given a chance. From strength, used with wisdom and restraint, through negotiation, carried on with realism and sincerity, to a peace which rests on a more solid foundation than any that we have today; that is the course which the governments and peoples of the free world have set, and one which this Government in its foreign policy, and indeed which this Parliament and this people of Canada, will do their best to follow.



KOREAN STAMPS HONOUR CANADA

—National Defence

The Republic of Korea has issued a matched set of stamps, honouring Canada as one of the 19 nations which have sent forces to aid in the war against communist aggression. Designed by Park Moon Cho of the Korean Postal Section, one of the 500-Won stamps is in the United Nations color, a light blue, which symbolizes the sky. The other, in pastel green, represents the fruitful earth.

THE KOREAN CRISIS

After the rejection of his proposal that negotiations towards a cease-fire should be reopened at Songhyon-ni, General Ridgway proposed, on October 4, that the enemy negotiators choose a site half-way between the lines of the two opposing armies. The enemy were unwilling to transfer the negotiations away from Kaesong but, as a result of General Ridgway's insistence, finally agreed to a meeting of liaison officers at Panmunjom, the place six miles south of Kaesong where messages had often been exchanged in the past. General Ridgway agreed to a meeting at the new site as he considered that Panmunjom would meet the "fundamental condition of equality of movement and control".

On October 8 the enemy suggested that both sides assume responsibility for the security of the neutral area around the conference site and agreed to discuss the regulations under which the meetings could be resumed. This again was a concession on the part of the enemy who had previously maintained that the main negotiations should be resumed where they had been broken off on August 22.

Conduct of Future Negotiations

The liaison officers had lengthy discussions over the size of the neutral zone and the content of the regulations for resuming the negotiations. In the midst of these discussions the enemy charged that a United Nations air attack had taken place on Kaesong and Panmunjom killing one Korean and wounding another. This charge was admitted by General Ridgway who promised to take disciplinary action. Finally, on October 22, the two sides reached a series of agreements concerning the conduct of future negotiations as follows:

1. The specific site at which the conference of the delegations will be resumed is in the vicinity of Panmunjom.
2. The conference site area is a circular area having a radius of 10,000 yards centered on the conference site.
3. No hostile acts of any kind shall be carried out by any armed forces of either side including all regular and irregular units and armed individuals of the ground, naval and air forces, against the conference site area as defined above.
4. Except for the military police provided for below, no armed personnel of either side shall be permitted in the conference site area. Designated officers of both sides shall be jointly responsible for the security and the preservation of order within the conference site area. Each side shall provide a military police detachment of two officers and 15 men to assist in the performance of these duties while the delegation parties are present in the conference site area. During the periods when the delegation parties are not present in the conference site area, one officer and five men of the military police from each side will be stationed in the conference site area. The military police shall carry only small arms, namely pistols, rifles and carbines.
5. Both delegations and their parties shall have free access to, and free movement within the Panmunjom conference site area. The composition of each delegation party shall be as determined by the senior delegate thereof.
6. Physical facilities and communications and administrative arrangements with respect to the negotiations and the conference site area will be as agreed upon by the liaison officers of both sides. The delegation of the Korean Peoples Army and the Chinese Peoples Volunteers will be responsible for providing a suitable joint facility for use as a meeting place of the delegations and for the arrangements within the conference room. Except for this installation each delegation will provide its own facilities.

7. All armed forces of both sides, including regular and irregular units and armed individuals of the ground, naval and air forces shall refrain from hostile acts of any kind against the circular area having a radius of three miles centered on the traffic circle at Kaesong, against the camp area of the United Nations Command delegation contained within a circle having a radius of three miles centered as indicated on the attached map, and against the area of 200 meters to either side of the Kaesong-Panmunjom-Munsan Road.

8. The date and time for the resumption of the conference of the delegations will be determined by agreement between liaison officers of both sides.

The first meeting of negotiators took place on October 25.

Military Operations

Throughout October United Nations air attacks on communications facilities in North Korea continued. On the ground, most of the fighting took place on the east-central front where the United Nations forces conducted a series of local attacks with limited objectives.



—National Defence

VETERANS OF KOREAN WAR IN OTTAWA

Ottawa played host on November 1 to a group of wounded veterans representing the 19 countries which have contributed to the United Nations forces in Korea. During their stay in the capital, the group of veterans which included Cpl. Jean Raymond Roy of Montreal, who served in Canada's Korea Brigade were entertained by the Prime Minister, the Minister of National Defence and the leaders of the other political parties in Parliament.

The group is shown above in the Memorial Room of the Parliament Buildings, examining the hand-engraved Honour Roll of Canadian veterans who died in World War I. Left to right: Sgt. Molla Kebede, ETHIOPIA; Pte. Jushal Both, INDIA; Major Goreko, GREECE; Stoker Chuch Haridhi, THAILAND; Staff-Sgt. Celerino Mabao, PHILLIPINE ISLANDS; Capt. Richard A. Baldwin, Houston, Texas, U.S.A.; M-Sgt. Anthony Herbert, Hermine, Penn., U.S.A.; Sgt. Maj. Mamoushet Goshime, ETHIOPIA; Sgt. Ziya Buras, TURKEY; Seaman Francisco M. Guzman, COLOMBIA; Quartermaster Kim Chun Bea, Seoul, KOREA.

GOVERNMENT DIRECTION OF CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

The following extracts from official Soviet pronouncements are printed as illustrations of the way in which art and literature in the U.S.S.R. are required to conform to standards set by the ruling political party. In 1946 the Soviet authorities began a new campaign to compel all artistic activity to serve the needs of the state. One of the opening moves in this campaign was the announcement of the decree, reproduced in part below, on the magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*. The decree was supplemented by a speech by the late Andrei Zhdanov, then a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party, who took a leading part in the assertion of party control of such matters. Although Zhdanov is now dead the campaign continues. The other extracts printed below relate to music, in 1948, and to the theatre, in 1949.

These statements deal with one or two particular writers and musicians and with two particular magazines but they are clearly meant to be taken as a general instruction to all writers, musicians and literary publications. The persons and magazines named may be regarded as examples which happened to be chosen at the time of the decrees. Many others have since been criticized on similar grounds. The excerpt printed from an article in *Pravda*, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, is illustrative of the directions issued from time to time in *Pravda* and other official journals. These criticisms are also typical of the way in which control is exercised over the entire field of culture and science.

C.S.P.U. Decree

On August 14 the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (b) ⁽¹⁾ issued a decree "On the Magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*" the tone and content of which are sufficiently illustrated by the following quotations:

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) notes that the literature and art magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, published in Leningrad, are being conducted in a completely unsatisfactory way.

In the magazine *Zvezda*, side by side with significant and successful works by Soviet writers, there have recently appeared many works which are devoid of ideas and ideologically harmful. The grave error of *Zvezda* lies in offering a literary rostrum to the writer Zoshchenko, whose works are alien to Soviet literature. The editors of *Zvezda* were aware that Zoshchenko has long specialized in writing empty, inane and trivial things, propounding the corrupt negation of ideas, triviality, and indifference to politics, calculated to disorientate our youth and poison its consciousness. The most recent of the published stories of Zoshchenko, "The Adventures of an Ape" (*Zvezda*, No. 5-6, 1946) is a vulgar lampoon on Soviet life and Soviet people. Zoshchenko portrays Soviet customs and people in a monstrously caricatured form, slanderously depicting the people as primitive, uncultured, stupid, with Philistine tastes and customs. The maliciously hooligan description by Zoshchenko of our life is accompanied by anti-Soviet attacks . . .

The magazine *Zvezda* also broadly popularizes the works of the writer Akhmatova, whose literary and socio-political personality has long been familiar to Soviet society. Akhmatova is a typical representative of the empty poetry without ideas which is alien to our people. Her poems, which are imbued with a spirit of pessimism and decadence, expressing the tastes of old drawing-room poetry which has never progressed beyond the attitudes of bourgeois aristocratic aesthetics and decadence—"art for art's sake"—and which has not wished to keep in step its people, are harmful in the education of our youth and cannot be tolerated in Soviet literature . . .

(1) Communist Party of the Soviet Union (bolsheviks)

Like the editors of *Zvezda*, the editors of the magazine *Leningrad* have permitted grave errors in having published a number of works penetrated with a spirit of obsequiousness to everything foreign . . .

How could it happen that *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* published in the hero city known for its advanced revolutionary traditions, a city which was always a nursery of advanced ideas and advanced culture, permitted apolitical works without idea content, and alien to Soviet literature, to creep into its magazines? What is the significance of the errors made by the editors of *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*?

The leading employees of the magazines, in the first place their editors, Comrades Sayanov and Likharev, forgot the thesis of Leninism that our magazines, be they scientific or artistic, cannot be apolitical. They forgot that our magazines are a powerful means whereby the Soviet State educates the Soviet people and, in particular, the youth, and for this reason must be guided by the phenomenon which comprises the vital foundation of the Soviet structure—its politics. The Soviet system cannot suffer its youth to be educated in a spirit of apathy towards Soviet politics, in a spirit of disrespect and lack of ideas.

The strength of Soviet literature, the most advanced literature in the world, is that it is a literature in which there are not and cannot be any interests other than those of the people and the State . . .

For this reason any preaching of lack of ideas, indifference to politics, “art for art’s sake”, is alien to Soviet literature, harmful to the interests of the Soviet people and State and can have no place in our magazines . . .

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) decrees:

The editors of *Zvezda*, the board of directors of the Union of Soviet Writers, and the propaganda administration of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) are to take steps for the unconditional elimination of the errors and weaknesses of the magazine indicated in our decree, are to correct the line of the magazine and guarantee a high level of ideas and in art while forbidding access to the magazine for the works of Zoshchenko, Akhmatova and others like them . . .

The Zhdanov Report

At about the same time Zhdanov made a lengthy report to the Leningrad Party *Aktiv*⁽¹⁾ and to a meeting of Leningrad writers on the shortcomings of these two Leningrad magazines. He cruelly dissected and ridiculed the humorous stories of Zoshchenko and the highly individual lyrics of Akhmatova, quoted Lenin’s strictures against literary works which did not serve the Party and hence the people, declared that the best traditions of Soviet literature were a continuation of the best traditions of Russian 9th century literature created by “our great revolutionary democrats — Belinsky, Dobrolyubov, Chernishevsky, Saltykov-Shchedrin, continued by Plekhanov, and scientifically worked out and put on a sound basis by Lenin and Stalin” and defined the wishes of the Central Committee as follows:

Comrades, what does the Central Committee demand and desire? The Central Committee of the Party desires that the Leningrad *Aktiv* and Leningrad writers should well understand that the time has come when it is necessary to raise our ideational work to a high level. It behooves the young Soviet generation to increase the strength and power of socialist Soviet development, using to the full the moving forces of Soviet society for a new unparalleled flourishing of our well-being and culture. For these great tasks the young generation must be educated to be steadfast, courageous, unafraid of obstacles, ready to meet them and able to overcome them. Our people must be an educated people, with high ideals and with high cultural and moral requirements and tastes. For this purpose it is necessary that our literature and our journals should not stand aside from the tasks of the day but should help the Party and the people to educate youth in a spirit of supreme devotion to Soviet development, in a spirit of supreme service to the interests of the people.

(1) Active members

A few days later the *Aktiv* of the Leningrad Party Organization assembled to discuss Zhdanov's report and passed a long and humble resolution in accordance with it and the writers of Leningrad were summoned to a special meeting to endorse the decree. If any voices were raised in defence of so popular a humorist as Zoshchenko and so gifted a poetess as Akhmatova, they went unrecorded.

Decree Applied to Music

On February 10, 1948, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) issued a decree, from which the following extract is taken, in which the principles enunciated in the decree on the magazines *Zvezda* and *Leningrad* were applied in the field of music:

As far back as 1936, the anti-popular formalistic distortions in the work of D. Shostakovich were subjected to sharp criticism in the organ of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b), *Pravda*, in connection with the appearance of the composer's opera, *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk*, and the harm and danger of this trend in its effects upon the development of Soviet music were exposed . . .

Despite these warnings and in the face of the instructions issued by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) in its decisions on the journals *Zvezda* and *Leningrad*, on the film *Bolshaya Zhizn*, on the repertoire of theatres and measures for their improvement, no reorganization has been carried out in Soviet music . . . The situation is particularly bad in the sphere of symphonic and operatic work. It is a case of composers adhering to a formalistic and anti-popular trend. This trend has found its fullest expression in the works of composers such as D. Shostakovich, S. Prokofiev, A. Khachaturyan, V. Shebalin, G. Popov, N. Myaskovski and others, in whose work formalistic distortions and anti-democratic tendencies in music, alien to the Soviet people and to its artistic tastes, are particularly clearly represented. Characteristic features of this music are the denial of the basic principles of classical music, the propounding of atonality, dissonance and disharmony, which are alleged to be the expression of 'progress' and 'innovation' in the development of musical form, the rejection of the most important bases of musical composition such as melody, predilection for confusing and neuropathical combinations, which make of music, cacophony and a chaotic accumulation of sounds. This music is strongly redolent of the contemporary modernistic, bourgeois music of Europe and America, which reflects the miasma of bourgeois culture, the complete denial of musical art, the impasse which it has reached . . .

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) considers that this unhappy situation on the front of Soviet music has come about as the result of the incorrect line pursued in the sphere of Soviet music by the Committee on Art, attached to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and by the Organizing Committee of the Union of Soviet Composers . . .

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(b) decrees:

1. To condemn the formalistic trend in Soviet music as anti-popular and in fact leading to the liquidation of music.
2. To instruct the propaganda and agitation department of the Central Committee and the Committee on Art to secure a rectification of the position in Soviet music, the elimination of the shortcomings outlined in the present decree of the Central Committee, and to secure the development of Soviet music in a realistic direction.

Criticism Continued

Criticism of creative work in all the arts on the basis of the above decrees has continued by means of authoritative articles in *Pravda* and other influential periodicals. Of this type of criticism the following excerpts from an article entitled "Concerning an Anti-Patriotic Group of Theatre Critics", printed in *Pravda* of January 28, 1949, will serve as an example:

An anti-patriotic group has developed in theatrical criticism. It consists of followers of bourgeois aestheticism. They penetrate our press and operate most freely in the pages of the magazine *Theatre* and the newspaper *Soviet Art*. These critics have lost their responsibility to the people. They are bearers of a homeless cosmopolitanism which is deeply repulsive to Soviet man and hostile to him. They obstruct the development of Soviet literature; the feeling of national Soviet pride is alien to them.

Such critics attempt to discredit the progressive phenomena of our literature and art, furiously attacking precisely the patriotic and politically purposive works, under the pretext of their alleged artistic imperfection. It is worth recalling that precisely such attacks were once made by ideological opponents upon the work of the great writer Maxim Gorky, and upon such valuable works as "Summer Love" by T. Trenev, and others . . .

How did certain critics receive the statements made by the Party on the repertoire of the dramatic theatres and measures to improve it? Did the severe, just Party criticism stimulate them to reconsider their position? Did these critics engage in self-criticism?

No. They did not wish to regard themselves critically because they were afraid of discovering their own complete ideological bankruptcy. But they also failed to halt their clannish and anti-patriotic activities, now directly against the Party's instructions. Certain leaders of this group entrenched themselves in the musty commissions of the All-Union Theatrical Society. Here, having assembled their friends around them, they began to fabricate a falsified "public opinion" against the new Soviet plays, actually against the Soviet repertoire in general . . .

Hissing and maligning, attempting to form a kind of literary underground, they defamed all the best that has appeared in Soviet dramaturgy. They did not find a kind word for such plays as "The Great Force", "A Moscow Character", "Our Daily Bread", "Large Destiny". Plays which have been awarded Stalin prizes were particular targets of their malicious and slanderous thrusts.

Of course, there are still no few shortcomings in many plays of the current Soviet repertoire. Naturally they are all subject to creative, comradely criticism, ideological and artistic. But it was not to such criticism that the esthetic gossips devoted their thought and concern. They defamed these plays in wholesale fashion and precisely because these plays, with all their shortcomings, are imbued with the Soviet ideological attitude and sense of principle; raise most important political questions; help the Party and the Soviet people in the struggle against kowtowing before bourgeois things foreign; in the struggle against bureaucratism, against pilfering, against the prevailing of private motives over social ones. All these plays instill Soviet patriotism and endeavor to show on the stage, with the strength of artistic portraits, all that is new and progressive, all that is being born in Soviet society . . .

The top-priority task of Party criticism is the ideological crushing of this anti-patriotic group of theatre critics.

ESTIMATES AND THEIR PREPARATION

About this time each year, the Department has to turn its mind to the problem of how much money it will need to carry on its business for a twelve-month period beginning some six months hence on April 1 of the new year.

In other words, we have to estimate what it will cost us to do what we should be doing eighteen months ahead not only in Ottawa but in thirty-four different countries scattered over the globe where the costs of supplies and services are wobbling uncomfortably and where movements in exchange rates and revaluations of currencies can nullify estimates over-night.

The best, therefore, that we can hope to come up with is a "guestimate". But we strive to make it as informed a guess as possible; for, as taxpayers, too, we are anxious to be assessed on the basis of estimates which will bear the closest possible resemblance to proper expenditures.

Before considering the preparation of the estimates, it might be well to say something about the manner in which they are set up and the various restrictions which are inherent in the form in which they are approved. It is important to remember that Parliament does not approve a lump sum of money for running the country's external business and then leave it to the Department to apportion it among the various services as it sees fit. It ties strings around parcels of the money to ensure that each parcel is used for a specific purpose. For example, Parliament approved (as it did in June of this year) not \$11,701,395 for running the Department and paying Canada's contribution to certain international bodies, but \$2,272,597 for running the Department at home; \$4,492,816 for running the Department abroad; \$225,000 for Canadian Representation at International Conferences; \$15,000 to assist distressed Canadians abroad, and so on through thirty-seven absolutely separate packages of money known as Votes — each Vote representing an activity of the Department, the subject of which lends itself to separate consideration. And money may not be moved from one Vote to another without the approval of Parliament.

For this reason if for no other, it would be necessary to estimate by Votes.

Primary Allotments

Parliament may, therefore, be said to exercise control of the total amount voted for each Department down as far as the Votes. Parliament, of course, could not make a very intelligent assessment of the Votes if they had before them for consideration only the bare totals of the Vote. To meet the need for further information, the printed Estimates show each Vote broken down into the main headings — known as Primary Allotments — under which money will be spent. For example, the Vote for operating the Department abroad is made up of fifteen Primary Allotments, examples of which are, Salaries; Travelling and Removal Expenses; Telephones, Telegrams and other Communications Services; Rental of Buildings; and Repairs to Property.

These Primary Allotments not only show Parliament how the total of a Vote is arrived at; they are also the instruments by which a further control is exercised upon Departmental spendings. The Primary Allotments are approved by the Treasury Board, a Committee of the Cabinet; and money may not be moved from one Primary Allotment to another without their approval — and then only if surplus money which may be borrowed exists in one of the other Primary Allotments in the same Vote. For it must be remembered that the total amount of the Vote itself may not be exceeded without the approval of Parliament.

For this reason then, if for no other, it would be necessary to estimate not only by Votes but also by Primary Allotments within the Votes.

Objects of Expenditure

In actual fact, however, the books of the Department are kept, and hence the estimating is done, on a breakdown of expenditures finer than the Primary Allotments. These finer breakdowns are known as Objects of Expenditure. For example, under the Vote for Departmental Administration, \$203,200 is earmarked as a Primary Allotment for Telephones, Telegrams and other Communications Services. This amount is made up of four separate Objects of Expenditure: Telephones, Telegrams, Teletypes, and the Carriage of Diplomatic Mail; for practice has shown the need of keeping records of expenditure in this Primary under those four Objects in order that separate expenditure patterns for each may be studied.

The Vote themselves, therefore, are broken down into the finest detail considered necessary and practicable. Almost one hundred of these separate Objects of Expenditure appear as cogs in the Departmental accounting machine. Not all of them apply to each of the Votes, it is true, but enough of them are tagged to each Vote to give us a picture of expenditure considered sufficiently detailed for proper control. For example, the expenditures made each month by each of our Missions abroad are parcelled out into forty-seven different Objects. We consider that division to be sufficiently detailed for present purposes. Should we want more detail, we can easily design more expenditure objects to get it.

The most satisfactory and satisfying method of estimating for expenditure is to do so in the greatest possible detail. The alternative would be to reach up in the air and come down with a figure. It might be a good figure; it might be bad. But good or bad, it could never be supported. And plenty of support is necessary for the latter consideration of the Estimates, first, by the Treasury Board, second, by the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs, and lastly, by Parliament itself.

Breakdown of Estimates

At this time of year, then, all Divisions of the Department which have a knowledge of any project that will cost money, and all Missions abroad, are asked by the Finance Division — which co-ordinates the work of preparation of the Estimates — to make known their needs and to support them in detail. For the Missions abroad, particularly, this involves a detailed study. They are asked to estimate on the basis of the forty-seven Objects of Expenditure which go to make the amount provided for them each year. To assist them, the Department prepares a statement of the amount the Mission expended under each of these headings during the last fiscal year and during the first half of the current fiscal year. The Mission is asked to estimate what they will need under each heading for the remainder of the fiscal year, and — upon the basis of current expenditure and anticipated local trends in costs — what they estimate they will need to carry them for the full fiscal year beginning April 1 next. And they have to do this not only for their running costs but also for anticipated expenditures on Capital account, i.e., for buildings, structural repairs and furnishings.

While Missions abroad are doing this, the Divisions in Ottawa are likewise projecting themselves forward and evaluating their financial requirements. The United Nations Division, for example, gathers all possible information affecting the Canadian Government's contributions to the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies. The Economic Division, familiar as it is with Government planning in international matters, particularly insofar as assistance to under-developed countries is concerned, prepares its plans for contributions for the coming year. The Personnel Division and the Establishments and Organization Division consider the needs of the Department from the point of view of numbers of staff and their salaries and allowances. The International Conferences Section calculates what amount will be necessary for Canada's participation in conferences anticipated during that year. The Supplies and Properties Division, which concerns itself with the estimates of expenditures from

Posts abroad on Capital account, has to sift the requests and arrange them in a priority order, for not all of the desirable property developments abroad could or should be undertaken in any one year. And so on throughout the Department.

Departmental Report Prepared

When all this information has been obtained, the Finance Division prepares the statement of over-all Department financial requirements, supported by all the detail it can lay its hands on. This formidable mass of material is then considered by the Under-Secretary and the Minister and adjusted in accordance with Departmental planning and the over-all Government fiscal policy. When an agreed figure has been arrived at, the Minister passes the Estimates to the Minister of Finance who, at an appropriate time, invites him to appear before the Treasury Board to answer any question they may have concerning the amounts of money he is asking for to carry on his business for the coming fiscal year. Once the Treasury Board is satisfied, the Estimates are ready for printing and for later consideration — insofar as this Department is concerned — first by the Standing Committee of the House on External Affairs which conducts a detailed examination of them, and, finally, by Parliament.



IMMIGRATION TO CANADA FROM PAKISTAN

The Department of External Affairs announced on October 23 the conclusion of an immigration agreement between the Governments of Pakistan and Canada. The agreement took the form of an exchange of notes made in Karachi and came into effect immediately. The Canadian note was signed by Mr. Geoffrey S. Murray, Acting High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan, and the Pakistani note by the Honourable Chaudri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations.

The agreement, which may be terminated by either government on six months notice, reads as follows:

- (1) In the twelve month period commencing on the 1st day of January, 1951, and in each succeeding twelve month period thereafter, the admission to Canada for permanent residence of one hundred citizens of Pakistan, including both sexes and all ages, shall be authorized provided the immigrants comply with the provisions of the Canadian Immigration Act.
- (2) In addition to the citizens of Pakistan whose entry to Canada for permanent residence is authorized in accordance with paragraph (1) above, a citizen of Pakistan who can otherwise comply with the provisions of the Canadian Immigration Act may be admitted to Canada for permanent residence if he or she is the husband, wife, or unmarried child under twenty-one years of age of any Canadian citizen legally admitted to and resident in Canada and if the settlement arrangements in Canada are shown to the Canadian authorities to be satisfactory.
- (3) The provisions of Canadian Order-in-Council P.C. 2115, dated the 16th day of September, 1930, as amended by Order-in-Council P.C. 6229 of the 28th day of December, 1930, shall not apply to citizens of Pakistan.
- (4) The admission to Canada as non-immigrants of citizens of Pakistan shall not be affected by the preceding paragraphs.

This agreement is almost identical to that concluded with the Government of India earlier this year.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN FOREIGN POLICY⁽¹⁾

By the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson.

IV

Canada's North Atlantic policy comes closer home, because that area includes the three countries that are nearest to us historically, politically, and even geographically: the United Kingdom, the United States and France. Our policy here is to help build up a cohesive group of states, closely co-operating in all fields of activity. That objective will not be achieved quickly or easily. It will never be achieved if we do not succeed in renewing and maintaining the vigour and progressive character of our common Western civilization and if we do not strengthen its unifying forces.

The restless intellectual energy of the West has created cathedrals, philosophic systems and turbo-jet engines. It has greatly extended the frontiers of knowledge and has spread Western science and trade throughout the world. The national states which have been formed during this process have sometimes through their own rivalries come close to destroying the civilization of which they were all a part. Yet, in spite of the wars in which they have been engaged, they have always recognized that they had much in common. They all acknowledge, for instance, their debt to Greek speculation, to Hebrew prophecy, to Roman law and to the Christian faith. The countries of the new world all share in these traditions and form a part of the same civilization. Canadians are never likely to forget the fact, since we have two mother countries in Europe. With one of them we have maintained, by our own deliberate choice, a political connection. With the other, we have kept close cultural relations. The bells in the steeples along the St. Lawrence round which the villages cluster still ring out to remind us that Paris and Chartres are as much a part of our heritage as Canterbury and London.

The wealth of this common civilization — material, intellectual and moral — carelessly dissipated though some of it has been, is, nevertheless, immense. To work toward the establishment of a North Atlantic community of nations, all sharing in this great legacy from the past, all with their own special contributions to make in the future, all pledged to be of mutual assistance to one another, is surely a task worthy of our finest effort and of our greatest zeal. The goal of such a society, strong, varied and secure but not self-centered or exclusive, and anxious to profit by contact with other civilizations, is an ideal, it seems to me, which can support and encourage us through all the difficulties of the present time.

No country has a greater stake in the success or failure of this great movement than Canada. For we are both North American and European. Before the last war, the spectre haunting Canadian policy-makers was that the United States would remain aloof from British and French efforts to protect the peace against Nazi and Fascist aggression. Today the spectre is that the United States may feel it necessary to pursue policies inside our coalition which the other members cannot wholeheartedly follow; or that inadequate co-operation from the other members may discourage American effort and leadership to the point where Washington may decide to "go it alone." Any Canadian government is bound to do what it can to exorcise these dangers; and this may mean at times expressing its own views forthrightly in London or Paris or, above all, in Washington, where the center of power now lies. This is the first principle of Canadian diplomacy. It is founded on the inescapable fact that no

(1) Reprinted in two parts, of which this is the second, from an article in *Foreign Affairs*, October 1951, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, New York City. The first part of this article was reprinted in the October issue of *External Affairs*.

country in the world has less chance of isolating itself from the effect of American policies and decisions than Canada. If Washington "went it alone," where would Ottawa go?

We recognize, however, that a diplomacy of this kind, depending as it does on the influence Canada can exert with greater powers, can be carried out successfully only if our interventions are restrained, responsible and constructive; and if we act, in discharging our own obligations, in a way which receives and deserves the respect of our friends in the coalition. For us the very essence of the North Atlantic coalition, and of its developing sense of community, is that the co-operation which it makes possible bridges the ocean.

Though it has deep roots and is a natural creation, the North Atlantic community is still in its infancy as an association commanding loyalty and support. It is, as yet, only an incipient entity, and, so far as I am aware, has made only one appearance in an international instrument — in Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty. The Canadian Government sets great store by that Article as an earnest of future co-operation in the North Atlantic area in other than military fields.

It may be that, while the North Atlantic community is gradually developing, an even more tightly-knit grouping in Western Europe may emerge. The arguments for closer co-operation among the countries of Western Europe as a method both of muting old antagonisms and of increasing economic efficiency by providing a larger market are strong. It is for European countries themselves to decide whether they think that integration of this kind would be in their own best interests.

The Canadian Government has followed with great interest and sympathy these moves toward European unity. We hope, however, that they will be made within the framework of that wider movement toward a North Atlantic community. It would be premature at this stage, I think, to attempt to decide whether such a community could grow more rapidly if the countries of Western Europe were first to form a closer association among themselves, or were to move toward membership in the North Atlantic community as national entities, retaining as high a degree of national sovereignty as the United States and Canada. However, even now it seems clear to us that the creation of an exclusive and probably high-cost trading bloc in Western Europe would be unwise and unfruitful. It is equally clear that an attempt to form a solid neutral political grouping in Western Europe which would weaken or even break the defence links which now bind North America to Western Europe would in the long run be disastrous both to Europe and to the cause of freedom itself. It would also be highly dangerous for North America since, in the view of the Canadian Government, Western Europe is of greater strategic importance than any other area in the world. Indeed, it was that strategic appreciation of our own security interest which above all else led us to accept the military obligations contained in the North Atlantic Treaty.

Canada regards its NATO commitments as a particular means for implementing the general doctrine of collective security embodied in the United Nations Charter. The first Article of the Charter enunciates a universal obligation which rests on all members of the United Nations alike "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace." That obligation must be honoured if the morale of countries in exposed positions is to be maintained, and if the melancholy story of the 'thirties, when one victim after another was picked off by the aggressor, is not to be repeated. On the other hand, under present circumstances when the military strength of the free world, although increasing, is much less in many important categories than the military might of its adversaries, and when we are living through a period which is neither peace nor war, the general obligation stated in the forefront of the Charter cannot always be automatically interpreted as a cast-iron commitment to resist aggression anywhere it may occur

with unlimited military force. If that reasoning were accepted, the theory of unlimited collective action everywhere might mean in practice no real security anywhere. While recognizing aggression always for what it is, and while taking appropriate action against it, we will yet need to exercise judgment in any particular case to determine how the obligation of collective security can most effectively be implemented so that aggressors may not exploit the provisions of the Charter to dissipate more than would be advisable the presently limited military forces of the free world. In certain regions aggression must obviously be countered with every military resource that can be mustered. To ensure the protection of these areas, the general obligation of the Charter must be put in more precise and automatic form. This, I believe, can best be done by the negotiation of security pacts for particular areas; indeed that is the immediate purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty.

The need to exercise judgment in deciding how the security obligations of the Charter can be discharged to the best effect does not mean that we can ever afford to turn a blind eye to any act of aggression, or can pick and choose among possible victims, helping some and leaving others entirely to their fate. Nor does it mean that there is one law to be applied to the strong and another to the weak. It does mean, however, that the responsibility of defending the free world in the present circumstances is so grave that those who share it will require the highest qualities of intelligence as well as the most sensitive consciences in deciding where the limited forces at their disposal should be applied. For the time being this principle may seem of not much more than academic importance since any armed attack on a large scale, no matter where it occurred, might easily precipitate a general war, and since one of the most pressing tasks of diplomacy is to convince would-be aggressors that they cannot count on immunity from instant retaliation if they move against their neighbours. But there have been situations, even within the present year, when the necessity for careful judgment has been highly relevant; and it is quite possible that similar situations may recur.

V

Let no one think, however, that this attitude indicates that the Canadian Government is, or has been, under any temptation to abandon the principle of collective security. The facts speak for themselves. The contingent which we have contributed to the United Nations forces in Korea is the third largest of all those which have been provided by members of the United Nations. Our troops, our ships and our planes have been sent to Korea to maintain the principle of collective security. That will also be the purpose of the brigade group and the 11 squadrons of aircraft which we have undertaken to station in Western Europe.

Let no one think, either that we have lost faith in the United Nations. We believe that the United Nations has still a central rôle to play in security matters, and we welcome the inquiry now being made in accordance with the "Uniting for Peace" resolution of last November to see how the organization can be put in a position where it can carry out this rôle more swiftly and effectively than in the past. The United Nations has, of course, other important functions to perform. But it is probably true that unless it can prove itself as a security organization its vitality will be sapped. Under the strong and resolute leadership of the United States it has met the challenge in Korea and has shown its value as a means of organizing collective resistance to aggression. It should not be expected, however, that the theory of collective security can be translated into practice without encountering complexities and special problems. One of these problems, to my mind, is how to make the best use of the free world's growing, but still limited, military resources for the maintenance of world-wide security.

Another problem which has been revealed by this first attempt to organize collective security on a large scale is how to devise a mode of association which

will allow for effective leadership and yet give a strong sense of participation to all those countries which are contributing military forces. The same problem has also risen within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Canada shares with her allies a real concern in finding a solution to this problem. The field of our foreign interests and the extent of our military commitments have in recent months been almost visibly stretched; and such a process can never be accomplished without discomfort. This will be eased and Canada's participation made most effective only if Canadians can be made to feel that their share in the vital decisions which must be made is proportionate to their contribution. But that is a necessity for many other countries besides Canada. Indeed, it is a requirement to which great importance is attached by all countries which, like my own, have voluntarily and wholeheartedly accepted the leadership of the United States.

There is, I think, no task more difficult of accomplishment than the leadership of a coalition of friendly but free nations, agreed on objectives but not always agreed on how they should be reached. The operation of a coalition in wartime, as all history teaches, is difficult enough. It is more difficult in peacetime when the absence of external danger accentuates the importance of smaller conflicts of interest and advantage between the various allies. It is most difficult of all in a time such as the present of "partial peace"—or, if you like, "phony peace"—when the threat to security is present but when the willingness to strive and sacrifice which accompanies an all-out armed struggle for survival can be maintained only with great effort. The problem is complicated by the necessity of basing our association on a theory of sovereign equality of states, which is sometimes hard to square with the fact that the states concerned are unequal in power and in responsibility. The reconciliation of fact and theory will require among all of us qualities of restraint, understanding and tolerance; a vision wider than our own national boundaries.

Mr. Acheson put the point wisely and succinctly when he said on June 29 in Washington that "the pattern of responsibility within which we operate is a responsibility to interests which are broader than our own..." We in Canada are confident that such a pattern of responsibility and such a mode of freely accepted association can increasingly be realized. In that confidence, we will continue to make our contribution to the creation of a peaceful world in which freedom can be secure.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

Speech from the Throne

In the Speech from the Throne, read at the opening of the 5th Session of the 21st Parliament on October 9, 1951, announcement was made of the intention of the Government to introduce into the debates of the Houses the following matters of external policy:

- (1) Canada's contribution to the United Nations cause in Korea.
- (2) Measures taken by Canada to fulfil its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
- (3) Ratification of a protocol to enable an invitation to be sent to Greece and Turkey to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
- (4) Construction by Canada alone of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

Mr. Cauchon (L, Beauharnois), the first speaker to discuss any of these topics, opened the debate on the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne on October 12. He was followed the same afternoon by Mr. J. A. Simmons. During the ensuing week, the following speakers discussed the same subjects:

- October 15 — Mr. Drew (PC, Carleton)
Mr. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown)
Mr. McIvor (L, Fort William)
Mr. Gillis (CCF, Cape Breton South)
- October 16 — Mr. Brooks (PC, Royal)
- October 17 — Mr. Bruneau (L, Prescott)
Mr. Dinsdale (PC, Brandon)
Mr. Wright (CCF, Melfort)
Mr. LaCroix (L, Quebec-Montmorency)
- October 18 — Mr. MacLean (L, Huron-Perth)
Mr. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra)
- October 19 — Mr. Campney (L, Vancouver Centre)
Mr. Riley (L, Saint John-Albert)
Mr. Argue (CCF, Assiniboia)
- October 24 — Mr. Gibson (Ind. Comox-Alberni)
Mr. Boivin (L, Shefford)
- October 29 — Mr. Boisvert (L, Nicolet-Yamaska)

External Affairs Policy

On October 22, Mr. St. Laurent made the following motion:

That this House approves the continuation of Canada's participation in the efforts being made through the United Nations to establish international peace, and in particular to defeat aggression and restore peace in Korea, and by the North Atlantic Treaty nations to deter aggression and promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

The Prime Minister next reviewed the developments that had occurred during the previous Session in Canadian policy regarding the Korean war and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and continued:

While there is nothing specifically new in our programme, and while hon. members are not being asked to approve any change or any expansion of existing policies

... it is nevertheless true that the course of world events, particularly in the past two years, has made it necessary for Canada, in concert with other free nations, to adopt fundamentally new measures in our external relations ...

In the North Atlantic area we have undertaken to send armed forces overseas in time of peace, which is certainly something new. These Canadian forces will take their place in an international formation designed as a deterrent to aggression, a safeguard of peace in the whole North Atlantic area and a guarantee of the security of Canada itself ...

It seemed to us that it would be a source of encouragement to our forces in Korea and to the forces we are about to dispatch to Europe, as well as strengthening the position of those who will represent Canada at these international meetings, if there were an affirmation by this House of its wholehearted and, I would hope, unanimous support of the efforts our country is making to help maintain peace and security in the world ...

Mr. Pearson rose next, to support the Prime Minister's motion, and announced his intention of giving the House "a general ... review of the international situation at the present time" and of discussing "some developments in that situation" that had occurred since the previous session.*

Pacific Pact

Recurring to the subject of a "Pacific pact", already discussed in his sessional statement the previous day and referred to in speeches by Mr. Macdonnell, Mr. Green, Mr. Graydon and Mr. Hees, Mr. Pearson said, on October 23:

When you begin to contemplate the possibility of a Pacific pact of that kind you run up at once against the fact that those countries most concerned with general security in the Pacific do not think the time is ripe for it. If the United States of America and the United Kingdom do not feel that it is possible to work out that kind of Pacific pact in the present circumstances, is it desirable, is it appropriate that we should take the initiative in trying to make them change their minds? As I tried to say yesterday, if the United States had felt that a Pacific pact of that type was desirable in the present circumstances for the security of the Pacific they would not have made separate pacts with the Republic of the Philippines and with the two dominions, Australia and New Zealand. I have no doubt in my own mind, and I have discussed it more than once with representatives of these governments, because we take this question of a Pacific pact seriously — that one reason they think it undesirable under present circumstances to initiate discussions for a pact of that nature is that they would at once be faced with the question that I asked yesterday: what countries would be included and what countries would be left out. There are certain countries in the Pacific area at the present time which would certainly expect to be included in a general Pacific treaty of that nature; and in the minds of certain governments it would not be conducive to general security in the Pacific to include those governments at this time in any such policy. That is the reason we have not taken any leadership in regard to the development of such a Pacific pact. But we have discussed this matter on more than one occasion with governments concerned.

Japanese Peace Treaty

To a question in Mr. Coldwell's speech regarding the submission of Canadian views on the Japanese Peace Treaty to the Government of the United States as the first mover, Mr. Pearson replied in part:

I would point out that the procedure adopted in the announcement of the Treaty was very unusual. It would have been a lot better in our minds, and in the minds of other governments, if we could have followed the traditional procedure of negotiating around a conference table ...

* For the full text of the statement made to the House of Commons on October 22 by Mr. Pearson, see p. 354 of this issue.

A treaty negotiated at a conference of that kind would be either a treaty agreed to 100 per cent by the U.S.S.R. or there would not be any treaty at all. Surely we have learned that in the long drawn out and desultory discussions over the treaty with Austria, and the treaty with Germany. That procedure would have resulted in indefinite delay. As most of us were agreed that we should bring to an end as soon as possible the state of war with Japan, the United States Government, with the approval of other governments, decided to initiate discussions at the diplomatic level to get the views of the governments concerned, so we could reach the greatest possible measure of agreement. Having reached that, the draft was signed.

Korea

In his remarks on the situation in Korea, the Minister had the following to say about the Canadian contribution to the United Nations plan for Korean relief:

Under the United Nations relief plan for Korea contributions were requested from all members. At the present time the contribution which has actually been made by Canada exceeds that of any other country. When I say that I do not wish to suggest that much more is not being done in this field in Korea by the United States than by Canada. It is being done, however, as an adjunct to military operations, and is the type of relief with which we became familiar in Europe in 1945. I should have made that clear yesterday, because it would be unfair to the effort that the United States is making in this field if I gave the impression that they were not doing more than anybody else outside the United Nations. But under the United Nations resolution on Korean relief Canada has, as I said, exceeded any other country in its contributions. The United States has however authorized a very large contribution which has not been appropriated as yet.

Mr. Pearson told Mr. Diefenbaker that the dollar figures for the Canadian contribution were "about \$8 million", and, on the contribution of the United States, he added:

Under military relief in Korea the United States has contributed very much more than that as part of its military appropriation. I am speaking from memory, but I think the United States has authorized an appropriation of something in the neighbourhood of \$75 million or \$100 million for U.N. relief. Of the funds which the relief agency now has at its disposal for Korea, a large part comes from Canada.

German Re-armament

On the subject of the re-armament of Germany, discussed in the speech of Mr. Coldwell, the Minister said:

In respect of that matter we have followed with very great interest, as have other governments, the plans which are now under way for the development of a European army under some form of European as opposed to national civilian control. . . . At first some of the governments, even the governments of the United Kingdom itself, had some hesitation in respect of this development because it was felt that it might indefinitely postpone the building up of a North Atlantic integrated force. But most of these doubts and hesitations have been dispelled by the progress achieved during the last six months. . . .

About the only main obstacles towards the successful conclusion of these discussions now is the size of the German contingent in this European army and the kind of supra-national control which will be exercised over it by European governments. My own feeling is that this is a helpful development, and that it may be a great thing for European peace. If we can get Germans, Frenchmen, Belgians and Dutchmen all operating in the same European army, not under national but European control, it may be a long step forward towards ending that long feud between Gaul and Teuton. At the same time, a European force is not enough. This European army should, in its turn, become integrated — that is a word we seem to use a great deal these days — with the North Atlantic force. There should be no distinction of that kind between an European army on the one side and General Eisenhower's army on the other.

National Defence Policy

Canadian Commitments to NATO

On October 18, the Minister of National Defence, recalling the sections of the Throne Speech announcing Canada's contribution to the forces under the command of General Eisenhower in Europe, read and tabled Order-in-Council P.C. 5598, which provided for maintenance of a special army unit for that purpose. Mr. Claxton then spoke as follows:

While preliminary arrangements are being proceeded with, it is intended that the movement of the brigade will begin in early November and be completed by the middle of December.

The 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade will, from the time of its arrival in Europe, form part of the integrated force under General Eisenhower and will be stationed in Germany for defence purposes under the North Atlantic Treaty with the concurrence of the allied high commission, the present competent defence authority in Germany.

Arrangements have been made to group the Canadian brigade with the British, Belgian and Netherlands forces. The brigade will be stationed in the Hanover area.

No. 410 squadron of the R.C.A.F., equipped with F-86E Sabre aircraft, is proceeding next month on H.M.C.S. *Magnificent* to England where this and other squadrons, which will follow later, will be stationed at North Luffenham airfield in the Midlands pending the provision of airfields and other accommodation in western Europe.

Representation at the Vatican

On October 24, Mr. Gagnon (Ind. Chicoutimi) asked for a statement on the likelihood of the Canadian Government's appointing a representative to the Vatican. Mr. Pearson replied:

From time to time the Government gives consideration to the establishment of direct diplomatic relations with sovereign states in which Canada has at the present time no diplomatic missions. This, of course, includes the Vatican.

Death of Liaquat Ali Khan

Concerning the death by assassination of the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent said in part:

I was shocked to learn, as I am sure all other hon. members were, of this terribly tragic event. I had met Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan on a number of occasions, and happily recall being host to him during his visit to Canada in the spring of 1950. Hon. members will recall the occasion when he spoke so eloquently to both Houses of Parliament in this chamber at the end of May 1950, on the subject of Pakistan, the Commonwealth and the future.

The House rose to observe a short silence, following which similar expressions of sympathy were made by Mr. Drew, Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Low.

Anglo-Egyptian Treaty

Replying on October 16 to a question by Mr. Green on the Canadian attitude toward the unilateral Egyptian abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, Mr. Pearson said:

The situation in the area to which my hon. friend's question refers is a difficult one indeed at the moment, and highly inflammable. I do not think any statement from me at this time in answer to a question will be helpful. I shall take that question as notice, however, and if anything can usefully be said, I shall say it at the first opportunity.

On October 19, Mr. Pearson made the following statement on the present situation in Egypt and the Suez Canal Zone:

I believe, if hon. members wish to understand the complete significance of what has been transpiring in Egypt, it might be desirable to give very briefly a short historical background. It must be remembered in the first instance that even when the protectorate in Egypt was terminated in 1922 and Egyptian independence was proclaimed, the questions of the Sudan and British defence interests in Egypt remained unsolved issues, and were the subject of differences between the two governments until 1935, when the invasion of Ethiopia brought war to the very borders of Egypt and led directly to the signing of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty.

This treaty, which was to run until 1956, was designed to put an end to the military occupation of Egypt, and to replace it with a permanent alliance for mutual assistance both in times of peace and war between the United Kingdom and Egypt. That treaty also authorized the maintenance of United Kingdom troops in the Suez canal zone — and I quote these words “until such time as the parties agree that the Egyptian army is in a position to ensure, by its own resources, the liberty and entire security of navigation of the canal”. That treaty, the 1936 treaty, also continued the administration of the Sudan under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1899.

During the war years — that is the years of World War II — the treaty, through the facilities in Egypt which it placed at the disposal of the allies, played a very important role in the attainment of ultimate victory over the axis powers. As the tide of war receded from Egypt, however, the popular Egyptian demand for the removal of all remaining limitations on independence was revived and led to an inconclusive reference of this matter to the United Nations Security Council by Egypt early in 1947.

With the return to power in Egypt in 1950 of the Wafd government, it became the declared objective of Egypt to achieve the complete evacuation of United Kingdom troops from the canal zone and the unification of the Nile valley, including the Sudan, under the crown of Egypt. Rejecting a revision of the treaty with the United Kingdom, and finally rejecting more recently a place of equality in a system of collective defence for the whole Middle East area, the Egyptian Government has pursued its national aims to the point reached a few days ago, when it abrogated its treaties with the United Kingdom.

It was implicit, in the recent decision taken in Ottawa a few weeks ago to invite Greece and Turkey to accede to the North Atlantic Treaty, that the defence of the Middle East is vital to the successful defence of Europe and the North Atlantic area, as was clearly shown during World War II. It was for the same reason that it was also decided to establish a separate command in the Middle East which, through the peacetime co-operation of the states in the area and those states directly concerned in the defence of that area, could make adequate preparation for its successful defence in time of war.

Those states directly concerned, and which were invited to participate in the Middle East command, included Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. These proposals, which were submitted to the Egyptian Government before the denunciation of the treaty, would have superseded the Treaty and would have terminated the present United Kingdom regime, under which it had responsibility for the security of the Canal Zone. These proposals were rejected by the Egyptian Government, and that rejection was followed very shortly by the action taken last week.

So far as the Canadian Government is concerned, it regrets exceedingly the action taken by the Egyptian Government to repudiate the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 — action all the more regrettable in view of the fact that alternative arrangements were under discussion with the Egyptian Government at the time the repudiation took place.

The Secretary of State of the United States has already characterized this repudiation and, indeed, also that of the agreements of 1899, regarding the Sudan, as without validity. We agree with that view.

The situation which has developed in the Suez canal zone is highly inflammable and can become dangerous to general peace. For that reason the Canadian Government joins other governments in expressing the earnest hope that every effort will be made to avoid any breach of the peace and to achieve a satisfactory arrangement for the security of the area.

The Government has welcomed the assurances which we have received from the United Kingdom that, as we would naturally expect, they are doing their best and will continue to do their best to avoid incidents and violence. The Canadian Government considers it of major importance for the security of the free world, indeed for the maintenance of peace itself, that no action should be taken to alter by force the present regime of responsibility of the United Kingdom for the defence of the Suez canal zone. These views have already been communicated to the United Kingdom Government.



—*Capital Press*

THE ROYAL VISIT

As Princess Elizabeth steps off the Royal Train at the Island Park station in Ottawa, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, presents the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

The Department of External Affairs released on October 15 the text of a draft Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey* which had been agreed upon by the North Atlantic Council Deputies and made public in all the NATO capitals the same day. Following signature, the Canadian Parliament will in due course be asked to approve the ratification of the Protocol. When all twelve present signatories of the Treaty have duly signed and ratified the Protocol, a definitive invitation will be extended to the Governments of Greece and Turkey to accede to the North Atlantic Treaty.

THE PROTOCOL TO THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ON THE ACCESSION OF GREECE AND TURKEY

The Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty, signed at Washington on April 4, 1949.

Being satisfied that the security of the North Atlantic area will be enhanced by the accession of the Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of Turkey to that Treaty,

Agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

Upon the entry into force of this Protocol, the Government of the United States of America shall, on behalf of all the Parties, communicate to the Government of the Kingdom of Greece and the Government of the Republic of Turkey an invitation to accede to the North Atlantic Treaty, as it may be modified by Article II of the present Protocol. Thereafter the Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of Turkey shall each become a Party on the date when it deposits its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America in accordance with Article 10 of the Treaty.

ARTICLE II

If the Republic of Turkey becomes a Party to the North Atlantic Treaty, Article 6 of the Treaty shall, as from the date of the deposit by the Government of the Republic of Turkey of its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America, be modified to read as follows:

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the Parties is deemed to include an armed attack —

- (i) on the territory of any of the Parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France, on the territory of Turkey or on the islands under the jurisdiction of any of the Parties in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer;
- (ii) on the forces, vessels or aircraft of any of the Parties, when in or over these territories or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the Parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into force, or the Mediterranean Sea or the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer.

* See External Affairs, October 1951, p. 322.

ARTICLE III

The present Protocol shall enter into force when each of the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty has notified the Government of the United States of America of its acceptance thereof. The Government of the United States of America shall inform all the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty of the date of the receipt of each such notification and of the date of the entry into force of the present Protocol.

ARTICLE IV

The present Protocol, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of all the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty.

In witness whereof, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed the present Protocol.

Done at.....the.....day of....., 19.....



—National Defence

SHOULDER FLASHES FOR CANADA'S NATO FORCE

Shoulder flashes to be worn by the three major battalions of Canada's new 27th Infantry Brigade when serving in Europe are shown in the above picture. At the left is the flash for the 1st Canadian Highland Battalion. The center flash will be worn by the 1st Canadian Infantry Battalion. The flash on the right is for the 1st Canadian Rifle Battalion. Other miscellaneous units of the Brigade will wear the same French grey shield without any insignia beneath the "CANADA" lettering.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Sixth Session of the General Assembly

The Sixth Regular Session of the General Assembly opened in Paris on November 6. The October issue of *External Affairs* contained a brief summary of the more important items on the provisional agenda, to which have since been added nine supplementary items. The Assembly may add further items to the agenda if they are considered to be of an "important and urgent" nature.

The supplementary agenda contains several subjects of importance: the admission of new members; the alleged violation of the Charter and of the Declaration of Human Rights in Morocco; the draft protocol relating to the status of stateless persons; financial and economic provisions in respect of Eritrea arising out of the Italian peace treaty; and a review of the Assembly's methods and procedures for dealing with legal and drafting questions.

The Secretary of State for External Affairs is Chairman of the Canadian Delegation. Other Representatives are:

Mr. S. S. Garson, M.P., Minister of Justice and Deputy Chairman of the Delegation,
Senator J. R. Hurtubise, M.D., C.M.,
Mr. Maurice Bourget, M.P., and
Mrs. R. J. Marshall, LL.D., Past President of the National Council of Women.

The alternate Canadian Representatives are:

Mr. Colin Bennett, M.P.,
Mr. T. A. Stone, Canadian Minister to Sweden,
Mr. D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations,
Mr. R. M. Macdonnell, Minister at the Canadian Embassy, Paris, and
Mr. J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to the OEEC, and to the Financial and Economic Board of NATO.

Two parliamentary advisers are also with the Delegation:

Mr. F. H. Larson, M.P., and
Major-General G. R. Pearkes, V.C., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., M.P.

United Nations Day

On October 24, United Nations Day, the flag of the United Nations was flown from a flagpole in front of the centre block of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. In a statement on United Nations Day, the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, said:

On this day, peoples of all nations are celebrating the sixth anniversary of the coming into force of the Charter of the United Nations, and with it the launching of an experiment in international co-operation unique in the history of the world. This particular anniversary is of special significance, since it comes during a prolonged and critical period for the United Nations. During the past sixteen months, the principle of the use of effective collective measures in the maintenance of peace and security has been put to the test in Korea. In meeting the aggression there, the United Nations gave heart to threatened peoples in other parts of the world, and took a step forward in the long search for universal peace.

In other fields, the United Nations and the various Specialized Agencies are increasing their efforts to raise living standards, to improve health, to develop self-government in colonial areas, and to promote respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms. The international technical assistance programmes continue to expand. The



—United Nations

PARIS SITE OF SIXTH SESSION OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On the opening of the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations flag is hoisted at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris where a special structure has been erected to house the Assembly rooms and the Secretariat office. In the background, the permanent buildings of the Palais are seen.

task which lies ahead is enormous. Poverty, sickness and ignorance have always been a breeding ground for mistrust and war; and it is regrettable that the Cominform countries have refused to participate in this work of building a better world. Canada, together with other free countries, will, however, continue actively to support these United Nations activities.

There is evidence that Canada's stature in world affairs has been increased by our participation in the work of the United Nations. At the same time, that participation carries with it responsibilities for every one of us. We recognize that the time is past when this country, or any other country, can ignore its international obligations. Support by individual Canadians of the ideals and purposes of the United Nations, as well as of those of the Commonwealth and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is, in fact, the best, and perhaps the only way of avoiding another world war.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. P. Beaulieu was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, to Ottawa, effective October 2, 1951.
- Mr. H. F. Clark was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in France, effective October 4, 1951.
- Mr. G. E. Cox was posted from the Canadian Embassy in the United States, to Ottawa, effective October 1, 1951.
- Mr. J. W. L. H. LaVigne was posted from the Canadian Embassy in the United States to Ottawa, effective October 1, 1951.
- Mr. J. D. Foote was posted from Home Leave (Warsaw) to Ottawa, effective October 9, 1951.
- Mr. P. Tremblay was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in the Netherlands, effective October 8, 1951.
- Mr. R. P. Cameron was posted from Home Leave (Havana) to Ottawa, effective September 17, 1951.
- Mr. D. V. LePan was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy in the United States, effective October 13, 1951.
- Mr. G. Sicotte was posted from the Canadian Embassy in Mexico, to Ottawa, effective October 15, 1951.
- Mr. C. H. West was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, to Ottawa, effective October 22, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Colonel Constantin Provorov, Military Attaché for Air, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, October 6.

Wing Commander P. C. Webb, D.F.C., Assistant Air Force Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, October 7.

Mr. Traugott Johannes Endemann, Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, October 10.

Mr. Nicholas Fieschi, Attaché, Embassy of France, October 11.

Mr. Michal Krycun, Second Secretary, Legation of Poland, October 12.

Major Otakar Taschner, Military and Air Attaché, Legation of Czechoslovakia, October 16.

Mr. Hendrik Albertus Geldenhuys, Assistant Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, October 17.

Mr. Edgar Enrique Perez Colman, Second Secretary, Embassy of Argentina, October 19. He was previously Consul at Quebec.

Departures

Wing Commander S. G. Birch, O.B.E., As-

sistant Air Force Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, September 19.

Colonel Guiorgui G. Kolikov, Military Attaché, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, September 24.

Dr. Miroslav Mares resigned his post of Commercial Attaché at the Legation of Czechoslovakia on October 5.

Mr. Dmitri Moussine, Second Secretary, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, October 9.

Mr. André Rousselet, Attaché, Embassy of France, October 11.

His Excellency Dr. Rade Pribicevic, Ambassador designate of Yugoslavia left Ottawa on October 14 to return to his country. Pending the arrival of a successor Mr. Slavko Zecevic, First Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires *ad interim*.

Colonel Janko Susnjar, Military, Naval and Air Attaché, Embassy of Yugoslavia, October 16.

Mr. Gaston Zapata Quesada, Counsellor, Embassy of Argentina, October 19.

Mr. N. Best, Assistant Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, October 21.

Mr. S. D. Kalelkar, Information Officer, Office of the High Commissioner for India, October 25.

His Excellency Hubert Guérin, Ambassador of France, left Ottawa on October 18 for a holiday in France. During his absence, Mr. François de Laboulaye, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Liu Chieh, Ambassador of China, left Ottawa on October 24 for Paris,

France, to attend the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. During his absence, Mr. Kechin Wang, First Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Victor Nef, Minister of Switzerland, resumed charge of the Legation on October 24 on his return from a visit to his country.

Mr. Luis Ibarguen, Third Secretary, Embassy of Mexico, was promoted to the rank of Second Secretary effective September 1.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Miss Dorothy M. Barker, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, October 19.

Mr. Albert E. Clattenburg, Jr., Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, October 19.

Mr. Vinicio da Veiga, Consul of Brazil at Toronto, October 19.

Mr. Richard E. Kleinhans, Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, October 19.

Mr. Robert A. McKinnon, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Halifax, October 19.

Mr. Stefanos Rockanas, Vice-Consul of Greece at Toronto, October 19.

Mr. Carlos Buzzoni Villela, Consul General of Chile at Montreal, October 19.

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. George A. Berkley as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, October 15.

Mr. Xavier W. Eilers as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, October 15.

Miss Eva Taylor as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, October 19.

Mr. Ralph C. Fratzke as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Windsor, October 19.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Ray Neil Bryson as Honorary Consul of Denmark at Toronto, October 15.

Mr. George J. Haering as Consul General of the United States of America at Toronto, October 16.

Mr. Albert W. Scott as Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, October 16.

Mr. William Espinosa y Dominguez as Consul of Cuba at Montreal, October 16.

Mrs. Louise O. deCourcy O'Grady as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, October 16.

Mr. Leonard E. Thompson as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, October 16.

Miss Mildred V. Deike as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, October 19.

Baron Kurt F. J. Paumann as Honorary Vice-Consul of Austria at Ottawa, October 19.

Mr. Donald F. Hunter as Honorary Consul of Portugal at Toronto, October 24.

Mr. Jose Vicente Ayestaran as Vice-Consul of Argentina at Montreal, October 31.

Departures

Mr. E. M. Petersen, Vice-Consul of Denmark at Montreal, October 9.

Mr. Fernando Carderera, Consul of Spain at Montreal, October 14.

Mr. Tulio de la Rua, Consul of Argentina of Toronto, October 19.

Mr. Manuel Lezica, Consul of Argentina at Vancouver, October 19. Pending the appointment of a successor, Mr. Jose Alberto Caballero, Vice-Consul, is in charge of the Consulate.

Mr. Ignacio E. Pico Estrada, Vice-Consul of Argentina at Montreal, October 19.

Dr. Frederick Riedl-Riedenstein, Consul General of Austria at Ottawa, end of October. Pending the appointment of a successor, Baron Kurt F. J. Paumann, Honorary Vice-Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

Dr. Francisco Villagran resumed his duties as Consul General of Mexico at Montreal on October 1 on his return from a holiday in his country.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a List of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of October 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier Conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to International Conferences. The decision as to Canadian participation at such Conferences is made by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs", January 1, 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions.)

Conferences Attended in October

1. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army*. Paris — February 15. Observer: Maj. Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Embassy, Bonn; Advisers: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
2. *Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference. (ITU)*. Geneva — August 16. Head of Delegation: C. J. Acton, Department of Transport; Delegates: A. J. Dawson and C. M. Brant, Department of Transport; Maj. W. H. Finch, Lt. Cmdr. R. H. Dunbar and S/Ldr. W. D. Benton, Department of National Defence; E. P. Black, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; Adviser: F. P. Johnson, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
3. *Forest Fire Study Tour (FAO)*. Washington — September 4 - October 12. J. C. MacLeod, Department of Resources and Development; T. E. Mackey, Department of Lands and Forests of the Province of Ontario.
4. *Building Research Congress*. London — September 11 - October 16. R. F. Legget, National Research Council; M. F. Goudge, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
5. *Sixth Session of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*. Geneva — September 17. Chairman: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce; Deputy Chairman: C. M. Isbister, Department of Trade and Commerce; Parliamentary Adviser: J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Delegates: L. Couillard, Acting Permanent Delegate of Canada to OEEC, Paris; W. J. Callaghan and S. S. Reisman, Department of Finance; M. Schwarzman, Department of Trade and Commerce; Secretary: M. K. Goldschlag, Department of External Affairs.
6. *Fifth Meeting of the Pan-American Sanitary Organization (WHO)*. Washington — September 24 - October 2. R. W. A. Dunn, Canadian Embassy, Washington (Observer).
7. *Preliminary Migration Conference (ILO)*. Naples — October 2-16. Head of Delegation: C. E. S. Smith, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; Representatives: S. H. McLaren, Unemployment Insurance Commission; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; J. Boucher, Department of Citizenship and Immigration.
8. *Second Meeting of the Executive Council of the World Meteorological Organization*. Lausanne — October 3. Dr. A. Thomson, Department of Transport, Toronto.
9. *Annual Convention of Association of Military Surgeons*. Chicago — October 8-10. Surgeon Commander: W. J. Elliot; K. A. Hunter; G/Capt. A. G. Corbet and Sq/Ltd. F. M. Oakes, Department of National Defence.
10. *North Atlantic Treaty Organization — Temporary Committee for the Co-ordinated Analysis of Defence Plans*. Paris — October 9. D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Advisers: Gen. C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee; J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to OEEC, Paris; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; E. A. Ritchie, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
11. *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East - Regional Conference on Trade Promotion*. Singapore — October 9-18. Delegate: D. S. Armstrong, Canadian Government Trade Commissioner, Singapore.
12. *Sixth International Conference and General Assembly of the International Union of Trade Organizations*. Athens — October 9-12. M. Blais, Canadian Embassy, Athens. (Observer).

13. *World Metallurgical Congress*. Detroit — October 15-19. Canadian Government Representative: H. J. Nichols and Dr. J. Convey, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
14. *79th Annual Meeting of the American Association of Public Health*. San Francisco — October 15. Representative: Lt. Cmdr. J. W. Rogers, Department of National Defence.
15. *Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe*. Strasbourg — October 15. Official Observer: T. C. Davis, Canadian Ambassador to Germany.
16. *Meeting of Commonwealth Auditors General*. London — October 15-19. R. Watson Sellar, Auditor General of Canada; G. A. Morrison, Office of Auditor General of Canada.
17. *Tenth Session of the Executive Committee of IRO*. Geneva — October 18. Delegates: G. L. Magann, Canadian Ambassador to Greece; J. Boucher, Department of Citizenship and Immigration.
18. *Eighth Session of the General Council of IRO*. Geneva — October 22. Head of Delegation: G. L. Magann, Canadian Ambassador to Greece; Delegates: J. Boucher, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canadian to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; S. H. McLaren, Unemployment Insurance Commission.
19. *36th Session of the Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body*. Geneva — October 22-27. C. H. L. Sharman, Department of National Health and Welfare.
20. *Third Session of the Permanent Committee of the International Union for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works*. Paris — October 25-27. Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland.
21. *First Inter-American Convention on Mineral Resources*. Mexico City — October 29 - November 4. W. R. McClelland, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
22. *Programme Committee of UNICEF*. Paris — October 29. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
23. *Fifth Meeting of the South Pacific Air Transport Council*. Wellington, N.Z. — October 29. A. Rive, Canadian High Commissioner to New Zealand; J. R. Maybee, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, Canberra.
24. *International Wheat Council*. Lisbon — October 30 — Delegate: G. H. McIvor, Canadian Wheat Board; Alternate: J. B. Lawrie, Canadian Wheat Board.

Conferences to be held in November and December

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate; the dates are tentative. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted.)

1. *Conference to Conclude a Fisheries Treaty with Japan*. Tokyo—November 5.
2. *Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly*. Paris—November 6.
3. *Executive Board of UNICEF*. Paris — November 8.
4. *Conference of British Commonwealth Statisticians*. Canberra — November 12-24.
5. *13th Session of the Council of FAO*. Rome—November 12-17.
6. *117th Session of the Governing Body of ILO*. Geneva—November 14.
7. *North Atlantic Council — Military Committee*. Rome—November 17-24.
8. *Sixth Session of the Conference of FAO*. Rome—November 19.
9. *Conference on Morbidity Statistics of WHO*. Geneva—November 21-26.
10. *Third Session of Facilitation (FAL) Division (ICAO)*. Buenos Aires—November 21.
11. *Seventh International Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association*. Montevideo—November 21-December 2.
12. *North Atlantic Council*. Rome—November 24.
13. *North Atlantic Treaty Organization — Committee on North Atlantic Community*. London or Paris—November.
14. *Second Pan-American Congress on Pharmacy*. Lima—December 1-8.
15. *Official Medical Historians Liaison Committee*. New Delhi—December 3-19.
16. *Fourth Session of the Inland Transport Committee of ILO*. Geneva—December 4-15.
17. *27th Session of the International Statistical Institute*. New Delhi — December 5-11.

18. *United Nations Sub-Committee on Statistical Sampling*. (ECOSOC). New Delhi December 5-11.
19. *Meeting of Experts on Women's Work (ILO)*. Geneva—December 11-15.
20. *World Federation for Mental Health — 4th International Congress on Mental Health*. Mexico City—December 11.
21. *World Federation for Mental Health — Fourth Annual Meeting*. Mexico City—December 12-19.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

- **World Economic Situation — Economic Development of Under-developed Countries Relation of Fluctuation in the Prices of Primary Commodities to the Ability of Underdeveloped Countries to obtain Foreign Exchange* (Report by the Secretary-General); July 5, 1951; document E/2047; 233 pp., E/2047/Add.1, 59 pp.

Historical Survey of the Activities of the League of Nations regarding the question of disarmament 1920-1937; June 18, 1951; document A/AC.50/2; 187 pp.

Second report on the High Seas by J. P. A. François (Rapporteur); April 10, 1951; document A/CN.4/42; 71 pp.

- **Report of the International Law Commission covering its Third Session, 16 May-27 July 1951*; July 30, 1951; document A/CN.4/48; 63 pp.

(b) Printed Documents:

- **United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1950 and Report of the Board of Auditors*; document A/1810; 34 pp.; 30 cents; General Assembly Official Records, Sixth Session, Supplement No. 6A.

- **Budget Estimates for the financial year 1952 and Information Annex*; document A/1812; 281 pp.; \$3.00; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 5.

- **Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization*; document A/1844/Add.1; 7 pp.; 10 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 1A.

- **Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions — Second Report of*

1951 to the General Assembly; document A/1853; 61 pp.; 60 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 7.

- **Report of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans*; document A/1857; 32 pp.; 50 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 11.

- **Report of the Committee on Contributions*; document A/1859; 6 pp.; 10 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 10.

- **Report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1950 to 15 July 1951*; document A/1873; 100 pp.; \$1.00; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 2.

- **Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East 1950*; July 13, 1951; document E/CN.11/307; 541 pp.; \$3.75; Sales No.: 1951.II.F.4 (Department of Economic Affairs).

- **Services of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration and How to obtain them*; May 24, 1951; document ST/TAA/3; 52 pp. (Technical Assistance Administration, United Nations, New York, 1951).

- **Yearbook on Human Rights for 1949*; 421 pp.; \$5.00; Sales No.: 1951.XIV.1.

- **Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1950* (First issue); New York, 1951; 174 pp.; \$1.75; Sales No.: 1951.XVII.2 (Prepared by the Statistical Office of the United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs).

- **Freedom of Information (A compilation)*; Vol. II.—Texts communicated by governments; 216 pp.; Sales No.: 1950.XIV.1. Vol.II (Department of Social Affairs).

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

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| No. 51/35— <i>Perspectives Nord - Atlantiques</i> , allocution prononcée le 6 septembre 1951 par le sous-secrétaire d'État adjoint aux Affaires extérieures, M. Jules Léger, devant le Club Richelieu, de Montréal. | Commerce, delivered at a joint meeting of the Canadian Importers and Traders Association, Canadian Exporters Association, and Canadian Institute of International Affairs, in Toronto, October 5, 1951. |
| No. 51/38— <i>Technical Assistance and the Colombo Plan</i> , an address by Mr. R. G. Nik Cavell, Administrator, International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division, Department of Trade and | No. 51/39— <i>The Japanese Peace Conference</i> , an address by the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. R. W. Mayhew, made to the United Nations Association at Toronto, October 2, 1951. |

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

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| No. 51/36— <i>Recent Developments in Canada's Foreign Trade</i> , an address by the Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. W. F. Bull, made to the Canadian Exporters Association, at Montréal, September 20, 1951. | No. 51/37— <i>Transportation and Industrial Development</i> , an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, to the Toronto Junior Board of Trade, made at Toronto, September 25, 1951. |
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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

NORTH AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD OF TODAY

An address by the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis S. St. Laurent, to the Economic Club of New York, on November 19, 1951.

... I chose the subject, "North America's Place in the World of Today", full well knowing that many of you members would be more competent to treat it than I might be; but I did so because, being a Canadian, I necessarily look at it from a somewhat different point of view, and I thought that a view of North America's place in the world of today from the Canadian angle might help to make the position clearer from your point of view here in the United States.

It is, of course, only the blind ones among us in North America today who do not realize we are directly concerned about what is happening in the rest of the world. It is always true, in some degree, that North America is concerned with what is happening in the rest of the world, just as it has always been true—since Columbus' time—that North Americans have been affected by the really important changes in the world outside this hemisphere. But it seems to me that the degree of concern has changed.

Before 1914, most North Americans, whether they lived in the United States or whether they lived in Canada, did not feel the need of paying much attention to what was happening across the Atlantic or on the other side of the Pacific. And we had little sense of responsibility for international affairs outside this hemisphere. For that, there were historical as well as geographical reasons.

In the 18th century, when the thirteen English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard cut their political ties with England and established the United States, this nation practically turned its back on Europe and faced westward across an almost empty continent. The vast energies of the early settlers in this country, and of the thousands and thousands who later joined them, were concentrated on the development of a free and expanding society in North America. All you asked from Europe was to be left alone—to be left in peace—to live your lives in your own way—in what is has become the fashion to call "the American way".

In Canada, our development was somewhat different. At the time of your War of Independence, the Canadian population was still almost exclusively French-speaking. The St. Lawrence valley had been ceded to the British Crown only a dozen years before, and the leaders of your revolution expected to find ready support among the French-speaking Canadians for their revolt against the English. There were several reasons why they did not get that support. One was that the traditional enemy of the average French-speaking Canadian of the 18th century was not the remote English nation across the Atlantic, but the English-speaking people of Boston and New England, the English-speaking people of Albany and the Hudson valley, with whom they had been trading scalps for a century and a half.

In any event, Canada did not join in your revolution, and we Canadians retained our connection with the British Crown, and hundreds of refugees from your War of Independence moved northwards to lay the foundations of English-speaking Canada. In Canada, these immigrants were called Loyalists, and though they were loyal, they were determined to maintain the political connection of their new home with old England, most of them were also determined to manage their own affairs.

The political freedom you achieved by the sudden stroke of revolution, we achieved more slowly, more gradually, but we did achieve it by evolution. Without breaking our tie with the British Crown, we transformed a disunited group of small colonies into a single nation, stretching, like yours, from one sea to another, and I venture to say, just as free as the United States. But our continuing political tie with

the British Crown did keep us somewhat closer in spirit to Europe than you were. When the First World War broke out in 1914, our status in international law made us an automatic belligerent, but that was all our status did. The decision to participate actively in the prosecution of the war was made in Ottawa in our own Parliament by the freely-elected representatives of our own people. For many, that decision was a matter of course because of our sentimental ties with the mother country, but many others did come to the conclusion somewhat earlier than the people of the United States that, if the world was to be a decent place to live in, this military clique in Germany had to be shown that they could not win even at their own chosen game of war.

I suppose it will always remain a subject of debate whether, if the United States had not gone to war in 1917, and if the Germans had won the war—two ifs and we in Canada are still apt to regard them as two separate ifs—the independence and integrity of the United States and Canada would have been in immediate jeopardy. But there can be no argument that defeat of the Allies in 1917 or 1918 would have resulted in a much more uncomfortable world for North Americans to live in than the one we had been used to before 1914.

After the war, as many will recall, the initial wave of enthusiasm for the League of Nations was quickly followed by a reaction of disillusionment and isolation. In your country many felt it had been a mistake to go into the war, that the war had settled nothing, and that, for the future, the right course for the American people was to turn their backs resolutely on the Europeans and leave them to stew in their own juice. Canada became a member of the League of Nations, and, though we never repudiated our membership, our enthusiasm certainly waned and there was, with us, too, a strong reflection of the sentiment for isolation which prevailed on your side of the border.

When war came again in 1939, Canada's status had become different. We were not automatically at war; we had to make our decision for ourselves in law as well as in fact. We did decide to go to war, but many of us made the decision with a heavy heart and some misgivings. A large number of our people asked themselves uneasily whether it was the fate of Canada in each generation to sacrifice the finest of its youth in the interminable quarrels of Europeans. On the other hand, we all shared your horror of the regime Hitler had fastened on Germany, and his brutal aggressions against Germany's neighbours. We could not believe that, so long as the Nazi system lasted, any country would be safe. The danger to our North American society became even clearer when Japan by that attack on Pearl Harbor dragged you in and proclaimed to the world its confident expectation that with Germany and Italy they were going to overcome us all. We knew they could not do it but nevertheless we were thus, twice in one generation, forced into wars which neither of us had had any share in starting, and which we did not want and in which we did have to commit all our resources. Some felt that with more foresight those wars might have been prevented, but certainly we had not wanted them, we had not started them, and yet we had not been able to keep out.

Speaking for Canada, I can say that, by 1945, our people were overwhelmingly convinced that the only way that they could keep out of world wars was to help establish the kind of world in which there would not be any war. I can speak with some assurance for Canada on this point because we debated the issues in our Parliament, and reached virtual unanimity on them, before sending to San Francisco a delegation representing our main political parties to share in founding the organization of the United Nations. The main reason why we were unanimous in 1945 was precisely because we had not been able to keep out of war in 1914 and 1939 and because you had not been able to keep out of war. Our conviction was greatly strengthened because of the almost revolutionary change which had come over opinion in the United States between 1940 and 1945.

The conference at San Francisco had been called by your President. The proposal for a worldwide organization to maintain peace and security in the world was sponsored by your government, and was already receiving the support of the best elements in both your historic political parties.

It was reassuring to us in Canada to see that your conclusions were the same as ours; that you had become convinced the United States could not again turn its back on the rest of the world, and that this country must actually take the lead in international affairs.

There are many people who feel that the calling of the conference at San Francisco and the establishment of the United Nations, with the United States as its leading member, represents a revolution in your foreign policy. I venture to suggest to you that this is a superficial view; that, in fact, it represents a revolutionary change only in method, and that there has been no real change in the fundamental objective of the foreign policy of the United States.

I said at the beginning of these remarks that the real aim of your Founding Fathers was to have this country left in peace by the rest of the world to develop a free and expanding society on this continent. I believe that is still the real aim of the American people, and I know it is the real aim of the Canadian people. We do not want to dominate anybody. We do not want to throw our weight around anywhere. But we do not want to let events take such a course that we will find ourselves a third time, as we did in 1914 and in 1939, with no real choice but to take part in a world war.

The change, I believe is not in aim but in method. Perhaps your hopes in the United States were a little stronger than ours were in Canada, but we all shared the hope—that, if we simply minded our own business and did not trespass on the rights of others, we might remain at peace. We now see that, if we are to have peace, the people and the governments of this continent have no choice but to take positive and sustained action to help prevent another war.

It might be said that we have already failed in that task because of what has happened in Korea. To those in that unhappy land there certainly has been no peace. But I think that our action there is designed to prevent aggression from spreading into a general world conflict.

Peace is still our aim, but we see that to have peace we must go about it differently. To the vast majority of North Americans on both sides of the border, keeping the peace is the most important business we have or we can have. It is the greatest national interest of the United States as it is the greatest national interest of Canada.

No doubt it is still true that, if a world war came in 1951, other countries in the old world would suffer more immediate destruction and devastation than this continent—though we could certainly not expect to go untouched. But on the other hand, we on this North American continent are today the most privileged people on earth. Having the most to lose by the devastation and dislocation of a world war, we have the strongest incentive to prevent one. By taking positive steps to prevent war, we inevitably take the kind of action which might be regarded as provocative by the only possible major aggressor. This is the kind of calculated risk which every businessman and every economist understands. In any case there is no real choice. We know what did happen when we were not ready to take such risks.

In the first year or two after San Francisco, we continued to hope, against hope, that the great powers in the United Nations which had been charged with the main responsibility for maintaining peace and security in the world would, in fact, cooperate to that end. But the prospect of that co-operation grew dimmer and dimmer, because one of the great powers seemed bent on different ends, and many of us in

Canada, like many others in the United States and in Western Europe, decided that the only hope for immediate security and the only one likely prospect of preventing another world war lay in combining and in expanding the resources—military and economic and moral—of those nations which genuinely wanted peace, and which had potential strength either of population or resources to contribute to an effective combination for peace.

It was this growing centre of common interest which was the genesis of the North Atlantic alliance. The military aim of that partnership is to build up a force adequate to deter an aggressor from starting any D-day in the hope that D-day, like tomorrow, will never come. The United States is inevitably the dominant factor in that partnership. There could have been no North Atlantic alliance worthwhile without the leadership of this country. And I believe there could have been no North Atlantic alliance if American leadership had not been based upon a consistent and clear-sighted foreign policy which has been pursued steadily by the United States ever since the close of the war.

American participation in European affairs has been beneficial to the people of the world. American aid has been indispensable to the orderly survival of European society. We in America, on both sides of the border, find it hard to understand why some Europeans have not shown proper gratitude and appreciation of what you have done for Europe, and sometimes we wonder whether the effort has been worth what it has cost. But when we begin to talk about gratitude and appreciation for what you have done for Europe, I wonder if we North-Americans are being realistic. Of course we are glad that the effect of our external policies is helpful to other nations, but I think we might be honest enough to admit that the fundamental aim of our policies is to serve our own interests as North American nations. I believe the administration in Washington and our government at Ottawa—where we follow parallel lines—have conceived in those interests the long and right view.

The real justification for asking the taxpayers of the United States to provide loans and gifts, Marshall Aid and military support has been that all these things are necessary if your own people are to have any reasonable ground for hoping that they will not have to provide the infinitely greater cost of another world war. What we have done in Canada is inspired by the same justification. We are not trying to build up the economies and the military strength of the nations of Western Europe out of disinterested love for Englishmen, or Frenchmen or Dutchmen or Belgians or Italians, or any other of our allies. We are doing it for the safety and the future of Americans and Canadians who inhabit this North American continent. We want to help build up the strength of our friends and allies in Europe because all of us are in the same boat. We need each other.

Speaking as a Canadian, I can assure you that the great majority of my fellow-citizens have admired the single-minded resolution with which the Government of the United States, under the leadership of President Truman and General Marshall and Mr. Acheson, has pursued objectives in foreign policy which we believe are essential to the security of the North American way of life. We have admired, too, the non-partisan way in which the administration of your country has been supported in pursuing these general objectives by such distinguished Republicans as the late Senator Vandenberg, Governor Dewey and Mr. John Foster Dulles. We all know what the leadership of that most civilian-minded of soldiers, General Eisenhower, has meant in rallying the spirits as well as in leading the forces of the North Atlantic nations. While we might sometimes differ about tactics, the rest of the free nations cannot quarrel with the strategy of American leadership.

The importance of North America in the world today is not something which is transitory. It seems to me that it represents something of a permanent shift in the real balance of power in the world, something which may be expected to last for

many generations, provided the leadership of North American statesmen and the resolution of our North American population is equal to the power which is now ours. Although I have said North American, and although we like and expect to be consulted, we Canadians are realistic and we know that there has to be a proper relationship between power and responsibility; and that the United States alone has the necessary power to support the required leadership.

The American people have certainly not striven for their present position of power and responsibility in the world. I am sure most of you and, indeed, most North Americans on both sides of the border look back often with longing to the days before 1914 when it seemed safe to ignore international affairs outside this hemisphere. But we in North America have no such choice. The only choice before you and before us is a choice between wise, patient and intelligent leadership of the free world by the United States or a rapid shrinkage of the circumference of the free world, with all the disastrous consequences that it would bring even if we were able to maintain some kind of independent existence in our Western Hemisphere.

In the kind of world we are now living in there is no quick and easy way to peace or to anything we would like to think of as a normal existence. We have first of all to create, and after that to maintain, perhaps for generations, military strength which will be too substantial to be challenged by any potential aggressor with any hope of final victory.

We cannot count on any early collapse of the totalitarian system erected behind the Iron Curtain. We are faced with the problem of living in the same world with that system. I am not sure that one of the greatest dangers we shall have to face will not be the danger of aggression, but the danger of listening to those who think they have a quick way and an easy solution to this dangerous problem.

There will be many who will say that since communism is bent on extinguishing our way of life, we should hit first, that the best thing to do is to get the inevitable over with. The appeal of that kind of doctrine is likely to grow as the military strength of the free world grows. In the next few years, it may be that nothing will be so important as to remember that what we are doing is to try to prevent a third world war, not to win one.

One of your distinguished American diplomats has said that "the United States will fight, if necessary, to preserve freedom and justice, but it will not make war merely because the road to peace is inevitably long and hard and tiresome." I have not the slightest doubt and I am sure you have no doubt that, if a test of strength is forced upon us by an aggressor, we in the free world could win again. But the cost will be far greater than the cost of any previous war. Even victory will bring with it destruction, dislocation and desolation so great as to constitute a threat to civilization itself. That is why we must never forget that our real aim is to be strong in order to prevent war. Of course, we need the help of our European partners. Of course, we need to do everything we can to win the sympathy and preserve the stability of the countless millions of the East.

But, if the free world is to be saved, and, if we and our children and our children's children are to enjoy a free and expanding society in this Western Hemisphere I feel that we in North America must now and for many months ahead accept and discharge, with wisdom and with patience, the heavy responsibilities which are inseparable from the position of power which North America has in the world of our generation.

THE COLOMBO EXHIBITION*

"Canadians welcome the opportunity offered by the Colombo Plan to share their technical skills with the older civilizations of South and South-East Asia. This partnership can enrich the lives of us all."

In these words, which have been inscribed in the principal languages of the area — Urdu, Hindustani, Tamil, Singhalese and English — at the entrance to the Canadian Pavilion of the Colombo Exhibition, are to be found the greetings of the Prime Minister of Canada to the peoples of South and South-East Asia. This Pavilion is intended to provide a picture of Canada and of its natural resources for visitors to the Exhibition, which is being held next February in Colombo, Ceylon, to commemorate the first anniversary of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia.

As evidence of its sympathy with the aspirations of the newly independent states of the area, Canada has welcomed the inauguration of the Colombo Plan, which provides for economic aid and technical assistance to the countries of South and South-East Asia. The Colombo Plan comprises two programmes, one a capital development programme to provide capital and necessary equipment for certain specific projects in the countries of the area, and the other, a technical assistance programme to aid the governments of these countries to use to the full their as yet undeveloped natural resources, by finding means to increase food production, improve health standards, develop communications and transportation systems, and train efficient public administrators. As the Colombo Plan is essentially a co-operative venture, it is hoped that the Exhibition in Ceylon will enable those countries participating in the Plan to indicate the measure of assistance already rendered and the extent to which they hope to contribute, individually and collectively, towards the economic development of South and South-East Asia.

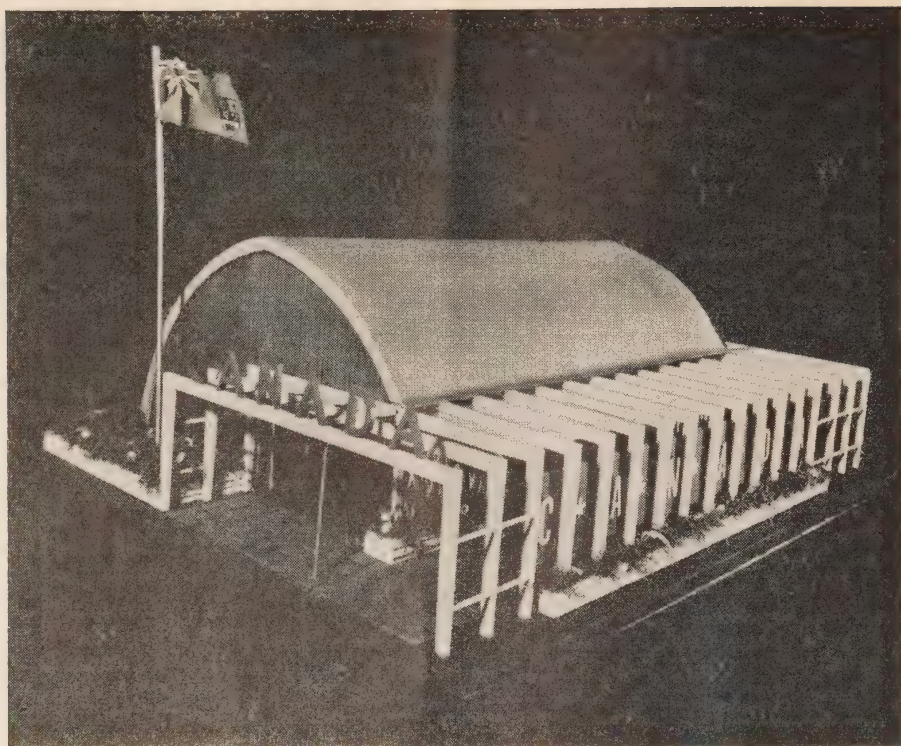
The Exhibition is scheduled to last for a month. More than 1,500,000 people from Ceylon and the countries of the area are expected to visit the Exhibition grounds, which are located in Victoria Park, Colombo. Her Royal Highness The Princess Elizabeth will open the Exhibition officially during her visit to Ceylon.

In addition to the national pavilions of the countries participating in the Colombo Plan — Australia, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, India, Laos, Malaya, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom — and the countries which have shown an interest in the Plan — Burma, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Viet Nam — the Exhibition will include a trade fair section, in which commercial firms of these nations have been invited to display their products. As host, the Government of Ceylon will have a special section setting forth its economic and social welfare activities. A cultural section for the fine arts, and an amusement section will also be located in the forty acres of park lands set aside for the Exhibition.

Canadian Exhibit

When the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission was assigned the task of designing and producing the Canadian Pavilion, many climatic difficulties, peculiar to tropical countries, had first to be considered. In order that the peoples of South-East Asia might have some idea of the materials produced in Canada, it was decided to prefabricate, in Ottawa, the building to house the Canadian exhibit. The contemporary design of the structure creates a distinctly Canadian atmosphere and materials of aluminum, fir and cedar panelling are used in their natural finish. To allow for sufficient ventilation under tropical conditions, a large part of the building has been left open.

* See also "Colombo Plan—Recent Developments", September 1951, p. 313.



—NFB

CANADIAN PAVILION — COLOMBO EXHIBITION

Shown above is a scale model of the Canadian pavilion at the Colombo Exhibition, which will open in February, 1952. The pavilion was prefabricated in Ottawa by the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission for shipment to Ceylon.

The theme of the Canadian exhibit is expressed in the slogan, "blueprint for democratic planning", and an attempt has been made to present some of the problems that Canadians have had to solve in building a nation, suggesting that, by example, some Canadian solutions to these problems may be of use to the countries of South and South-East Asia in their plans for the future.

The graphic display in the Canadian building depicts various phases of agriculture in this country, including the manufacture and use of farming equipment, the operation of experimental farms, the control of soil erosion, irrigation projects, farm co-operatives and the National Farm Radio Forum.

Among many projects illustrated in the agricultural section of the Canadian Exhibit is a mounted aerial model of the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa. Miniature versions of the main buildings at the farm are surrounded by some typical Experimental Farm plots.

The section on soil erosion control, following the Experimental Farm panel, depicts some Canadian remedies for this world-wide problem. Panels illustrating water conservation programmes, strip farming and contour plowing, and reforestation, emphasize that "soil erosion control is self-help for farmers now on the land, and a legacy for future generations".

An interesting feature of the hydro-electric display is a working model, with water running down the spillways, of the control dam at the Shipshaw development

of the Aluminum Company of Canada which has an installed capacity of 1,500,000 horsepower.

The engineering section contains a table-top copy of the model of the Fraser River tidal system, which was constructed on 400 square feet of ground on the campus of the University of British Columbia. Canadian engineers have been experimenting with a series of control dykes to prevent the tons of silt pouring down the river channels from choking up the mouth of the estuary. Their experiments with this problem on the original model may be of considerable value to the countries of South and South-East Asia in their new port developments.

A cross-section of Canadian health and welfare services, which would relate to Colombo Plan projects, has been arranged, in the final section, as leaves and branches of a stylized health tree. Here are to be found mounted booklets which are distributed by the Department of National Health and Welfare in connection with health programmes in this country. Some photographs of a travelling X-ray unit, a well-baby clinic, immunization for children, and a home industry shop in Newfoundland, were chosen as representative Canadian services which would coincide with some of the most urgent needs of the countries of South and South-East Asia.

A preview of the exhibit was held in Ottawa on November 28, prior to its shipment by sea to Ceylon. During the period of the Colombo Exhibition the Assistant Director of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission, Mr. F. P. Cosgrove, and the Canadian Representative on the Council for Technical Co-operation in Colombo, will be in attendance at the Canadian Pavilion.

Colombo Plan a Co-operative Venture

Although the Canadian exhibit has been designed to demonstrate to the peoples of South and South-East Asia the types of assistance which Canada has to offer in helping them to surmount their problems, it has been hoped that the Exhibit would emphasize the conception of the Colombo Plan as an essentially co-operative venture. As the concluding paragraph of the booklet which has been prepared for distribution at the Canadian exhibit states:

Although we may have something to give and to teach, we have also much to receive and to learn. In this vast country of ours, we have found out something of how we may live and prosper; but from the East with its ancient cultures we have much to learn of the abiding things that bring comfort and delight to the mind and heart. We should like to know more of your art and of your riches in poetry and in philosophy. We in Canada have learned how to tame a wilderness and to work with nature in creating material prosperity; but this we realize is not an end in itself, and indeed, much of our prosperity depends upon the effectiveness with which we can share our resources with you and with the rest of the world. Of the technical processes and skills useful in increasing production we have something to impart; for the purposes to which a greater measure of material prosperity may be devoted we may properly turn to you, since according to our ancient proverb: "Out of the East cometh wisdom".

CANADA'S NATO FORCES ARRIVE IN EUROPE

On September 18, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Claxton, announced that, subject to the approval of Parliament, the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade would move overseas to form part of the NATO Integrated Force under General Eisenhower.

In his statement, Mr. Claxton said:

Late last week General Eisenhower sent word expressing deep satisfaction that the Canadians could be available in the autumn of 1951 and stressed the great importance which he attached to a Canadian contribution to the Integrated Forces of NATO at this juncture. For military reasons he was of the opinion that the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group should be deployed in the Northern Army Sector in association with the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Belgian forces, and where suitable accommodation and training areas could be made available. General Eisenhower also stated that he would take a personal interest in the arrival and arrangements for accommodation of the Canadian force.

Mr. Claxton also said that, subject to Parliamentary approval, Canada would contribute an air division of eleven fighter squadrons to the forces under General Eisenhower. The first three of these squadrons would remain in the United Kingdom until facilities are available for them on the continent.

On October 23, the House of Commons adopted the following resolution, which indicated its approval of Canadian participation in the Integrated Force. The resolution, which was also approved by the Senate, reads as follows:

That this House approves the continuance of Canada's participation in the efforts being made through the United Nations to establish international peace, and in particular to defeat aggression and restore peace in Korea, and by the North Atlantic Treaty nations to deter aggression and promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

Following this, the actual movement of the Brigade to Europe was carried forward.

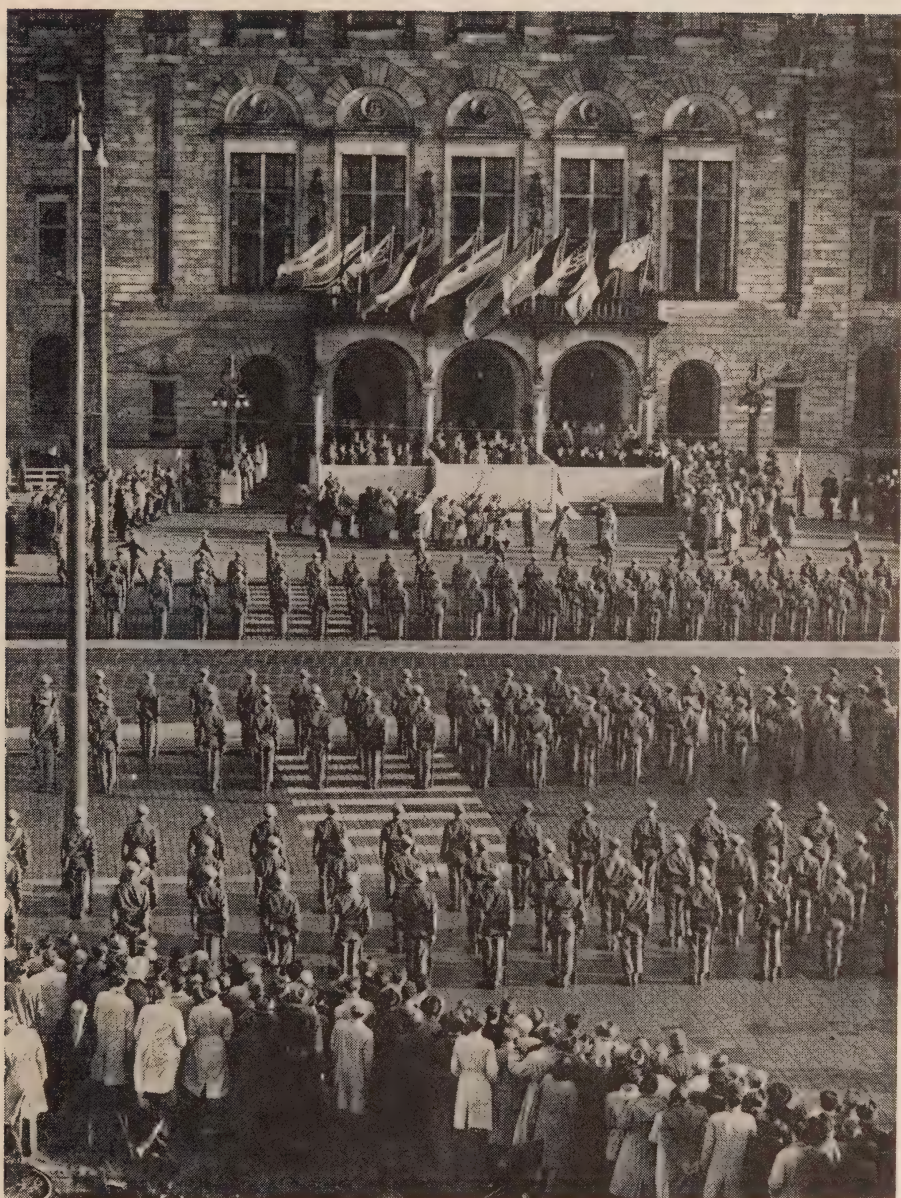
Troops Welcomed in Rotterdam

On November 21, Mr. Claxton and General Eisenhower welcomed 1,500 men of the Brigade in the square before the *Stadhuis* of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. This contingent was the third to arrive overseas and brought the strength of the Brigade elements in Europe to about 2,350 men. It consisted of the 1st Canadian Infantry Battalion; the 58th Independent Field Squadron, Royal Canadian Engineers; the 194th Infantry Workshop, RCEME; an advance party of the 79th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery; a base repair section; members of the Provost Corps and a dental detachment.

The full Brigade, which comprises 5,500 men, has been moving to Europe in six separate sailings during November and December, and is expected to be in barracks near Hanover by the end of the year.

After a salute taken by General Eisenhower and inspection of the troops, Mr. Claxton spoke as follows:

This is an historic day, when the Canadian forces return to this land of Europe; this time, not to help to win a war, but to prevent a war, protect peace and preserve freedom. They are proud to join their comrades of the other North Atlantic Treaty countries in this great endeavour.



—Anejo

CANADA'S 27TH BRIGADE ARRIVES IN EUROPE

Members of the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade are welcomed at the Rotterdam city hall by General Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander of NATO forces in Europe and the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton.

It is a good omen that these Canadians should arrive in the Netherlands, a country which is close to the heart of all Canadians. I wish on their behalf to tell Her Majesty Queen Juliana that they remember the days when she was in Canada during the last war.

Mr. Burgomaster: It is good too that they should arrive in Rotterdam. You were here then as Burgomaster, and more than anyone else will remember the great march of liberation when the Canadians were the first to arrive here on May 8, 1945. The Government of Holland, the city of Rotterdam, and the armed forces of your country are due our thanks for the arrangements that they have made and for the warm welcome they have so hospitably extended.

Soldiers of Canada: The uniform of Canada has been recognized everywhere as a badge of courage and a certificate of high conduct. You carry on your shoulders the name of Canada and you carry also the responsibility for that good name. There comes and will stay with you the love and support of people in every corner of our great and beloved country. Good luck to all of you.

General Eisenhower: It was under your great leadership that the Allied forces, including many Canadian veterans here today fought and won the war. It is our



—National Defence

GENERAL EISENHOWER INSPECTS CANADIAN FORCES IN EUROPE

General Eisenhower inspects the 58th Independent Field Squadron, Royal Canadian Engineers, in front of the city hall, Rotterdam. He is accompanied by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton and Major R. W. Potts (left).

good fortune that again under your leadership our collective military strength is being built up in order to secure the peace which we hoped had been brought with the end of the war. These men from Canada, who are now placed under your command, join you in your great task to build up our common strength to preserve the peace so that the men, women and children of Europe and all free peoples everywhere may enjoy a better life than they have ever known.

General Eisenhower welcomed the Canadian contingent in the following words:

It is my privilege this morning to represent every member of the North Atlantic Treaty Forces allocated to SHAPE in extending to this great Brigade a warm welcome to your new home. Every individual from Field Marshal to military recruit welcomes you, not only because of yourselves, your gallantry in action, your proved record on the battlefields, but because this means that Canada is with us not only with her productive factories, and with all the resources that she has within her borders, but actively, in the area where danger could be incurred.

This morning as I drove within this square someone turned to me and said: "General, what do you think of meeting your old friends the Canadian Infantry in red berets?" and my answer to him was: "I am glad to meet the Canadian Infantry anywhere. I know them. Moreover, if there is any unit, any organization that has ever earned the right to wear a headgear of its own choosing it is the Canadian Infantry." And that is the kind of feeling that you are going to encounter everywhere you go. For your part, I know you will be a working representative of your own great country in this great organization designed to preserve the peace and security for freedom loving people. There shall be nothing provocative on the part of this organization or any individual in it, but we stand secure in the knowledge that in strength we can protect ourselves. We do not wish to do more and we could never in justice to ourselves do less.

To all of you, again our warm welcome, a good tour of duty, great success and good luck.

THE KOREAN CRISIS

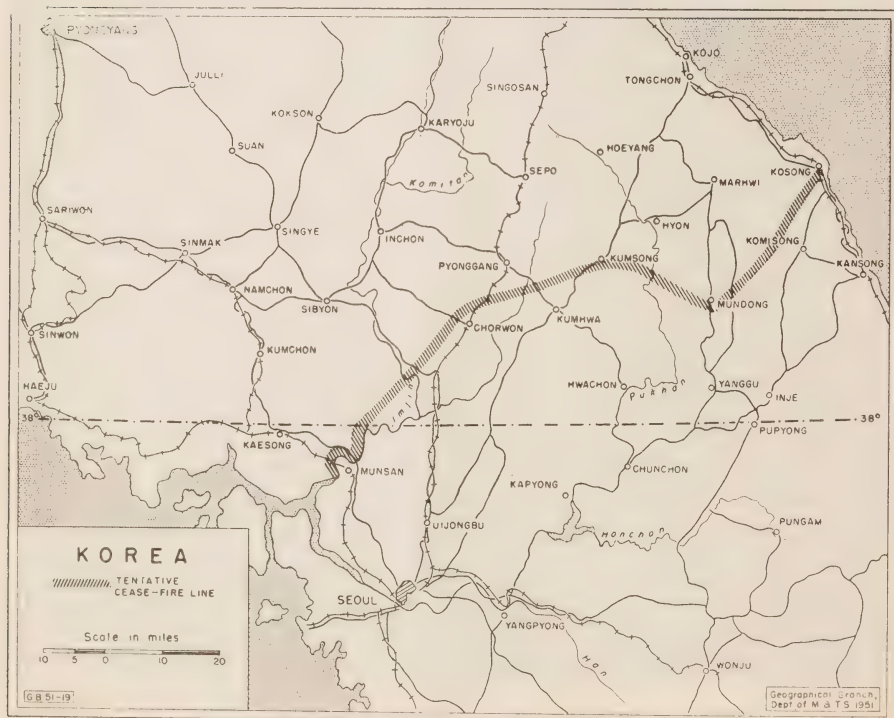
Negotiations Resumed

The approval on October 25 of regulations for the conduct of future negotiations was immediately followed by a meeting of sub-delegations to resume substantive discussions on a military demarcation line. At this meeting, the Chinese and North Korean negotiators abandoned their insistence on placing the cease-fire line at the 38th parallel.

With this change of attitude, the negotiations were able to proceed and after nearly a month of discussion the sub-delegations approved an agreement in the following terms:

1. The principle is accepted that the actual line of contact between both sides (as determined under either paragraph two or three, as appropriate) will be made the military demarcation line and that at the time specified in the signed Armistice Agreement both sides will withdraw two kilometers from the line so as to establish the demilitarized zone for the duration of the military armistice.

2. If the Military Armistice Agreement is signed within 30 days after the two delegations approve in the plenary session this agreement and the specific location of the military demarcation line and demilitarized zone, determined by the sub-delegations on the basis of the above stated principle and in accordance with the present line of contact as indicated in the attached map and explanatory notes, the military demarcation line and demilitarized zone shall not be changed, regardless of whatever changes may occur in the actual line of contact between both sides.



The cease-fire line agreed to by allied and enemy negotiators on November 23, 1951, is shown in the map above. This line will be the effective cease-fire line if an armistice is signed within 30 days of November 23.

3. In view of the fact that hostilities will continue until the signing of the Armistice Agreement, if the Military Armistice Agreement is not signed within 30 days after the two delegations approve in the plenary session this agreement and the specific location of the military demarcation line and the demilitarized zone as determined in paragraph two above, the sub-delegations shall revise, immediately prior to the signing of the Military Armistice Agreement, the above military demarcation line and the demilitarized zone in accordance with the changes which have occurred in the actual line of contact between both sides so that the revised military demarcation line will coincide exactly with the line of contact between both sides immediately prior to the signing of the Military Armistice Agreement and will constitute the military demarcation line for the duration of the military armistice.

On November 27, the negotiators approved a line drawn by the sub-delegations in accordance with the foregoing agreement and proceeded to a discussion of item 3 of the agenda: "Concrete arrangements for the realization of a cease-fire and an armistice in Korea, including the composition, authority and functions of a supervising organization for carrying out the terms of the cease-fire and armistice". The enemy negotiators refused to give any consideration to item 4 ("Arrangements relating to prisoners of war") until item 3 was disposed of.

Military Operations

During November there were several heavy engagements on the ground but no significant exchanges of territory were made. The Royal 22nd Regiment of the 25th Canadian Brigade Group withstood particularly heavy attacks towards the end of the month. Enemy air activity increased significantly during the month. The Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force warned:

The air space between the Yalu and Pyongyang in which we have previously been able to operate unhindered is now no man's air and has become the area of decision in the Korean air war. It is for this reason that I recently stated that the air situation could become serious and even critical. Unmistakably, the enemy is intensifying his efforts in the air, despite his forced acceptance of a stalemate on the ground. And we must accept that if he wins in the air the stalemate on the ground is not likely to continue.

A Canadian Film Note From Japan

Motion picture films have become increasingly important in the programme of making Canada better known in many parts of the world. Canadian documentary films, produced mainly by the National Film Board, are lent to, or screened for, interested groups in 50 foreign countries by Canadian diplomatic, consular and trade posts abroad. During 1951 more than four million people have seen Canadian films provided through our posts. The audiences have included such diverse groups as agriculture students in Karachi, doctors and psychologists in Mexico City, art students in San Francisco, factory workers in Naples and school children in Malaya.

Most showings are held in class-rooms or lecture-halls; occasionally they take place in less conventional surroundings. A recent report of film activities from the Canadian Liaison Mission in Tokyo vividly describes a series of screenings of Canadian films held for the first time in one of the poorer districts of the Japanese capital during the spring and summer of 1951. It says in part:

I should like to make some mention of the efforts of a Japanese member of our staff, Mr. K. Tasho, to increase the number of his fellow nationals who see our films. For three months now Mr. Tasho has been a regular borrower of our films and projection equipment for use in the Tokyo ward where he lives. One night one of our officers went out to see his show.

The theatre consisted of a wide cement blind alley, empty of seats. Projection equipment was carefully mounted on a wagon. The electricity for the machine came from a small dance hall which suspended its operations during the show. The audience was as general as it could be, the ratio of children to adults being about 5 to 2. The alley was packed and indeed most of the street which flanked it. Two policemen kept the street open for traffic. Mr. Tasho had had to obtain special police permission to hold his outdoor meetings but received full co-operation from members of the force at every show.

Although the sound track must have been unintelligible to the great majority of those present the audience was extraordinarily silent through the proceedings. During the intermissions Mr. Tasho gave a brief résumé in Japanese of what the next film to be shown was about. The meeting lasted more than two hours. During the latter part of the programme our officer suggested that perhaps if the performance were to continue, the interest in it of the standing audience might decline precipitately. Thereafter before each film was screened the audience was asked if they wanted to see another, and they always did. If anyone present did not, he was neither heard nor observed leaving, and the exhibition ceased when the supply of films ran out.

The people of Mr. Tasho's ward are very poor. Few of them could often afford to see films which are commercially distributed and our staff member has, through his efforts this summer, added much to their enjoyment. There can be no doubt of the good-will value of films distributed here. The headman of the ward has personally visited our office to thank us on behalf of all ward residents who saw the films.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

On November 8 Mr. Alphonse Fournier, acting for the Secretary of State for External Affairs, moved that the House go into committee to approve the following resolution:

That it is expedient to introduce a measure to approve the agreement on the status of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, national representatives and international staff, and to provide for carrying out the obligations, duties and rights of Canada thereunder.

Status of Civilian Staffs Abroad

Mr. Jean Lesage, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, spoke to the motion as follows:

The purpose of this resolution is to make way for the introduction of a bill approving the agreement regarding the immunities and privileges of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, that is for the organization itself, national representatives and international staff. The agreement was signed in Ottawa by all the members of NATO on September 20, 1951. It follows generally the form of agreement which, beginning with the general convention on privileges and immunities of the United Nations in 1946, has been adopted with more or less minor variations to define the privileges and immunities of practically all important international organizations. Certain departures have, however, been made from the precedents in order to meet the particular requirements of NATO.

NATO differs from other international organizations in that it has subsidiary bodies in permanent session in several countries. Other organizations generally only have a permanent seat in the country where they have their headquarters and it has been usual, in addition to the general agreement defining privileges and immunities which all member states are expected to accord, to have a special headquarters agreement between the organization and the member state in whose territory the headquarters are located. An example of this headquarters agreement would be the agreement between the Government of Canada and the United Nations concerning the International Civil Aviation Organization with its headquarters in Montreal.

This headquarters agreement covers the special requirements of the organization in the country where it has its headquarters and, in particular, grants to any national representative stationed permanently in that country a rather more liberal scale of privileges than is given to national representatives under the general agreement. Since NATO has permanent bodies in several countries it has been found convenient to include in the general agreement provisions, mainly concerning national representatives, which are generally found in a headquarters agreement

Following comments by Mr. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggart) and Mr. Fulford (L, Leeds), the motion was agreed to and the House went into committee.

After some brief remarks by Mr. Pouliot (L, Temiscouata), Mr. Lesage continued his statement as follows:

. . . The members of the international staff of the United Nations located in Canada are very few. Practically the only members here are those of the International Civil Aviation Organization with headquarters in Montreal. Occasionally representatives of the International Labour Office are in Canada, and I do not know if there are still representatives of the International Refugee Organization located in this country.

The bill to be founded upon this resolution deals with the privileges and immuni-

ties to be granted to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization itself, its officials and national representatives. As a matter of fact the Council sat here in Ottawa in September, but I do not know when it will sit here again. That was the first occasion when we had national representatives of NATO in Canada. The three principal seats of NATO are Washington, Paris and London, and that is where the international staff and the national representations will be.

At the present time the staff numbers approximately 170. I cannot state how many will benefit from these diplomatic privileges and immunities.

Status of NATO Forces Abroad

On November 15, the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, moved that the House go into committee to consider the following resolution:

That it is expedient to introduce a measure to approve an agreement between the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the status of their forces when present in the territory of one another; to provide on a reciprocal basis for certain exemptions for personnel in a country other than their own from income tax, customs duty and certain claims arising out of death, personal injury or property damage resulting from the negligence of their members.

The motion was agreed to, and the House accordingly went into committee.

Mr. Claxton opened the debate on his motion as follows in part:

. . . Perhaps I can make plain the reason for this legislation when I say that without such legislation in effect in this and other countries the forces of Canada and the other North Atlantic Treaty nations when in another country would have no more rights or immunities than tourists. In respect of the laws of the country they were visiting they would be in the same position as one travelling on civilian business. That would affect their position with regard to passports, immigration, health services, taxation, customs and civil and criminal jurisdiction.

To provide for this we passed the Visiting Forces (British Commonwealth) Act, 1933, which deals with the situation with regard to forces of the Commonwealth which happen to be in Canada. The Commonwealth countries have adopted similar legislation to give us reciprocal rights and immunities. We also adopted the Visiting Forces (United States of America) Act in 1947 which dealt with United States forces which happened to be in Canada. Canadian forces have exactly the same rights in the United States. The bill now proposed will follow along the lines of this legislation. It will approve the agreement and give effect to these provisions

The 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade is on the way to Europe. Some elements have already arrived and the main units will begin to arrive, as I have said, on November 20 or 21. We have made arrangements with the Government of the Netherlands that such requirements will be waived in respect of Canadian troops in their passage through the Netherlands. We have also made arrangements with the Allied High Commission, which is the responsible defence authority in Western Germany, that while our troops will not be occupation troops and will have no occupation duties they will have the same status with respect to rights and immunities as if they were British, American or French forces, which have been there since the end of the war.

Korea

Replying, on November 26, to an enquiry by Mr. Coldwell about the cease-fire negotiations in Korea, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent said:

. . . The information I have received is that the sub-delegations of the United Nations and enemy delegations meeting at Panmunjom have agreed on the line of contact between the United Nations and enemy forces for the 145 miles across the peninsula of Korea, and have thereby established the description of a neutral buffer zone which would extend two kilometers in depth from this contact line on either

side, and from which both sides will withdraw if an armistice is signed within thirty days. It was expected when this dispatch was sent to us that at a meeting which was to take place at Panmunjom at eleven o'clock Tuesday, their time, which corresponds with nine o'clock p.m. Eastern Standard Time today, the full delegations would approve the findings of the sub-delegations.

However, before a cease-fire can take effect it will be necessary for the full delegations to concur on arrangements for inspection to ensure that the truce is being observed, and to care for the exchange of prisoners of war. There is a third remaining outstanding item on "recommendations to the governments concerned on both sides", which has not yet been explored. And it is only when agreement on all three of these outstanding points has been reached that it will be possible for a cease-fire to take official effect.

The sub-delegations were to meet at eight o'clock Eastern Standard Time to complete their report for the full delegations of the two sides. The full delegations are probably in session at the present time. They were called to meet at what would correspond to nine o'clock Eastern Standard Time today; and it is assumed that they are now in conference dealing with this line of demarcation which has been set out on the plans, and with the explanatory notes.

It was expected that they would ratify this line of demarcation. The arrangement with respect to it signed on November 23 provided that when the cease-fire becomes operative, each side would withdraw two kilometers in depth from this line of demarcation, and that that would be the line of demarcation if the other items were agreed upon within thirty days from the ratification of the line of demarcation.

If they did not agree within thirty days they would nevertheless continue their negotiation of these other points; and when they had arrived at agreement upon them, the sub-delegations would revise the line of demarcation in conformity with what might then be the point of contact between the opposing forces.

On November 30, the Prime Minister replied as follows to a question by Mr. Graydon (PC, Peel) concerning cease-fire orders alleged to have been issued in Korea:

I am not sure that the statement I have here will clear up the confusion but I have from our embassy in Washington the text of the statement made by General Van Fleet of the United States 8th Army Headquarters about the matter. It is in the following terms:

An incomplete digest of military directive has led to unfounded speculation regarding a cease-fire in Korea. Eighth Army Headquarters released a statement 28 November, 1951, wherein it was explicitly stated there is no cease-fire order in Korea. I don't know how I can be more emphatic on this matter than by reiterating this statement. Amplifying the original statement, I can say that certain military instructions were disseminated from this headquarters to corps and division levels. War correspondents' reports indicate that when these instructions were passed down to some lower command elements there was a distortion of meaning in the text of these instructions. Action is being taken to clarify these instructions for those officers and enlisted men who misinterpreted the directive. I am not at liberty to disclose the contents of the instructions which are related to future operations of the 8th army. I can definitely say, however, there is no mention made in the text ordering a cease-fire in Korea.

James A. Van Fleet, General, U.S.A.

Po River Flood

Asked, on November 26, by Mr. Catherwood (PC, Haldimand) whether the Government had received an appeal from the Italian Government for assistance in connection with the Po River flood and whether, if so, it was intended to respond to this appeal, Mr. St. Laurent stated:

The short answer to both questions is no, but I do not think I should leave it at that. I think that I should inform the House that the Secretary of State for External

Affairs as chairman of the North Atlantic Council has sent the following message to the Prime Minister of Italy, Signor de Gasperi:

I am sure that I speak for all NATO governments in expressing to you our warm sympathy and deep concern for the trials and hardships which the people in Northern Italy are suffering from the disastrous floods. Italy's partners in NATO will, I know, wish to co-operate by whatever means may be possible in giving him help and assistance to meet this tragic emergency.

I know that the means by which some assistance, either direct or indirect, could be made available to supplement the rescue operations which are being assisted by the United States and United Kingdom forces are being actively explored. The United States and the United Kingdom had armed forces stationed quite close by and they were able to be of very substantial assistance in this disaster. As soon as more details are available as to what is urgently needed—I have heard something to the effect that it is blankets and medical supplies—we will all be in a better position to determine what could or should be done.

Next day the Prime Minister returned to this subject, and said in part:

... Perhaps hon. members will have noticed in the news this morning that the Canadian Red Cross Society in addition to supplies from a stock pile in Geneva is contributing \$15,000 worth of supplies from Canada. These supplies are taking the form of blankets, woolen underwear, shoes, powdered milk and medicines. The Society has approached the Government with the request that we facilitate the transport of this material to Europe.



—Capital Press

MR. CASEY IN OTTAWA

Australia's Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Richard G. Casey, (second from right), accompanied by the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, chats with Canadian war veterans in Confederation Square, Ottawa. Mr. Casey spent three days in the Canadian capital in discussion with Canadian Government leaders, en route from the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris to Australia.

I am glad to inform the House that the Government has today placed at the disposal of the Canadian Red Cross Society two North Star aircraft. These aircraft will deliver the material to some airport in Europe which has not yet been designated. Through arrangements made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of National Defence, both of whom are in Rome attending the meeting of the North Atlantic Council, the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe have undertaken to deliver the material from whatever airport is selected to the actual scene of the disaster . . .

Mr. Drew expressed approval of the Government's action.

CBC International Service

On November 9, the Minister of National Revenue, Mr. J. J. McCann, speaking to his own motion for a committee to consider the CBC Annual Report and an amendment to the Canadian Broadcasting Act, made the following statement regarding the work of the CBC International Service:

. . . The committee will also likely wish to consider the work of the International Service which the CBC operates in effect as an agent for the Government. This service has continued to be carried on under close consultation with the Department of External Affairs regarding policy matters.

At the end of last year a weekly service to Finland was begun which has brought a remarkable response from that country. In February, following discussions with British and United States authorities, a service to Russia was opened. Broadcasting in the Ukrainian language will shortly be incorporated in this service. Members of the committee may wish to examine material that is broadcast from Canada in fourteen languages and to consider some of the evidence of the response to it. I do think it is unfortunate that it is not easy for many people in Canada to hear these broadcasts because they are beamed directly to other countries although they can be heard fairly clearly and regularly in many parts, including the city of Ottawa.

I might say that there is no secret in any way about what is broadcast. The CBC International Service is glad to show any scripts at any time to any responsible person. In addition, recordings of what actually goes on the air are kept and are available for some time afterwards. The service is, of course, designed to play an effective broadcasting role in the present international situation with all its tensions and dangers. I think members of the committee will be very interested in seeing just how it goes about this work in the present international situation.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Conclusion of the Fifth Session of the General Assembly

The Fifth Session was adjourned in Paris on November 5, 1951. One agenda item still remained to be disposed of, the report of the Special Committee of the Assembly on the representation of China. The Committee had submitted a report that it was unable to make any recommendation in the present circumstances. Mr. Entezam, the President of the Fifth Session, proposed that the report be "noted"; however, the representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia objected and asked that the item be placed on the agenda of the Sixth Session. This proposal was defeated and the report of the Special Committee was then adopted. The President then declared the Fifth Session concluded.

Sixth Session of the General Assembly*

On the following day, November 6, the Sixth Session of the General Assembly was opened at the Palais de Chaillot, Paris. Representatives of sixty countries heard an address by the retiring president, who reviewed the events of the past year and expressed the opinion that the period of the Fifth Session had seen a lessening in world tensions. The President of the French Republic, M. Vincent Auriol, then addressed the Assembly. He welcomed the Delegation to Paris and appealed to the heads of the great powers to seek to lessen world conflicts through informal meetings in Paris during the period of the Assembly.

The representative of the U.S.S.R. again proposed that the question of Chinese representation be placed on the agenda. This proposal, however, was defeated by a decisive majority in a later plenary session.

Election of Officers

At the first meeting of the Assembly, Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo of Mexico was elected President. Representatives of the following countries were elected to the seven Vice-Presidencies: France, the United States, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., China, Yugoslavia and Iraq.

The following were elected Chairmen of the seven main committees: First (Political and Security) Committee, Mr. Finn Moe of Norway; Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, Prince Wan Waithavakon of Thailand; Third (Social) Committee, Sra. Ana Figueroa of Chile; Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee, Dr. Max Henriquez-Urena of the Dominican Republic; Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary) Committee, Mr. Thomas A. Stone of Canada; Sixth (Legal) Committee, Dr. Manfred Lachs of Poland; Ad Hoc Political Committee, M. Selim Sarper of Turkey. The above officers together with the President of the Assembly and the seven Vice-Presidents constitute the General Committee.

Agenda

The General Committee recommended an agenda of sixty-eight items. Several of these gave rise to protests by the Cominform representatives, including items on Nationalist Chinese and Yugoslavian charges against the U.S.S.R. and on the proposed German elections commission. The General Assembly nevertheless voted in favour of including all these items on the agenda, and approved the General Committee's report. The General Assembly decided that a Christmas recess should be held which would last from December 23 to January 1, inclusive.

* For the Agenda, see *External Affairs*, October 1951, page 344; for the composition of the Canadian Delegation, see *External Affairs*, November 1951, page 389.



—Rosenthal

AN INFORMAL CHAT AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

At the end of a meeting during the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, discusses conference developments with the Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Anthony Eden, (centre) and the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dean Acheson (right).

General Debate

Much of the general debate in the plenary meetings of the Assembly centred around the question of disarmament (see page 420). While all delegations were concerned with peace and how to maintain it, many representatives also paid particular attention to the role of the United Nations in the development of under-developed territories as an important way to help to foster peace. Mr. R. G. Casey, the Australian Minister of External Affairs, called upon the Soviet Union not to press the crisis beyond "the point of no return". He said that the ultimate goal of the United Nations was "collective prosperity". The Egyptian representative called attention to disputes over Palestine, Morocco and the Suez Canal. Some delegations mentioned that certain deserving nations had not yet been made members of the United Nations. Mr. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, called for "a truce to name-calling and angry words" and asked that representatives apply their minds dispassionately to the serious problems with which the Assembly was faced.

Mr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State of the United States, pointed out, before dealing with the question of disarmament, that the cause of peace had, during the past year, prospered in tangible ways. A treaty of peace had been signed with Japan; the Collective Measures Committee had laid solid foundations for action through the United Nations to prevent aggression; and the Atlantic community had been building

up its strength in support of, and in accordance with, the principles of the United Nations. However, building up of armed strength was not enough, Mr. Acheson said; no opportunity should be neglected to reduce the danger of war and to meet the economic and social needs of the peoples of the world. These aims could be fostered if the free nations could be relieved of some of the burden of armaments.

The Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, Mr. Pearson, in his address to the Assembly in the general debate, warned that it was necessary to take a realistic approach to the problems which the United Nations faces. He said in part:

The United Nations remains our last, best hope for peace. But the emphasis is shifting from *best* to *last*. We will have to stop that shift if our world organization is to survive as an effective instrument to maintain peace and promote security. . .

If we can reach that objective, the tragic split between the Great Powers which now weakens and endangers our world organization could be healed; the United Nations could grow in strength and prestige to a point where many of the items on this Assembly's agenda would be unthinkable. If however, that split persists and grows deeper and more dangerous, then the United Nations, as we know it now, as we formed it in San Francisco, may disappear. With that disappearance, if it ever took place, the risk of a war in which everything worth having would also disappear, would become immeasurably greater. To the prevention of that final catastrophe, my delegation hopes that this Assembly will be able to make an effective contribution. To that end, we pledge our own best effort.

Mr. Pearson emphasized the problems created for the constructive work of the United Nations by the existence of two blocs between which a chasm had been widened:

Many of the states between the two blocs are what we now describe as under-developed areas. They are receiving a measure, indeed an increasing measure, of technical assistance from the United Nations, and technical and economic aid from various agencies in the free world, including that from the Colombo Plan, an initiative of the Commonwealth of Nations, in which my country is proud to play a part.

If only the burden of defence programmes could be reduced, a much larger measure of such technical assistance and aid for capital development could and would flow in a far greater stream into the under-developed countries and territories.

The general debate was brought to a close by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Trygve Lie, who asked that the United Nations continue with unflagging purpose the labour of constructing peace. He said that the general debate had reflected "the compelling desire of all peoples to extricate themselves from the morass of fear and danger in which they are now struggling". He outlined the three goals towards which members of the United Nations were striving; universal reduction of armaments, collective security and economic and social development. These, he said, were universal and had the universal support of the peoples of the world. Therefore they required the universal approach for which the United Nations stood. He closed his statement by asking that leaders of the delegations of member states take the opportunity which was presented to them at the time of the General Assembly to undertake direct, quiet, straightforward discussion amongst themselves.

The Disarmament Debate*

On November 7 in a radio broadcast President Truman stated that the United States was expecting to introduce in the General Assembly important new pro-

* The Canadian position on armament proposals was made in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly by the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation, and Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson. This statement appears in the Department's Statements and Speeches series as No. 51/47, and is obtainable on application to the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

posals regarding the regulation and reduction of armaments and armed forces. On the same day a statement was issued by the Governments of France, the United Kingdom and the United States announcing that these three powers would sponsor the new proposals and indicating their general content. On November 8, in his opening statement in the general debate, Mr. Acheson discussed the nature of these proposals in greater detail and asked that an item be added to the agenda to provide for their consideration.

In the general debate Mr. Vishinsky attacked the tripartite proposals in a manner both scornful and frivolous. His remarks were not well received, and in a second speech he dealt with the plan more seriously and put forward counter-proposals for the Assembly's consideration. New items were added to the agenda to provide for both the tripartite and Soviet plans, which were referred to the Political Committee for consideration.

The tripartite plan recommended the replacement of the Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments by a single "Arms Reduction Committee" under the Security Council. The new Commission would be charged with the task of preparing a treaty for the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armed forces and all armaments in accordance with certain general principles. In the first place, there should be progressive disclosure and verification on a continuing basis of all armed forces and all armaments, the adequacy and accuracy of the information disclosed being verified by a system of effective international inspection. The Commission should formulate general criteria for limiting the size of armed forces and the amount of national armaments, and should develop within these limits a system of mutually agreed national programmes relating to the armed forces and armaments that each country would maintain. The treaty should include provisions for the international control of atomic energy which would be no less effective than the plan previously approved by the majority of the members of the United Nations in ensuring the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only. Observance of the terms of the disarmament programme should be ensured by an adequate system of safeguards, to provide for the prompt detection of violations while causing the minimum degree of interference in the internal life of each country. The treaty could come into effect only when approved by all the powers of major military importance.

The Soviet proposals consisted of four points. Of these the first was the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons, to be embodied in a convention and to be enforced under strict controls. The second requirement was a one-third reduction of their armed strength by the five major powers. The third requirement was the provision by all states of complete information concerning their armed forces within a month of the prohibition of atomic weapons and the reduction of armed strength by major powers. Finally, the plan included the establishment of an international control organ within the framework of the Security Council to implement these decisions.

Speaking in support of the Western proposals Mr. Eden referred to three new and important features: the suggestion that disarmament be approached by stages, beginning with the least important and working up to more important categories; the suggestion that definite criteria be worked out for limiting armaments in all countries; and the suggestion that atomic weapons be included in the general disarmament scheme. Mr. Vishinsky attacked the proposals on two main points: he said they made no provision for the unconditional prohibition of atomic weapons and he argued that the provision for the progressive disclosure of armaments and armed forces prior to any prohibition of such weapons or reduction of other armaments was putting the cart before the horse. Mr. Vishinsky made no serious effort to demonstrate that his proposals included any new provisions of importance, and his plan was attacked by the Western powers for this reason. They charged spe-

cifically that the Soviet Union was still unwilling to agree to arrangements for inspection adequate to ensure the observance of any control plan which might be adopted.

In the course of the debate a new issue was introduced by the Indian Delegation. Sir Benegal Rau put forward a draft resolution to establish immediately a U.N. fund for reconstruction and development. He proposed that governments should divert to such a fund a proportion of those resources now being used by them for armaments. It is not possible to say what success this suggestion may have, although at the time of writing the response to it has been limited.

A draft resolution which came as something of a surprise to the major powers was introduced by Iraq, Pakistan, and Syria. They proposed the establishment of a sub-committee of the Political Committee to consist of representatives of France, the U.K., the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. under the chairmanship of the President of the Assembly. It would be the task of this sub-committee to formulate "agreed proposals concerning the control and reduction of armed forces and armaments, and the abolition of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction". After the addition of a clause providing that the sub-committee should report back by December 10, this proposal was accepted by the Political Committee.

UNSCOB

The Ad Hoc Political Committee discussed on November 20 two resolutions dealing with the method of handling threats to peace and security in the Balkans. The first resolution, submitted by Greece, approved the report of UNSCOB, expressed appreciation for the work that the organ had done and called for its dissolution. The second, submitted jointly by France, Greece, Mexico, the United Kingdom and the United States, called for the establishment of a Balkan sub-commission of the Peace Observation Commission, composed of not less than 3 and not more than 5 members, with its seat at the United Nations Headquarters and with authority to despatch observers or to visits "any area of international tension in the Balkans on the request of any state or states concerned" and to report to the Peace Observation Commission and to the Secretary-General.

These resolutions were adopted by the Ad Hoc Committee on November 23, Canada voting in favour of both.

Repatriation of Greek Children

On December 1, 1950, the General Assembly adopted a resolution setting up a Standing Committee on the Repatriation of Greek Children, composed of representatives of Peru, the Philippines and Sweden. This Standing Committee was enjoined to confer with representatives of the states harbouring Greek children with a view to making the necessary arrangements for their early return to their parents. During the period which has elapsed since that Standing Committee was set up, no progress in this direction could be reported. Consequently, on November 26, 1951, the representatives of these three states submitted a resolution to the Ad Hoc Committee requesting that the Governments concerned be invited to designate representatives to meet with the Standing Committee in Paris if possible before December 15, and asking that a discussion of this item be ajourned until the Standing Committee had been able to report on the implementation of these plans. This resolution was adopted with Canadian support.

Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Matters

The Social, Humanitarian and Cultural (Third) Committee began its meetings on November 15. The first item on its agenda was the discussion of Chapter IV



—United Nations

CANADIAN PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

Mr. David M. Johnson, recently appointed Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, presents his credentials to the Secretary General, Mr. Trygve Lie. Previous to this appointment Mr. Johnson had been Canadian High Commissioner in Pakistan.

of the Report of the Economic and Social Council (social welfare questions, United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, population, narcotic drugs, etc.). The first resolution passed was adopted without a recorded vote. It drew the attention of "all United Nations organs concerned with social welfare" to the needs of flood victims in northern Italy. The Committee also adopted a resolution making an earnest appeal to all countries and persons to contribute to UNICEF during 1952 and a resolution detailing action to be taken to provide housing for under-privileged people. The main resolution adopted, however, was that sponsored by France, Pakistan and Yugoslavia calling upon the Economic and Social Council to examine in detail the social activities undertaken by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in order to fulfil the various social tasks assigned to it by the Charter and to ensure that efforts and resources are effectively concentrated upon those social problem. The resolution further called the attention of the Economic and Social Council to the report on the world social situation to be submitted to the Social Commission at its next session and requested the Council to draw up a programme of practical action in the social field in the light of the findings of this report. This resolution was adopted by 43 votes in favour and 5 against (the Soviet bloc).

Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories

The most significant question so far discussed in the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee during this session of the General Assembly, has been the item, proposed by the Trusteeship Council, on Italy's full participation in the Trusteeship Council.

The French and Guatemalan Delegations submitted a draft resolution in which the General Assembly noted that Italy had been made responsible by the United Nations for the administration of the trust territory of Somaliland and that it was exercising its responsibilities towards the United Nations as an administering power. The resolution went on to state that the General Assembly considered that Italy should be enabled to exercise those responsibilities with complete effectiveness and that it was necessary for Italy to become a member of the Trusteeship Council and for that purpose to be admitted to the United Nations, and recommended that the Security Council give urgent consideration to such immediate admission of Italy.

The Fourth Committee adopted the two-power resolution over the objections of the Cominform countries. Canada voted in favour of the resolution. The Canadian representative on the Fourth Committee, in a statement supporting the resolutions, said that Italy, while assuming the same responsibilities and obligations as other states which administered trust territories, had not been endowed with the same rights and privileges which those other states enjoyed. He said that under present circumstances there was only one way in which the United Nations could legally attempt to remove this anomaly, and that way was pointed out in the draft resolution. The resolution recognized that rights of membership under the Charter could only be granted by a recommendation of the Assembly together with a decision of the Security Council.

During the discussion of the item on information from non-self-governing territories, the Iraqi and Uruguayan Delegations brought forward resolutions "reaffirming the powers of the Trusteeship Committee to discuss political matters and political aspects in regard to non-self-governing territories". These resolutions were strongly opposed by the administering powers, who claimed that the Fourth Committee had power to discuss only economic, social and educational conditions in the non-self-governing territories on which information is transmitted to the Secretary-General. However, after an appeal by the Chairman of the Committee to members not to bring up political matters when this particular item was being discussed, the sponsors withdrew the two resolutions.

The Trusteeship Committee approved a revised standard form for the submission of information by the administering powers on the colonial territories for which they are responsible. The report of a special committee of the General Assembly on "economic conditions and problems of development in non-self-governing territories" was also approved without change.

Appointment of Negotiating Committee

On November 27 the Administrative and Budgetary (Fifth) Committee adopted a resolution sponsored by the United Kingdom and the United States requesting the President of the General Assembly to appoint a negotiating committee composed of seven members for the purpose of consulting during the current session of the General Assembly with member and non-member states as to the amounts which governments may be willing to contribute on a voluntary basis towards programmes approved by the Assembly but for which funds are not provided in the regular budget of the United Nations. These programmes include assistance to Palestine refugees and Korean civilians and the expanded programme of technical assistance of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies.

CONTROL OF POLLUTION IN CANADA-UNITED STATES BOUNDARY WATERS

On November 19, 1951, the Governments of Canada and the United States, authorized the International Joint Commission* to adopt the measures to facilitate control and prevention of pollution in the boundary waters connecting Lakes Superior, Huron, Erie and Ontario which were recommended in the Commission's report of October 11, 1950.

The Commission's report was made in response to a Reference dated April 1, 1946, in which the Governments of the United States and Canada requested an investigation and report to determine whether the boundary waters connecting the Great Lakes were "being polluted on either side of the boundary to the injury of health and property on the other side of the boundary."

In 1946, the Commission appointed a Board of Technical Advisers to conduct the necessary investigations and studies in the waters between Lake Superior and Lake Huron and between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. In 1948, when the scope of the Reference was extended to include the Niagara area between Lakes Erie and Ontario, a similar Board was appointed to carry on the investigations in that area. Both Boards were composed of federal, state and provincial officials concerned with pollution problems.

Working through the regularly established agencies from which they were drawn, the technical advisers analyzed waste disposal practices and problems of some 60 municipalities, 100 industries, and the vessels navigating the boundary waters. More than 100,000 laboratory determinations of the quality of water were made. Data from float tests and other sources were studied to determine trans-boundary effects of pollution.

The technical advisers recommended adoption of "Objectives for Boundary Waters Quality Control" and the Commission held hearings in Sault Ste Marie, Windsor, Detroit, Buffalo, and Niagara Falls (Ontario) to obtain information on existing waste treatment practices, the cost and time required for additional pollution control and the views of all concerned on the "Objectives" proposed by the technical advisers.

With respect to the boundary waters connecting Lakes Superior, Huron, Erie and Ontario, recommendations which the Commission has submitted to the Governments of the United States and Canada, after consideration of the reports of the technical advisers and data obtained at the hearings:

(1) Provide for adoption by the two Governments of specific objectives for boundary waters quality control as the criteria to carry out that portion of the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 wherein the two countries "agreed that the waters herein defined as boundary waters and waters flowing across the boundary shall not be polluted on either side to the injury of health or property on the other." (36 Stat. 2448)

(2) Provide for implementation, by those responsible for pollution, of the measures necessary to obtain or maintain the specific water quality objectives. This programme which would necessarily require many years for completion, would cost approximately \$125 million.

(3) Provide for continuing supervision of boundary waters quality control by the Commission through international "boards of control" and through the appropriate authorities in each country charged with enforcement of pollution control laws or regulations.

* For an article on the International Joint Commission, see *External Affairs*, March 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. A. F. Broadbridge was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Chicago, effective November 15, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Dr. Werner Dankwort presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany on November 8. He had been Consul General at Ottawa since September 1950.

The members of the diplomatic staff of the new German Embassy are:

Dr. J. F. Ritter, First Secretary. He was previously Consul at Ottawa.

Mr. Dietrich W. Keller, First Secretary (Commercial Affairs).

Dr. H. C. Halter, Second Secretary. He was previously Consul at Montreal.

Mr. Helmut Vitzthum von Eckstaedt, Second Secretary (Commercial Affairs). He was previously Consul at Ottawa.

Dr. Edgar Gerwin, Second Secretary (Press Affairs).

Mr. Marcel Roellinghoff, Second Secretary (Social Affairs).

Dr. W. D. Weiss, Third Secretary. He was previously Vice-Consul at Ottawa.

Mr. Werner Gautier, Third Secretary (Commercial Affairs). He was previously Vice-Consul at Montreal.

Mr. Karl H. Berlet, Third Secretary (Commercial Affairs).

Dr. W. Bammer, Third Secretary (Commercial Affairs).

Mr. P. N. Agarwala, Information Officer, Office of the High Commissioner for India, November 1.

Mr. Grigori Ioanissian, Second Secretary, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, November 1.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jens Holger Johansen, Military Attaché, Legation of Denmark, November 7. Lieutenant-Colonel Johansen is concurrently Military Attaché at the Danish Embassy in Washington and will reside in that city.

Lieutenant-Colonel Poul Zigler, Air Attaché, Legation of Denmark, November 7. Lieutenant-Colonel Zigler is concurrently Air Attaché at the Danish Embassy in Washington and will reside in that city.

Dr. Ruggero Farace, Counsellor, Embassy of Italy, end of November.

Departures

His Excellency Per Wijkman, Minister of Sweden, November 26. Pending the presentation of the Letter of Credence of his successor, Dr. Klas Böök, the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim is Mr. J. Sigge de Lilliehöök, Second Secretary.

Mr. Luis Fernandez MacGregor, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim and Counsellor, Embassy of Mexico, end of October. Pending the Ambassador's return to Ottawa, Dr. Ignacio D. Silva, Third Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Miss J. E. Thomson, Assistant Official Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Australia, November 2.

Mr. Rolando Dalla Rosa Prati di Collecchio, Counsellor, Embassy of Italy, end of November.

His Excellency Urho Toivola, Minister of Finland, left Ottawa on November 7 for a vacation. During his absence, Mr. Olavi Lahonen, Second Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Hubert Guérin, Ambassador of France, resumed charge of the Embassy November 13 on his return from a holiday in France.

His Excellency the Honourable Stanley Woodward, Ambassador of the United States of America, was absent from November 18 to December 4. Mr. Woodbury Willoughby, Counsellor for Economic Affairs, was Chargé d'Affaires ad interim from November 18 to 26 and Mr. Don C. Bliss, Minister, from November 27 to December 4.

CONSULAR

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Andrew E. Hanney as Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, No-

vember 10. He was previously Vice-Consul in that city.

Miss Dorothy M. Barker as Vice-Consul

of the United States of America at Quebec, November 13. She was previously Vice-Consul at Montreal.

Mr. Pedro A. Estrada Mujica as Vice-Consul of Venezuela at Vancouver, November 23.

Mr. Arthur B. Corcoran as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Edmonton, November 24.

Mr. Moshe Yuval as Acting Consul General of Israel at Montreal, November 30.

Departures

Mr. John I. Copeland, Vice-Consul of the

United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, November 14.

The address of the Consulate General of Guatemala at Montreal is now:

401 Metcalfe Avenue,
Westmount, Montreal.
Telephone Fitzroy 4540.

The address of the Consulate General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa is now:

105 Cameron Ave.,
Ottawa.
Telephone 2-1439.

TRADE

New Appointment

Mr. Ronald B. Hines, Assistant Trade Commissioner of Australia at Vancouver, November 12.

Departures

Mr. F. R. Gullick, Trade Commissioner of Australia at Vancouver, November 12.

Mr. E. M. M. Partridge, Trade Commissioner of the United Kingdom at Montreal, November 15.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of November 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs").

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to International Conferences. The decision as to Canadian participation at such Conferences is made by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs", January 1, 1951, for a complete list of Continuing Boards and Commissions).

Conferences Attended in November

1. *Conferences to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris—February 15. Observer: Maj. Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Embassy, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
2. *Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference (ITU).* Geneva—August 16. Head of Delegation: C. J. Acton, Department of Transport; Delegates: A. J. Dawson and C. M. Brant, Department of Transport; Maj. W. H. Finch, Lt. Cmdr. R. M. Dunbar and S/Ldr. W. D. Benton, Department of National Defence; E. P. Black, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; Adviser: F. P. Johnson, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
3. *First Inter-American Convention on Mineral Resources.* Mexico City—October 29–November 4. W. E. McClelland, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
4. *Conference to Conclude a Fisheries Treaty With Japan.* Tokyo—November 5. Chairman: R. W. Mayhew, Minister of Fisheries; Vice-Chairman: S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; Delegates: E. T. Applewhaite, M.P.; Dr. J. L. Hart, Director, British Columbia Biological Station, Nanaimo, B.C.; S. V. Ozere, Department of Fisheries; J. M. Buchanan, Chairman, Salmon Canneries Operating Committee, Vancouver; A. R. Menzies, Head of Canadian Liaison Mission to Japan.
5. *Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.* Paris—November 6. Representatives: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Chairman; S. S. Garson, Minister of Justice,

- Deputy Chairman; Senator J. R. Hurtubise; M. Bourget, M.P.; Mrs. R. J. Marshall, Past President of the National Council of Women; Alternates: C. Bennett, M.P.; T. A. Stone, Canadian Minister to Sweden; D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York; R. M. Macdonnell, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to the OEEC., Paris; Parliamentary Advisers: F. H. Larson, M.P.; Maj. Gen. G. R. Pearkes, M.P.; Advisers: A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels; S. Pollock, Department of Finance; G. G. Crean, Canadian Embassy, Belgrade; A. J. Pick, Department of External Affairs; E. A. Coté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York; P. T. Molson, Department of External Affairs; D. Stansfield, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; H. B. O. Robinson, Department of External Affairs; O. G. Stoner, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. J. McCordle, Department of External Affairs; Information Officers: F. Charpentier, Canadian Embassy, Paris; Miss M. Gordon, Canadian Consulate General, New York; Secretary-General: A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
6. *Executive Board of UNICEF*. Paris — November 8. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 7. *Conference of British Commonwealth Statisticians*. Canberra — November 12-24. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician; N. A. Keyfitz and F. H. Leacy, Bureau of Statistics.
 8. *13th Session of the Council of FAO*. Rome — November 12-17 — Delegates: Dr. G. S. H. Barton, Special Assistant to the Minister of Agriculture; Advisers: Dr. S. C. Hudson, Department of Agriculture; S. G. MacDonald, Canadian Embassy, Rome.
 9. *117th Session of the Governing Body of ILO (and its Committees)*. Geneva—November 14-24 — P. Goulet and A. H. Brown, Department of Labour; K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
 10. *Sixth Session of the Conference of FAO*. Rome — November 19—Member: J. G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture; Alternate: Dr. G. S. H. Barton, Special Assistant to the Minister of Agriculture; Associate Members: Dr. S. C. Hudson and S. J. Chagnon, Department of Agriculture; D. A. Macdonald, Department of Resources and Development; Dr. L. B. Pett, Department of National Health and Welfare; Advisers: Dr. H. H. Hannam, Canadian Federation of Agriculture; A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; F. G. Hooton, Department of External Affairs; S. G. MacDonald, Canadian Embassy, Rome; J. H. Tremblay, Canadian Embassy, Paris; H. L. Trueman, Department of Agriculture.
 11. *North Atlantic Military Committee*. Rome — November 20 — Delegate: Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff; Advisers: A/V/M H. L. Campbell; Maj. Gen. J. D. Smith; A/C C. L. Annis; Cmdr. H. S. Rayner; Aides: Maj. J. O. A. Letellier; Capt. K. E. Moffatt, Department of National Defence.
 12. *Seventh International Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association*. Montevideo — November 21 - December 2 — J. W. T. Michel, Commissioner of Patents.
 13. *Conference on Morbidity Statistics of WHO*. Geneva — November 21-26 — F. F. Harris, Bureau of Statistics.
 14. *Third Session of Facilitation Division of the Air Transport Committee of ICAO*. Buenos Aires — November 21 — Delegates: G. N. Bunker, Department of National Revenue; J. A. Irwin, Department of External Affairs.
 15. *North Atlantic Council*. Rome — November 24 — Delegates: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Advisers: Department of External Affairs: A. D. P. Heeney, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; D. L. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada to the United Kingdom; J. Désy, Canadian Ambassador to Italy; R. A. MacKay; A. F. W. Plumptre; A. J. Pick; Department of Finance: J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to the OEEC; J. J. Deutsch; Department of National Defence: Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff; A/V/M H. L. Campbell; Maj. Gen. J. D. B. Smith; A/C C. L. Annis; Cmdr. H. S. Rayner; Aides: Department of External Affairs: P. T. Molson; Department of National Defence: P. Paré; Maj. J. O. A. Letellier; Capt. K. E. Moffatt; Secretary: H. F. Davis, Department of External Affairs.
 16. *Ad Hoc Migration Conference*. Brussels — November 26 — Head of Delegation: C. E. S. Smith, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; Delegate: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United

- Nations, Geneva; Advisers: P. W. Bird, Canadian Immigration Mission, Germany.
17. *Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe*. Strasbourg — November 26 — Parliamentary Observers: Senator J. R. Hurtubise; Maj. Gen. G. R. Pearkes, M.P.; Official Observer: Hon. T. C. Davis, Canadian Ambassador to Germany.
 18. *Tripartite Conference on Food Aspects of Civilian Defence*. London—November

26-December 13—Head of Delegation: Maj. Gen. F. F. Worthington, Department of National Health and Welfare; Delegates: S. J. Bailey and Dr. L. B. Pett, Department of National Health and Welfare; G. B. Miller, Department of Agriculture; D. A. B. Marshall, Dr. J. G. Malloch and J. F. Granby, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Dr. J. G. Armstrong, Defence Research Board, Department of National Defence.

Conferences to be held in December and January, 1952

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate; the dates are tentative. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted.)

1. *Second Pan-American Congress on Pharmacy*. Lima — December 1-8.
2. *Conference on Trade and Balance of Payments Statistics*. Panama City — December 3-15.
3. *Fifth Session of Expert Committee of Biological Standardization of WHO*. Geneva — December 3-6.
4. *Expert Committee on Public Health Administration of WHO*. Geneva—December 3-6.
5. *Fourth Session of the Inland Transport Committee of ILO*. Genoa — December 4-15.
6. *27th Session of the International Statistical Institute*. New Delhi — December 5-18.
7. *Meeting of Experts on Women's Work (ILO)*. Geneva — December 11-15.
8. *World Federation for Mental Health — 4th International Congress on Mental Health*. Mexico City — December 11.
9. *World Federation for Mental Health — 4th Annual Meeting*. Mexico City — December 12-19.
10. *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East*. Burma — January 29-February 9.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

- (a) Mimeographed Documents:
- * *Expanded programme of technical assistance—Third report of the Technical Assistance Board to the Technical Assistance Committee*; 19 July 1951; document E/2054; 367 p.
 - * *Bibliography on the protection of Human Rights of works published after December 1939* (Prepared by the Secretariat); 2 April 1951; document E/CN.4/540; 248 p.
- Report by Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, to the Security Council*; 15 October 1951; document S/2375; 56 p.
- (b) Printed Documents:
- * *Report of the Special Committee on Information transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter* (2-27 October 1951); document A/1836; 43 p.; 40 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 14.
 - * *Report of the Trusteeship Council covering its special session and its eighth and ninth sessions, 22 November 1950 to July 30, 1951*; document A/1856; 272 p.; \$2.50; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 4.
 - * *Report of the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 16 August 1950 to 21 September 1951*; document A/1884; 174 p.; \$1.75; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 3.
 - * *Report of the Collective Measures Committee*; document A/1891; 48 p.; 50 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 13.
 - * *Development of a twenty-year programme*

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", September, 1950, p. 359.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

for achieving peace through the United Nations (Progress Report by the Secretary-General); document A/1902; 7 p.; 15 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 15.

World Health Organization — *Executive Board, eighth session, held in Geneva from 1 to 8 June 1951 — Resolutions and decisions, annexes*; October 1951; 48 p.; 50 cents; Official Records No. 36.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

(Obtainable from the King's Printer, at the price indicated.)

Diplomatic and Consular Representatives in Ottawa, November 15, 1951. Price, 25 cents.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 51/41—*The United Nations Today and Tomorrow*, an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, to a combined luncheon meeting of the Empire Club and the United Nations Association in Canada (Toronto Branch) made at Toronto, on October 5, 1951.
- No. 51/42—*Review of the International Situation*, a statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons, on October 22, 1951.
- No. 51/46—*Canadian Statement at General Assembly*, the text of the statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the general debate in plenary session on November 12, 1951.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 51/40—*Canada's Defence Production Programme*, a statement by the Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, made in the House of Commons, October 19, 1951.
- No. 51/43—*The Universities and the Public Service*, the partial text of an address given by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, at the United College Commencement, Winnipeg, on November 9, 1951.
- No. 51/44—*Transportation and Industrial Preparedness*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, at the Annual Dinner of the Canadian Preparedness Association, made in Toronto, on November 9, 1951.
- No. 51/45—*Some Aspects of the Canadian Defence Production Programme*, an address by the Deputy Minister of Defence Production, Mr. M. W. Mackenzie, at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Industrial Preparedness Association, made in Toronto, on November 8, 1951.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE GENERAL ELECTIONS IN INDIA

PERHAPS the most spectacular elections in history are now taking place in India. These are the first general elections since the attainment of independence on August 15, 1947. The vast proportions of this democratic enterprise stagger the imagination.

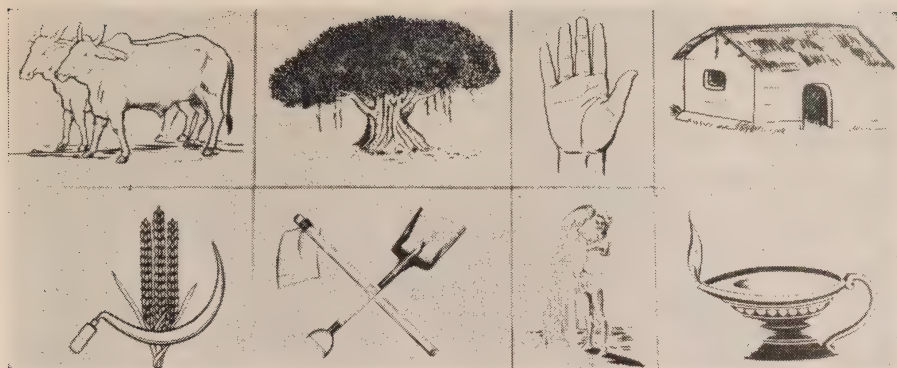
India, the most populous country in the world, barring China, has 175,000,000 prospective voters—more than 12 times the total population of Canada, yet only about one-half that of India herself. It is said that when he was President of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, now President of the Republic of India, once amused himself calculating the thickness of the Indian electoral roll if printed 40 names per foolscap page with the pages bound together. He arrived at the figure of approximately 600 feet! Almost 2,000,000 specially designed steel ballot boxes have been constructed to receive the votes which will elect over 4,000 representatives to the legislative bodies at the centre and in the various states. It will cost India over ten million rupees (\$2,142,000) to keep inviolate the secrecy of the ballot. As a result of extremes of weather conditions prevailing at any given time in the various regions in the huge diamond-shaped sub-continent stretching some 2,000 miles from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and because in India nothing is ever voluntarily allowed to interfere with agricultural operations, four months will be required to complete this gigantic poll, the final results of which may not be known until February 1952.

The four years since independence have been barely sufficient to lay the foundations for the elections. During that period the mosaic of internal political divisions inherited at partition has been transformed; a constitution embodying the principles of democratic freedom has been created, and legislation to govern the host of administrative details, without which an election cannot take place, has been put into force. A census has been taken, constituencies have been delimited; electoral rolls prepared, election officials trained, and an effort has been made to coach the millions of men and women who will vote for the first time under universal adult suffrage. Radio, the press and public addresses have been used, and in many areas, where no election has ever taken place, mock-elections have been held to demonstrate the technique of voting.

The States of India

It has not been an easy matter to devise election procedures to ensure a minimum of confusion on the part of the voters, many of whom have never cast a ballot before and most of whom are illiterate. This task has been additionally complicated by the political composition of the country. India, now that the hard process of merging and reshaping internal political divisions has virtually been completed, consists of 28 component parts divided by the constitution into Part "A", Part "B" and Part "C" states.

For all practical purposes, the nine Part "A" states are the old governors' provinces of the pre-independence period. These have provincial popular governments. The eight Part "B" states were formed out of the bulk of the area comprised in "Indian" India—that is, the territories ruled by the Indian princes at the time of partition. These already have, or will shortly have, popular governments with *rajpramukhs* (former princes corresponding to governors) at the head, and with local cabinets and elected legislatures. Finally, there are eleven Part "C" states under the direct control of the central government through chief commissioners. Since the bringing

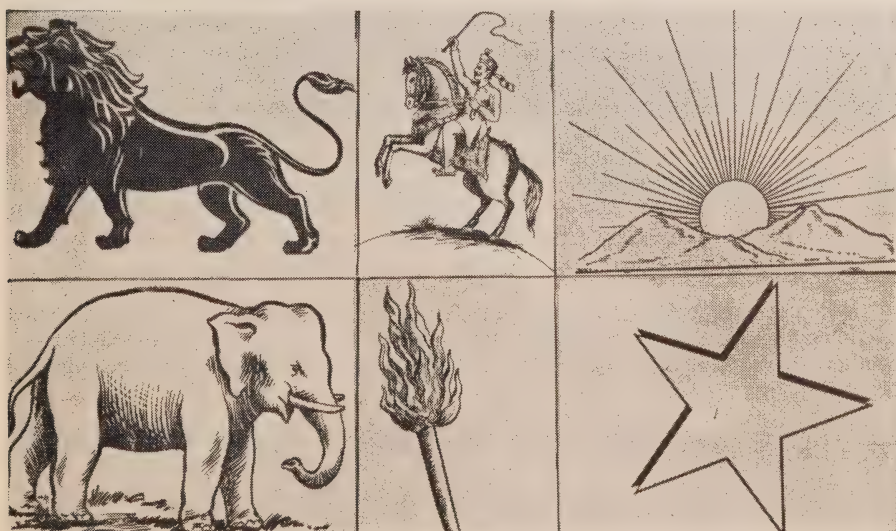


—Government of India

PARTY SYMBOLS IN INDIAN ELECTIONS

A unique feature of the Indian general election is the use of symbols to designate parties and candidates. The symbols are pasted inside and outside ballot boxes and are exhibited at the polling booths during the elections. Above and below are shown symbols for the following "all-India" parties (left to right):

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| Top row: | <p>Congress Party — Two bulls with yoke</p> <p>Socialist Party — Tree</p> <p>Forward Bloc — Human hand</p> <p>Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party — Hut</p> |
| Second row: | <p>Communist Party — Ears of corn and a sickle</p> <p>Revolutionary Socialist Party — Spade and stoker</p> <p>Krishikar Lok Party — A cultivator winnowing grain</p> <p>Jan Sangh — Lamp</p> |
| Third row: | <p>Forward Bloc-Marxists — Standing Lion</p> <p>Hindu Mahasabha — Horse and Rider</p> <p>Ram Rajya Parishad — Rising Sun</p> |
| Bottom row: | <p>Scheduled Caste Federation — Elephant</p> <p>Revolutionary Communist party — Flaming torch</p> <p>Bolshevist Party — Star</p> |



into force on September 6, 1951 of the Government of Part "C" States Act, seven of these may now look forward to legislative assemblies which will be formed after the general elections.

Machinery of Government

These 28 states, comprising the Union of India, will be governed by a union parliament consisting of an upper house called the Council of States, and a lower house, called the House of the People which, like the House of Commons in Canada, will wield the greater power of the two bodies through its control of the public purse. In addition to a few members of the House of the People to be nominated by the President of the Republic, mainly to provide representation in remote areas, some 489 seats will be filled by direct election by the people as a whole. Of these, 82 have been reserved for elected representatives of scheduled castes and 27 for representatives of scheduled tribes. The reason for this will be explained below.

The Council of States will consist of 204 members mostly elected from part "A", "B", and "C" states, as well as twelve other members who will be nominated by the President of the Republic, chiefly in consideration of their special knowledge or practical experience in the fields of literature, science, art, social services and the like.

Co-terminously with elections to the Union House of the People, polling for the various state legislatures will also take place. Only seven of these will be bi-cameral—with an upper house called a legislative council and a lower house called a legislative assembly. The members of a legislative council will be partly elected and partly nominated. One third of the strength will be elected by an electoral college consisting of members of local bodies within the state, for example district boards, municipalities, city corporations and others. Another third of the legislative councillors will be elected by the members of the legislative assembly of the state, one twelfth by graduates of at least three years' standing, and one twelfth by teachers of secondary schools and other higher academic institutions. The balance of one-sixth will be nominated by the governor or *rajpramukh*, as the case may be, in consideration of particular knowledge or experience in art, literature, science, co-operative movements, social services and similar fields of endeavour.

The legislative assemblies in the various Part "A" and Part "B" states will consist of anywhere from 30 to 510 elected members—including, in most cases, a small number representing scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. As in the central House of the People, a few seats are reserved for representatives of these groups. This is done to safeguard the particular interests of the many lower castes and tribes identified and listed (scheduled) in the constitution as backward or depressed classes deserving of special treatment. Although the constitution looks forward to the day when all Indians will, in fact as well as theory, have complete equality as citizens, it recognizes that, for practical reasons, special treatment should be accorded these less fortunate groups for the first ten years of the life of the new republic. At the end of that time it is expected that the practice of reserving seats will disappear.

When the results of the general elections are known and the state legislatures have been formed, an electoral college, composed of the members of these local bodies, together with the members of the Union Parliament, will choose a new President of the Republic.

In spite of conservative traditions, Indian women have acquired political equality with men. Of the 177 million voters in India, nearly half are women. The use of motor vehicles and other forms of mechanically-powered transport has been banned to ensure that the rich candidate does not have an advantage over his poorer rival. Polling day will be declared as a holiday.



POLLING REHEARSAL IN INDIA

—Government of India

Mock elections have been held in various parts of India in preparation for the general elections. This picture shows the checking-up of identification slips of rural voters in Delhi during a polling rehearsal.

Voting Techniques

The Indian voter does not mark a ballot paper; he makes his choice by placing his ballot in the box assigned to the candidate he favours. To prevent impersonation or multiple voting the index finger of the voter is marked, when he collects his ballot papers, with an indelible ink calculated not to wear off until polling in his area has been completed. As a result of the inexperience of the public at large, on-the-spot supervision of the polling stations has been made the responsibility of civil servants rather than civilian volunteers. The fact that each of the polling parties composed of civil servants must service several different stations, frequently at some distance one from another, has been one important reason for the extended time-table of the

elections. It is hoped that experience gained from the current election will make it possible for local supervision of future elections to be left to civilians.

Once marked upon the finger and armed with several ballot papers, each one of which he must be careful to place in a separate box, the Indian voter's task is not an easy one. In the enclosure which has been carefully curtained to accord privacy, he is confronted by a veritable battery of boxes: some for federal seats, some for local seats, and in most cases each group divided into Open, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. To assist the voters, most of whom are unable to read or write, to perform this task accurately, the ballot boxes have been painted in a variety of different colours, each one denoting the kind of seat for which the candidate in question is standing.

Use of Symbols

Another aid, and one which is perhaps the most unique feature of the Indian elections, is the use of symbols. These designs, after a good deal of discussion and compromise, have been allotted by the election commissions at the centre and in the states, one to each party and others to independent candidates. A few of these symbols are reproduced on these pages.

During the election campaign it is hoped that the voter will have learned to associate the appropriate symbol with the party or independent candidate whose policies he wishes to support. Since each of the ballot boxes prominently displays one or other of the election symbols, the voter should be able to find the one belonging to the candidate of his choice. There have been estimates of the proportion of the electorate likely to vote. It is thought unlikely that more than about 60 per cent will go to the polls. If India, with its complex and largely inexperienced electorate, does this well, it will be an achievement.

Only four years ago, most of the above groups, as well as many smaller and purely local political parties, were only vaguely definable since the struggle for independence had claimed the allegiance of all, or nearly all, and had obliterated the normal boundaries between the different political and economic and social ideals for which they stand. At that time, although not all Indians were in the Congress, even those that were not were at least "of the Congress" in the sense that they supported its search for national freedom. It is not surprising, therefore, that the government which has led India in the trying initial period of newly-won independence has been the Congress; nor is it strange that, of all the political parties now in being, only the Congress has the organization and the resources to contest every one of the federal and local seats in the current election. To Canadian readers the name "Congress Party" has now become familiar. It is the name which conjures up for them, not only the long march towards independence, but also the personalities who led that march and played so bold a role in the making of modern India: Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Rajagopalachari, President Rajendra Prasad, and others. Of these, only Mr. Nehru is actively engaged in political life today. Less well known to Canadians are leaders of other political parties, many of whom also played outstanding roles in the early years of Congress itself and all of whom have earned a place in the pages of modern Indian history. They include Archarya Kripalani of the KMPP, Dr. Lohia and Jayaprakash Narayan of the Socialist Party, Dr. N. B. Khare of the Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, founder of the Jan Sangh, and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, leader of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation.

The Indian elections, tremendous in scope and effort, are a bold and imaginative attempt to weave a new design in the fabric of democracy and deserve the attention and interest of every Canadian.

THE ROME MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

At the Ottawa meeting of the North Atlantic Council, it was agreed that more frequent meetings of the Council was desirable, and it was understood that the next meeting should be held in Rome within the course of the next few weeks. The underlying reason behind this agreement was primarily the desirability of high level meetings in order to keep important policy matters constantly under review now that NATO is advancing beyond the stage of planning to the stage of implementation of plans. The Council was accordingly called to meet in Rome on November 24.

The fact that the Council was meeting in Rome during the discussions in the United Nations Assembly in Paris on a resolution calling for the limitation of armaments was too good a propaganda opportunity to be missed by Mr. Vishinsky. In his remarks as Chairman of the Council in the opening session in Rome, Mr. Pearson answered Mr. Vishinsky as follows:

Our determination to strengthen our defences under the North Atlantic Pact, when we have, unfortunately, every reason to feel that strength for defence is necessary in the world today, and our loyalty to the principles of the United Nations Charter, are two parts of the same policy. No single subject that we have discussed, or will discuss in our Council, no matter what may be maliciously said to the contrary, prejudices or weakens that loyalty. Our objective in the North Atlantic Organization is not to build up armed strength with which to threaten anybody, but solely to create sufficient forces to ensure that aggression, if it should occur, will not subjugate the free peoples of any part of our community. We have no intention of diverting from peaceful use anything like the resources which would be needed for aggressive action, but we have every intention of securing the strength needed to defend ourselves. We hope that this limited strength will make it easier for us to solve by negotiation, if possible, through the United Nations, some of the problems which now so tragically and dangerously divide the world.

As Mr. Kraft, the Foreign Minister of Denmark, described the tasks of NATO and the United Nations, Rome represented the work of today and Paris the work of tomorrow. NATO countries must strengthen their defences in order to bring about an approximate balance between the strength of the East and of the West, for without that balance there will be no security and without security all talk of reduction of armaments is empty.

Committee Reports

The Military Committee, which is the senior military body of the Organization, had met immediately before the Rome meeting and passed several reports, including one on the readiness and effectiveness of North Atlantic forces. General Eisenhower, the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, and his chief of staff, General Gruenther, made oral statements to the Council on this and other questions related to NATO defences in Europe. The Council also heard interim reports on the work of the Temporary Committee, which is studying how to reconcile military requirements with the political and economic capabilities of members. It is anticipated that the final report of the Committee will be submitted to governments before the next meeting of the Council. Mr. Abbott, the Minister of Finance, is Canadian representative on the Committee and has attended meetings in Paris from time to time.

It will be recalled that in September 1950, the North Atlantic Council decided that Germany should make a contribution to the defence of Western Europe. It was felt that this could best be brought about by the organization of a European army, and six European countries have been meeting in Paris since February 1951 to explore how this could be done. At Rome, the Council heard reports on the progress of their

work which is directed towards the establishment of what is now being called the European Defence Community. Parallel with this development are the negotiations with the Federal Republic of Germany to replace the Occupational Statute with a contractual arrangement more in keeping with the new role which Germany would be called upon to play in Western Europe. The Occupying Powers reported on the considerable progress of these negotiations which took place in Paris between the German Chancellor and the U.S., U.K. and French Foreign Ministers.

The Council recognized the great importance of the satisfactory solution of these matters because of their relation to North Atlantic planning and adopted a resolution expressing the hope that the Paris Conference on the European Defence Community would conclude its activities at the earliest possible moment so that a definitive report could be made to the Council at its next meeting. It was clear that there must be a satisfactory link between the European Defence Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and that the obligations under the two must be satisfactorily correlated. Therefore, the resolution included a recommendation that close liaison should be maintained between NATO agencies and the Paris conference.

Mr. Pearson's Report

Mr. Pearson, as Chairman of the Committee of Five established at Ottawa to study means of furthering the non-military objectives of the Treaty outlined in Article 2, made a report on the work of the Committee. This report stressed the importance of developing, as much as possible, the habit of consultation on political matters of common concern. A feeling has been evident in some quarters that efforts should be made to give the smaller nations in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization more of a voice in North Atlantic policy and it can be inferred, from the fact that all members of the Committee are from the smaller countries in the Council, that the desirability of achieving this closer and more effective consultation will not be forgotten. Throughout its report the Committee stressed the desirability of achieving progress in the development of the North Atlantic community by the practical solution of concrete problems. One of the most acute of these is the employment situation due to a surplus of labour in some countries and the shortage of labour in others. The Council, therefore, directed that particular consideration be given to facilitating the movement of labour from countries with excess manpower to others where it could be effectively utilized. This and other proposals related to economic, social and cultural matters will be given further study by the Committee, which is to continue in existence. In carrying out its work, the Committee is to co-ordinate its activities with those of other international organizations to avoid duplication as far as possible.

During the Rome session, the delegates were acutely conscious of the tragedy which had befallen Italy in the serious floods then devastating the Po Valley. North Atlantic countries took quick action through their national governments and through international organizations such as the Red Cross to send assistance in the form of food, blankets, clothing and medical supplies to the flood area. This spontaneous action by member governments to bring aid to the many sufferers from this disaster, was an example of the bond of sympathy which gives meaning and substance to the concept of a North Atlantic community.

It was announced at the end of the meeting that the next session of the Council would be held at Lisbon on February 2. Mr. Pearson, as the Canadian Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in the Chair for the first time at Rome and his term of office as Council President will continue until the autumn of 1952. At the end of the Rome meeting, General Foulkes, the Chairman of the Canadian Chiefs of Staff Committee, took over as Chairman of the Military Committee.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE EIGHTH SESSION OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, ROME, NOVEMBER 28, 1951

The North Atlantic Council has today concluded its Eighth Session in Rome. It was a regular meeting of the Council held in accordance with the policy announced at Ottawa of holding frequent meetings to exchange views and to develop more effective unity of action on a continuing basis. The meeting was the first held under the Chairmanship of Mr. L. B. Pearson, Canadian Minister for External Affairs, and was attended by twenty-eight Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance and Defence.

Pending parliamentary approval of the decision to invite Greece and Turkey to adhere to the North Atlantic Treaty, representatives of those two countries attended the plenary meetings of the Council as observers.

The Council considered progress reports from its military and civilian agencies. It instructed the pertinent agencies to put into action certain recommendations of the reports and to continue their work on others with a view to reporting further at the next session of the Council.

The Chairman and one Vice-Chairman of the Temporary Council Committee informed the Council of the progress of the Committee's work directed towards the reconciliation of military requirements with political-economic capabilities. They stated that the Committee's final report and recommendations would be presented early in December for the consideration of member governments and the Council at its next session.

The Military Committee, consisting of the Chiefs of Staff of member countries, met in Rome before the Council meeting. The Council considered the reports of the Military Committee, including one on the readiness and effectiveness of NATO forces. The Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and his Chief of Staff made oral statements. The Council exchanged views and took decisions on various military matters dealt with in these reports.

The North Atlantic Council received statements with respect to the status of negotiations for the establishment of a European Defence Community, and the status of negotiations with the German Federal Republic concerning the contractual arrangements to replace the occupation statute.

The Council adopted a resolution expressing the hope that the Paris conference would conclude its activities at the earliest possible moment so that a definite report could be made to the Council for consideration at its next meeting.

The resolution requested the appropriate North Atlantic Treaty agencies in the meantime to give early attention to the problem of correlating the obligations and relationships of the European Defence Community with those of the North Atlantic Treaty so that discussions with the Paris Conference on this question may be held and concluded as soon as possible.

The Council approved an interim report submitted by the Committee on the North Atlantic community (consisting of representatives of Belgium, Canada, Italy, the Netherlands and Norway).

The report stressed the importance of further developing the habit of consultation on matters of common concern. The Council directed that fuller study be given to a number of proposals relating to economic, social and cultural matters and to the co-ordination of the activities of NATO civilian agencies with those of other international organizations. In this connection the Council recommended that particular consideration be given to facilitating the movement of labour from member countries with excess manpower to others where it could be effectively utilized.

The Council directed the Committee to continue its work.

The Council agreed that its next meeting should be held in Lisbon on February 2, 1952.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project

Federal-Ontario Power Agreement

On December 3, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, tabled copies of an agreement signed with the Government of Ontario "respecting the development of hydro power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River", which was to be submitted for approval to Parliament and to the Legislature of Ontario. He spoke as follows:

The agreement with Ontario has been concluded in the expectation that the United States will not participate in the Seaway Project, and it has been drawn up on the understanding that the navigation works will be undertaken by the Federal Government and will be entirely within Canada. It contemplates that Ontario will undertake the power development concurrently with an appropriate agency in the United States.

In such circumstances it is desirable that a firm agreement exist between Canada and Ontario in order that Canadian treaty obligations be fulfilled and that other interests in Canada should be safeguarded.

The undertakings on behalf of Ontario are broadly to develop the power resources of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River concurrently with an appropriate authority in the United States in accordance with the plan known as the "Controlled Single Stage Project (238-242)". This is the same plan as was advanced and made part of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Agreement of 1941 between Canada and the United States. However, the Agreement provides that this plan may be modified as may be agreed upon between Canada and Ontario.

The Canadian Government, for its part, undertakes to do all in its power to obtain the approval of the International Joint Commission to an application to be made by Ontario in an acceptable form for authority from that international body to construct the necessary works. Under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909 this approval would be necessary since the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River is a boundary water. Canada's undertaking in this respect is qualified, however, to the extent that its action must be consistent with its obligations under the Boundary Waters Treaty and that regard must be had for all Canadian interests in the St. Lawrence River.

Some of the other more important provisions may be enumerated briefly.

1. Canada will transfer to Ontario the administration of such lands belonging to Canada as are required for the Project, and Ontario will pay compensation for these except for lands or property forming part of the existing canal system.
2. Ontario will transfer to Canada the administration of such lands belonging to Ontario as are specified by Canada as being required for works to carry a deep waterway in the International Rapids Section.
3. Ontario will establish a commission to safeguard and enhance scenic beauty and historic associations in the Section to whatever extent may be appropriate.

It is recognized that, before all the agreements are consummated, as contemplated in this agreement, the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Agreement of 1941 between Canada and United States may be approved by Congress and by Parliament. In that event, it would be the intention of the Government to reconsider with the Government of Ontario the terms of the agreement signed today and to modify them

in recognition of the arrangements that would then exist between Canada and the United States with respect to the Seaway Project.

The following day, the Minister of Transport, Mr. Chevrier, presented to the House a resolution for approval of this agreement. Accordingly, on December 7, the House went into committee on this resolution, which was discussed by Mr. Blackmore (SC, Lethbridge) and Mr. Gillis (CCF, Cape Breton South), read a second time and concurred in. Before the close of the sitting, Mr. Chevrier moved to introduce Bill No. 34, "respecting construction of works for the generation of electrical power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River", which thereupon received its first reading. The second and third readings of this bill, and its passage, took place on December 12, when Mr. Adamson (PC, York West) and Mr. Knowles (CCF, Winnipeg North Centre) spoke on the subject.

St. Lawrence Seaway Authority

On December 4, the following resolution was presented by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Chevrier:

That it is expedient, for the purpose of providing a deep waterway between Montreal and Lake Erie, to create a corporation to be called "The St. Lawrence Seaway Authority" with power, *inter alia*, to expropriate; to construct, maintain and operate all necessary works; to borrow amounts not exceeding three hundred million dollars; to establish tariffs of tolls and to employ such officers and employees as may be required for the purposes of the Authority.

Mr. Chevrier discussed his resolution at some length,* and was followed on the same and subsequent days by a number of members of his own and Opposition parties.

On December 7, Mr. Chevrier moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 33, "to establish the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority". Accordingly, the bill was read for the first time. It received its second reading on December 11. The third reading and passage of the bill occurred on December 12.

Trade with the British West Indies

The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Howe, made the following announcement on December 13:

The United Kingdom has now authorized extensions and additions to the British West Indies Trade Liberalization Plan, to take effect at the beginning of next year. Under this plan, limited quantities of traditional exports from dollar countries are being admitted to the markets of the British West Indies. It is estimated that some 650 firms have taken advantage of the present plan. The dollar value of the increased trade which will result from these new measures will not be large in total nor can it be estimated with any accuracy. For a number of Canadian exporters, however, it will provide a welcome opportunity to enter again into this trade. For others it will mean that increased quantities of their products will be admitted to those markets. All of this is definitely a step in the right direction. It is our great hope that further expansion will become possible in this trade in the future.

The British West Indies was the starting point for many of our manufacturers when they first looked abroad for export markets. There has been a tradition established of mutually advantageous trade. Because of the currency difficulties of the sterling area, British West Indian markets have unfortunately been closed to many of our goods since 1947. We have done our utmost in Canada, however, to provide a market for goods from the British West Indies, and from other countries in the sterling area, so that they might earn dollars with which to buy our goods. Canada has become a principal and substantial source of dollar earnings for these colonies. These efforts have obviously been recognized and appreciated in the United Kingdom, and I am happy to announce that we are now having increased opportunities being made available for Canadian goods in the British West Indies.

* For the text of Mr. Chevrier's remarks on his resolution, see page 20 of this issue.

The Government attaches great importance to our trade with the British West Indies. During 1950 we made strong representation to the United Kingdom for the creation of the Trade Liberalization Plan, which was put into effect on January 1 of this year. Since then we have taken advantage of a number of opportunities to request the United Kingdom authorities to expand the existing arrangements. Members will recall that we had the honour in Ottawa in the early summer of being hosts to a visiting delegation of parliamentary representatives from various British West Indian colonies. The talks which took place at that time were useful to all parties concerned. When I visited London in September, I made a special point of carrying the negotiations on this matter a further stage ahead, through direct contact with the appropriate ministers of the United Kingdom Government.

The following statement is being made public today in the United Kingdom and Canada:

"Following discussions between the United Kingdom and Canadian Governments and representatives of the British West Indies, which started early last summer, arrangements have now been worked out for extending and amending the existing scheme for 'token imports' into the British West Indies and Bahamas from Canada and the United States.

"So far as the Canadian side is concerned from 1st January, 1952, the list of items covered by the scheme has been expanded to include a much wider range of commodities, including food products, leather, metal, electrical and textile manufacturers, etc. Also the percentages for exporters' quotas for most of these commodities will be raised from 33 1/3 per cent to 40 per cent.

"The expanded trade liberalization arrangements will, as from the 1st January, 1952, operate differently for British West Indies and Bahamas trade with the United States. Instead of a system of commodity quotas based on a percentage of past trade, the West Indies and Bahamas will be able to license additional imports from the United States up to a specified total value.

"North American exports should also benefit from the authority recently given for colonial governments to introduce a system of world open general licences for certain commodities. These are mainly of a kind essential to colonial development. The list of goods to which open general licences may be applied covers for example a wide range of finished steel items and semi-manufactures of copper, zinc, and nickel but also includes dried, pickled, salted and smoked fish, onions, potatoes, certain animal feeding stuffs and jute goods.

"In spite of the grave balance of payments position of the sterling area, it has been thought right to recognize in these arrangements the great importance of good commercial relations between the British West Indies and North America and they represent a substantial easing of import restrictions on goods exported by Canada and the United States."

Mr. Macdonnell (PC, Greenwood) commented briefly on this statement.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Accession of Greece and Turkey

On December 29 the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made the following motion:

That it is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey, signed by Canada at London on October 17, 1951, and that this House do approve the same.

Before speaking on this motion, Mr. Pearson made a general statement on recent NATO developments:

... The Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization met a month or so ago in Rome. It was, I believe, the eighth meeting of the Council. Some very important

questions indeed faced the Council at that meeting. Some of these questions had been postponed from the meeting which was held in Ottawa, and some of them were new questions. The main problems which faced us in Rome were as follows: first, we examined, though in no official sense, because that work was not completed, the work of the Temporary Council Committee appointed by the Council at its Ottawa meeting. This committee had the responsibility of attempting to match the requirements for defence and the resources of the separate members of the Council which could be devoted to that defence, having regard to their political and economic capabilities.

This work of the Temporary Council Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Harriman, known as the "Burden Sharing Exercise", was not completed; indeed it had not been nearly completed when we met at Rome, and we were not able to deal with it at that time. Since our meeting in Rome, however, the executive committee of this Committee of Twelve, also popularly known as the "Three Wise Men", have made a report on the matter to the full Committee.

The Committee of Twelve met in Paris the other day to consider that report, and will meet again in Paris on January 15 to give further and final consideration to it. The subject will then be referred to the next meeting of the North Atlantic Council, which will be held sometime in February, in Lisbon, Portugal. I do not think it would be desirable for me to say anything more at this time about that report, because it has not yet been finally submitted to governments, and no final decision has been taken on it yet by these governments.

Another very important question which faced us in Rome, and will face us again in Lisbon, is the association of Germany with Western European and Atlantic defence. It is a matter of vital concern to the defence of peace in Western Europe; but one that bristles with difficulties, which, I suppose, are better appreciated on the continent of Europe than they are on the continent of North America. This association is now being discussed by the European countries concerned, and it is hoped that it can be brought about by the creation of a European defence force, which would itself be part of General Eisenhower's integrated force for the defence of Western Europe under the Atlantic Council. Progress is being made in the creation of this European defence force, and we hope that the Council at its next meeting will be able to take important and far-reaching decisions regarding it.

Another question which is related to the one I have just mentioned, and which concerns our North Atlantic Council, is the progress being made in the replacement of the German occupation statute by a peace contract with the Government of the Republic of Germany. Progress has also been made in this matter, but I think it is obvious that a decision must be reached in regard to it before we can reach a final decision in regard to the association of Germany with Western European defence. These two subjects are interrelated; indeed, they hang together. These are complicated problems, and we should not I think get too impatient if final decisions are not reached in regard to them at once.

Another question which faced us at Rome, Mr. Speaker, was that of command in the North Atlantic, and, indeed, command in the Mediterranean. We also discussed at Rome the question of the re-organization of the North Atlantic Organization. It is becoming in a sense a rather unwieldy international agency. It has grown quickly. It has grown, as things sometimes do which grow quickly, without that kind of arrangement and planning which we would have desired, and which we would have achieved if we had had more time. So we are giving consideration in the North Atlantic Organization now to the streamlining, the making more effective of the whole Organization. Also we received at our North Atlantic Council meeting a report from the Committee of Five on Non-military Co-operation. That was in the nature of an interim report, and not meant to be anything else. Because it is an interim report I do not think I need say much more about it at this time, Mr. Speaker. We are continuing our work on this Committee of Five, and we will have something more to say about it at the next meeting in Portugal.

Then finally at Rome—and this was not a problem; it was a privilege—we welcomed to our deliberations, not as full members, because the protocol that we are considering today has not been accepted, but as observers for the first time, the representative of Greece and Turkey.

These big questions, which I have mentioned and which are vital for peace and security in Europe, were not decided at Rome. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom said not long ago that the Rome meeting was in a sense an intermediate meeting between the Ottawa meeting and the next meeting in Portugal. But it has become increasingly clear that we cannot postpone decisions on these matters indefinitely and we are expecting decisions to be taken at the next meeting.

I read not long ago in the New York Times an article by one of its European correspondents, Mr. Sulzberger, which very well summarizes I think the Rome meeting and the problems that faced us in the North Atlantic Organization subsequent to that meeting. Mr. Sulzberger wrote at that time:

NATO undoubtedly became aware at this Rome meeting that its development is at a very critical stage. However, the ministers proved that they could debate one another's views in what is becoming a small and select parliament—

I may say, in parenthesis, it was not so small at Rome. One of our difficulties in the North Atlantic Council is the number of people who now attend the meetings. We had between 300 and 400 at one of the meetings in Rome, and it is very difficult to conduct intimate informal discussions with that number of people in the room. Mr. Sulzberger goes on:

—and still remain friends and allies. They also recognized that there is value in the habit of getting together.

And that value is emphasized more and more the oftener we meet together. He went on:

The organization must surely have recognized that it is now in the period where it will suffer its greatest growing pains. Looking back, it can recognize the considerable achievement of the past year, in which an army with its allied headquarters has been consolidated in Europe. But looking forward, it is becoming increasingly aware of long, difficult and expensive years looming ahead for an indefinite time.

The price of liberty is rather high and every one of the twelve nations (plus Greek and Turkish observers) was surely even more aware of that truism when the Rome meeting was over. This awareness is a necessity as the past develops toward that condition of strength which, it is hoped, will finally permit the negotiation of a more real peace than exists today.

As one further step toward the goal of the negotiation of a real peace, we are today discussing a protocol which provides for membership in our North Atlantic Treaty Organization of Greece and Turkey. I said something about this matter in the House on October 22, and I do not wish to repeat what I said then. Hon. members will recall that at our North Atlantic Council meeting in Ottawa in September it was decided unanimously to take steps which would be necessary to invite Greece and Turkey to full membership in the Organization. And the protocol which we have before us, is the result of that decision taken in Ottawa.

What faces us now, before that protocol can be made effective, and before an invitation can be given to the countries in question, is its ratification. That, following a well-established constitutional practice, should receive parliamentary approval before the Government acts. It is parliamentary approval we are requesting today in the resolution before the House.

This question of the membership of Greece and Turkey in our North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the result of long and careful consideration. There were various ways by which these two countries could be associated with the defence of Western Europe, and with the defence of the Mediterranean and North Atlantic states. We examined these various ways before we decided on the solution of full membership. If we took some time in examining the alternative methods, it was not because we did not appreciate the importance of associating Turkey and Greece with our efforts in the North Atlantic Organization.

These are two countries, Mr. Speaker, one of which has already been the victim of communist aggression, and the other of which in recent years has had to face threats of communist aggression. They have already indicated their devotion to peace, and their determination to protect their freedom.

They are two countries which in Korea have also proven their devotion to the idea of collective security. They have proven it by the heroic action of their men on the battlefields there. If we considered this question at some length, it was also not because we did not realize the importance of safeguarding and strengthening the south flank of the North Atlantic area or because we did not realize the importance of the contribution Turkey and Greece could make to that end.

It was thought at one stage that possibly the result which we all desired could be achieved by some kind of reinforcement of the bilateral defence arrangements which these two countries already had with the United States and certain other countries, and which by the overlapping membership of those arrangements with the membership in the North Atlantic Council could achieve the purpose we had in mind.

It was also thought at one stage that possibly this purpose might be achieved by building up a separate Middle East or Mediterranean pact which would be closely associated with the North Atlantic Pact, again through overlapping and possibly military planning.

After careful consideration it was decided that the best solution of this problem was not those which I have indicated, but rather an invitation to these countries to become full members in the North Atlantic Council, and signatories to the North Atlantic Pact.

This was the position taken from the beginning by the United States and by the United Kingdom. It was the position taken by the Governments of Greece and Turkey themselves, who felt that full membership was the best solution to the problem, from their point of view. It was the position taken by the North Atlantic military advisers. It was felt also that, even if it had been desirable, probably it would take too long to work out a Mediterranean or Middle Eastern or Near Eastern pact which, indeed, if we tried to do it, would involve problems of inclusion and exclusion which would not be settled easily, at least at this stage.

As a result of this consideration we agreed unanimously to draw up a protocol, which, if it were ratified by all the Governments of the North Atlantic Organization, would invite those two countries to accede to our pact.

The effect of the protocol is not to extend the nature of our obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty. Those remain as they were. It does, of course, extend the area of obligations, the area in which we specify and reaffirm and indeed organize to carry out the general commitments which we have already undertaken as signatories to the United Nations Charter.

While I admit that this protocol, if it comes into effect, extends the area of our international obligations, I think that an examination of this question must convince hon. members that that extension is more theoretical than real. If, for instance, a full-out aggressive attack took place on these countries, such aggression would immediately involve other countries; and that, in turn, would involve the North Atlantic countries—and, indeed, it would be World War III.

Now, the step which we are recommending removes any uncertainty on this score. And uncertainty, as history proves, can sometimes in these matters be the greatest danger to peace. It strengthens peace by removing this uncertainty and by adding the defensive strength of these countries to our North Atlantic defensive alliance. It strengthens the deterrent value of NATO; and thereby, it makes for that peace, which is the only objective of the North Atlantic Organization.

There is nothing provocative in this protocol, nor would there be anything provocative in the membership of Greece and Turkey in our defensive organization. It constitutes a threat to no one, except the aggressor. By removing, as I have indicated, the temptation to aggression in that area, an aggression which undoubtedly would spread all over Western Europe, and therefore spread all over the world, it strengthens security everywhere.

That is why the Government recommends this protocol to the House of Commons at this time.

Asked by Mr. Graydon (PC, Peel) for an explanation of Article II of the protocol, Mr. Pearson said:

Article II, which I shall put on the record, and explain as I go along, reads as follows:

If the Republic of Turkey becomes a party to the North Atlantic Treaty, Article 6 of the Treaty shall, as from the date of the deposit by the Government of the Republic of Turkey of its instrument of accession with the Government of the United States of America, be modified to read as follows (and this would be the new Article 6 on the accession of Turkey):

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the parties is deemed to include an armed attack—

(i) on the territory of any of the parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France, on the territory of Turkey or on the islands under the jurisdiction of any of the parties in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer.

The reason that Turkey is mentioned specifically, while Greece is not, is that Greece is a European country and will be covered by the words "territory of any of the parties in Europe". As most of the territory of Turkey is not in Europe, Turkey had to be mentioned specifically. The second part of this Article II of the protocol reads (and I shall repeat the governing phrase):

For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the parties is deemed to include an armed attack—

(ii) on the forces, vessels or aircraft of any of the parties, when in or over these territories or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the parties were stationed on the date when the Treaty entered into force or the Mediterranean Sea or the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer.

The change in that paragraph is to be found in the words "or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the parties entered into force". While that has no strict reference to the accession of Greece and Turkey, it was included to take into consideration the possibility of the present occupation statute in Germany being replaced by a peace treaty or a peace contract. If that took place and this change had not been made in the North Atlantic Treaty, the obligation to come to the help of the forces in Germany of the member powers would not exist because the Treaty as we have it now applies only to occupation forces in Germany. After the German peace treaty or peace contract they would not be occupation forces and so the words are used as they appear in this Article II of the protocol.

The following members took part in the ensuing debate:

Mr. Graydon (PC, Peel)
Mr. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar)
Mr. Low (SC, Peace River)
Mr. Pouliot, (L, Temiscouata)
Mr. Macdonnell (PC, Greenwood)
Mr. Drew (PC, Carleton).

Mr. Pearson himself closed the debate with answers to a number of specific questions asked by the previous speakers.

Staff Privileges and Immunities

On December 29 Mr. Pearson moved that the House go into committee to consider Bill No. 15, "to provide for privileges and immunities in respect of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization". The motion was agreed to and the House accordingly went into committee. After a few words by Mr. Graydon and Mr. Pearson, the Bill was reported, read the third time, and passed.

Economic Aid for NATO Nations

On December 21, Mr. Drew (PC, Carleton) called attention to the current issue of the *Financial Post*, in which, he said, the statement had been made that Canada had rejected requests by member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for free wheat and aluminum. In reply, Mr. Pearson said:

No report has yet been received by the Government from the Temporary Committee of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, that is the twelve members who have been charged with the responsibility of going into this whole question of resources and requirements. What has happened, is that an executive board of that Committee consisting of three members has drafted a report to the Committee of Twelve, and that Committee of Twelve is still considering that report. The consideration has not yet been completed and may not be completed for a fortnight or so. Until a report comes from the Committee of Twelve, and not merely the Committee of Three, it would be obviously inappropriate for me to make any comment on this matter.

Korea

On December 28, in reply to a question by Mr. George A. Drew for information concerning developments in the cease-fire negotiations in Korea, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made the following statement:

It was agreed in Korea on November 27 that if the military armistice agreement was not signed within thirty days—and I am quoting from this agreement:

The sub-delegations shall revise, immediately prior to the signing of the military armistice agreement, the above military demarcation line and the demilitarized zone in accordance with the changes which have occurred in the actual line of contact between both sides so that the revised military demarcation line will coincide exactly with the line of contact between both sides immediately prior to the signing of the military armistice agreement and will constitute the military demarcation line for the duration of the military armistice.

That is a quotation from the agreement made a month ago. At ten o'clock yesterday morning our time, the thirty-day period from November 27 expired without any military armistice agreement having been signed. This means that, after discussion which is now taking place—which is still taking place—on arrangements for the exchange of prisoners, and on the final item on the agenda, the two teams will determine a new demarcation line based on the line of contact as it stands just before the signing of any armistice. Since November 27, however, there have been no substantial alterations in the line of contact, and the line now, therefore, is almost the same as the cease-fire line which was agreed to on November 27.

An alternative method of procedure would be for the two sides to agree on an amendment of the agreement of November 27, extending the thirty-day period. We have no information as yet as to whether such an extension has been agreed on.

Canadian Missionaries in China

The following reply was made on December 3 by the Prime Minister to an inquiry by Mr. Graydon (PC, Peel) concerning treatment of Canadian missionaries in Communist China:

Unfortunately, I am not in a position to give any information about the events that have been reported in the press as having taken place over the last two or three days. It will be remembered that on April 16 the Secretary of State for External Affairs made a statement in the House regarding the situation of five Canadian Sisters of the Immaculate Conception who had been arrested by the Chinese Communists in Canton. It was at that time hoped that representations made by the United Kingdom chargé d'affaires in Peking on their behalf as well as on behalf of other Canadian citizens held in custody would bring an improvement in their condition. Well, we are

informed that no such improvement occurred, and the chargé d'affaires made further strong representations to the Peking Government on November 1.

During the past two days news services have carried stories of the formal prosecution and sentencing of the five nuns at so-called public trials on December 1. According to these reports, Sister St. Alphonse du Redempteur, (Antoinette Couvrette, born at Ste. Dorothée, Quebec) and Sister Marie-Germaine (Germaine Gravel of St. Pasteur, Quebec) were sentenced to five years' imprisonment. Sister Ste. Foy (Elizabeth Lemire of La Baie du Febvre, Quebec), Sister St. Victor (Germaine Tanguay, born in Acton Vale, Quebec), and Sister Ste. Germaine (Imelda Laperriere of Pont Rouge, Quebec) were ordered to be deported from China. The Canadian Government has no official confirmation as yet of these reports.

We know that the five nuns have been in Canton prison since March of this year when they were arrested on what was considered to be the fantastic charge of being responsible for the deaths between October 14, 1949, and January 14, 1951, of over two thousand children who had been receiving care in their orphanage. Their arrests followed upon Canton newspaper stories and the demands of women's organizations that they be severely punished for the maltreatment and murder of children. It may be true that quite a large number of children have died at the orphanage, but the Chinese authorities chose to ignore the fact that the majority of the children brought to the sisters were already ailing and beyond hope of recovery when accepted by them. The sisters consistently accepted all children brought to them for help, whatever their condition was at that time, and no matter what were their chances for survival.

As I have already said, no official report regarding the trial of the five nuns has yet been received in Canada, and it is possible that it may be difficult to secure any accurate and reliable information about the so-called trials. I can assure the House that everything possible will be done to help these unfortunate Sisters without bringing more harm on them or other Canadians who are being detained by the Chinese Communists at this time. I think that the order of expulsion may be perhaps the most happy denouement, and it would be unfortunate if anything we said or did brought about, as has happened in the past, revocation of the order of expulsion, or the placing of difficulties in the quitting of the country.

The House will be shocked and indignant at the treatment which has apparently been meted out to a group of missionaries who for years have consecrated their lives to the care of orphan children in China; but it will be at the same time sensitive to the extreme delicacy of the situation and the necessity of avoiding any act or word which may add to their present distress. Within the next few days we hope to have more definite information on the whereabouts of the three nuns whose expulsion has been ordered, and on the situation of the two who have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment. We are hopeful that we may, through the British authorities in Hong Kong, be able to get information from and about these nuns, because we presume that they would go through Hong Kong on their way out of the country. I shall naturally keep the House informed of anything that we can regard as accurate in the way of information about them.

Repatriation

On December 29, in reply to a question two days earlier by Mr. Browne (PS, St. John's West) regarding the number of Canadian missionaries still remaining in China and the policy of the Government for their repatriation, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made the following statement:

The records of the Department of External Affairs show that the total number of Canadians in China is 201, and of these 162 are missionaries and their dependents. On a number of occasions toward the end of the civil war in China, and after the Communists achieved power, the Canadian Government notified all Canadian citizens in China known to the Canadian representatives that in view of the situation in that country they should leave as soon as possible. Many of them have done so, as the figures I have just given would indicate. Others have not been able to, or from the highest motives of service to the Chinese people themselves, have not desired to.

The established policy of the Canadian Government is to repatriate, if necessary at public expense, any Canadians in distress abroad. With regard to those Canadian citizens who are still in China, the Canadian Government takes as generous as possible a view administratively as to what constitutes destitution or distress among missionaries in China. In such cases the Government is always ready, upon request by a church order or society, to do everything it can to assist the repatriation from China of any of its missionary members. On receipt of this assistance the order or society is asked to give the usual undertaking for repayment.

It is becoming increasingly clear that Canadian missionaries and others have been subjected and are still exposed to mistreatment and injustice by the authorities of the Chinese Communist Government. There are no grounds which justify these actions which, indeed, violate all standards of decent international conduct. The Government, and especially the Department of External Affairs, have received both privately and publicly a good deal of advice as to what should be done to stop this persecution and to protect Canadian citizens. The difficulties in the way of action which is likely to be effective in this regard are obvious, especially when we do not recognize the Communist Government of China and must, therefore, request the diplomatic good offices of other states. But I can assure the House that we are doing everything we possibly can to discharge our responsibilities in this matter. I would add, however, that if we tried to intervene along lines which have, with the best of intentions, been advocated by some, we would not help the unfortunate Canadians concerned but might well increase their difficulties and, indeed, add to their dangers.

Economic Aid to Under-developed Countries

In reply to a question on December 15 by Mr. Coldwell regarding a press report that Canada had voted against a proposal before the United Nations for the establishment of a special fund to assist under-developed countries, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, said:

As I have not yet received a report on this matter from our Delegation in Paris, it may be necessary for me at some later date to amplify what I am about to say. However, I do know that this proposal, and the action taken by our Delegation in respect to it, does not mean that the Delegation or, indeed, the Government is unsympathetic to the question of technical assistance for under-developed countries.

We have already expressed that sympathy, both in deed and in word, at this Assembly. This particular proposal, which was put before a committee of the Assembly, was for the establishment of a fund of \$500 million by the United Nations which could be made available, under the procedure outlined in the resolution, for the assistance of under-developed countries.

The general attitude we have taken in this matter at the United Nations is that there is sufficient machinery for this purpose now, if members of the United Nations wish to use that machinery, and that it is unnecessary and therefore undesirable at this time to set up a special organization with a stated amount to be made available to it; especially as during the discussion of the matter the United States, which would normally contribute the greatest proportion of the resources which would be made available, indicated that it was opposed to the resolution, and opposed to the procedure, and would not be able to contribute to this fund.

In the circumstances—and I think these are the circumstances; but I will have to confirm this when we receive the report from Paris—we decided to oppose the resolution. At the same time we were in favour of an alternative resolution which would have once again pledged our support for the principle of assistance to under-developed countries. However, we were not in favour of implementing that support by the particular method indicated in the resolution to which the hon. member has referred.

THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Statement by Mr. Lionel Chevrier, Minister of Transport, made in the House of Commons on December 4, 1951.

I rise to propose a resolution dealing with a subject of great importance to the economy of Canada, the development of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway. This subject has been agitating public opinion for over a century.

It has been the subject of negotiation between Canada and the United States for over half a century. These negotiations culminated in the Treaty of Washington of 1932, defeated in the United States Senate, and the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Development Basin Agreement of 1941, which after ten years still awaits Congressional approval.

The object of this resolution is to establish an authority for the purpose of constructing a deep waterway between the port of Montreal and Lake Erie. The works necessary for the waterway may complement other works on the United States side of the border, or they may provide a waterway wholly within Canada. It is intended further that the authority should maintain and operate the completed Canadian works of this waterway.

I should say at once that another resolution will follow, seeking approval of an agreement with the Province of Ontario with respect to the power to be developed in the International Section of the St. Lawrence River in connection with the Seaway.

In the first place, I need hardly tell a forum such as this, composed of Members from all parts of Canada, what an important part water transportation has played in the development of our country. In fact, for many years it was the only method of conveyance and it played a determining part in the establishment and the location of many of our important cities.

Canal Developments

Without going into details, let me refer briefly to the canal developments in our country which divide themselves under three heads:

1. A series of canals providing a 9-foot channel from Montreal to Lake Erie. Although these canals were built in 1850, they were considered then as a considerable achievement by our people.

2. By 1904 all of these canals had reached a depth of 14 feet.

3. At Sault Ste. Marie, four separate canals had been constructed to pass the rapids in the St. Mary's River, which separates Lake Superior from Lake Huron. The two deepest of these were about 18 feet deep, and they included one which had been built by Canada.

The present period of international interest in the St. Lawrence River begins officially about the turn of the century. It involves the concept of a deep waterway with uniform standards from the lakehead to Montreal. The interest had a grass-roots origin in the demands of the inland population of both countries for a more economical connection with the outside world, without regard to boundary waters, without regard to boundary lines and, particularly, without regard to the political border.

This period has been marked by much talk but no new works in the St. Lawrence, and by little talk but continued works and improvement in the upper reaches of the Great Lakes. Canada built the Welland Ship Canal through the Niagara Peninsula. The United States provided three deep locks at Sault Ste. Marie, including the

MacArthur Lock, opened in 1943 which has a depth of 31 feet. Over and above that, the United States has deepened the river channels in a series of successive programmes. The result has been that today there exists in the upper region a channel for downbound traffic of 25 feet and a channel for upbound traffic of 21 feet, extending from Duluth and Fort William, at one end of the Lakes, to Prescott.

The continued improvements for navigation above Lake Erie came largely in response to the demands of the iron ore trade. Last year the five locks still in service at Sault St. Marie passed a total of some 106 million tons, over 80 million of which was iron ore.

The iron ore ranges near Lake Superior would not have reached their present development were it not for the limestone near Lake Michigan and the coal near Lake Erie. Neither would the present steel centres be producing the great volume of comparatively cheap steel. But something more was needed. It was deeper navigation. It was large channels that were required for the additional trade. It was the canal and channel development which made cheap water transportation a reality.

The boundary line which separates Canada and the United States follows by treaty the 45th parallel of latitude until it strikes the St. Lawrence River at a spot a short distance east of Cornwall, and from thence, for a distance of 115 miles west-erly, it follows the middle of the stream until it strikes the foot of Lake Ontario. Because the Long Sault Rapids in the International Rapids Section of the River St. Lawrence—about which much will be said in this debate—are in what is known as international waters, in order to develop those rapids it has therefore been necessary to seek the concurrence of both countries. Since 1895, Canada and the United States have co-operated in a series of investigations. They have covered both the engineering and economic aspects of the project. No other project of comparable size has had the benefit of such careful scrutiny and such complete engineering data. Every report has favoured the development of deep draft navigation in the St. Lawrence River, and from an early date all have recommended a power development in the International Rapids Section as an integral part of the project.

Extent of Project

What then, sir, is the proposed Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway development? It is a 2,000 mile channel, 27 feet in depth, extending from the Atlantic seaboard to the heart of the North American continent. Coupled with this is a large power development at two sites at least, if not three. The first is in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, where it is proposed to develop jointly with the United States 2,200,000 horsepower of electrical energy, one-half of which will belong to Canada and the other half to the United States. The second is in the Soulanges Section, where power development is already far advanced and where the Beauharnois installations will reach 1 million horsepower before the end of this year, with an ultimate expansion to 2 million horsepower when the installations are fully completed. The third site is the Lachine Section, where a projected 1,200,000 horsepower development might well be installed.

The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway must first of all be distinguished from the St. Lawrence Ship Channel, which is a channel 35 feet in depth extending from the port of Montreal to a point 30 miles east of the City of Quebec. This channel has been deepened at substantial cost by the Federal Government in order to bring deep-sea navigation into the port of Montreal.

The St. Lawrence Seaway should also be distinguished from the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin. This is a vast drainage system covering an area of 678,000 square miles, of which almost 500,000 are in Canada and 185,000 in the United

States. It includes Lake Superior, Lake Michigan, Lake St. Clair, Lake Erie, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, together with all the tributary rivers and streams which flow into the Basin, the chief of which are the Ottawa, the Saguenay and the St. Maurice Rivers.

What does the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin consist of? It consists of five steps, which are its chief assets and its chief liabilities; chief assets, because, within the steps, lie tremendous amounts of waterpower awaiting development; chief liabilities, because, in order to circumnavigate these steps, side canals must be built at some cost to the Government.

The Five Steps

The five steps are: 1. St. Mary's Falls, lying between Lake Superior and Lake Huron, where there is a drop of 21 feet; 2. The St. Clair-Detroit Passage joining Lake Huron and Lake Erie, where there is a drop of 8 feet; 3. Niagara River, emptying from Lake Erie into Lake Ontario, with a drop of 326 feet; 4. The Upper St. Lawrence River, from Lake Ontario to Montreal, with a drop of 225 feet; 5. Montreal to the sea, a drop of 20 feet, entirely in Canada. These five steps will, it is estimated develop approximately 9 million horsepower divided as follows: At Niagara, 3,600,000 horsepower; in the International Rapids Section, 2,200,000 horsepower; in the Beauharnois or Soulanges Section, 2,200,000 horsepower; in the Lachine Section, 1,200,000 horsepower. All of this power is Canadian, with the exception of 1,800,000 horsepower at Niagara and 1,100,000 horsepower in the International Rapids Section.

There is no need to labour the economic significance of this white power in an area of Canada where no coal or black power is found.

To what extent have these facilities been developed? From a power point of view 1,000,000 horsepower have been developed at the Sault, 1,800,000 at Niagara, 93,000 at Massena, New York, and over 1,000,000 in the Soulanges Section. Therefore, out of a total potential of 9,000,000 horsepower, barely 3,000,000 have been developed, or about one-third.

For navigation, I have already mentioned the facilities that provide 25-foot channels past the first three steps, from the head of the Great Lakes to Prescott. The fleet of lake vessels using these facilities is said to provide the cheapest transportation in the world, the largest of them carrying over 20,000 tons.

From Montreal to the open gulf, the fifth step, the Federal Government has provided the St. Lawrence Ship Channel. It has been sufficient to make Montreal one of the busiest ocean ports of the world.

But at the fourth step, between Montreal and Prescott, there remains the 14-foot bottleneck. In other words, from Prescott to the head of the Upper Lakes are navigational facilities for 25-foot craft, and from Montreal to the sea are navigation facilities for 35-foot craft, but between the two is the neck of the bottle which should be made to disappear. The largest vessels that can pass the small locks of the present canals can carry less than 3,000 tons. These canals have served Canada well in their time, but their time is now past. They are obsolete, if judged by present day standards of traffic, method of construction and operation.

What new works are proposed with reference to this project? The new works proposed are those outlined at the time of the 1941 agreement. They are a matter of public record, so I need only refer to them here in general terms. However, attention centres chiefly on requirements in the Upper St. Lawrence River, and that for obvious reasons. This part of the river, from Kingston to Montreal, divides naturally into five sections: the Thousand Islands Section; the International Rapids Section;

Lake St. Francis Section; the Soulanges Section; the Lachine Section. The second of these sections, namely in the International Rapids Section, is the area where the most of the works referred to in the agreement will have to be performed. Here the basic power development would include an upper control dam near Iroquois and a main dam and powerhouse near Cornwall. The project is what is known as the 238-242 single stage control project. This means that, when the project is completed, the elevation will be from 238 to 242 feet above the level of the sea. When one considers that the present elevation along the highway extending from Morrisburg to the city of Cornwall is 225 to 230 feet, one will immediately realize that, when the project is completed, all those communities extending along that highway will be submerged to the extent of from 10 to 15 feet. It will be necessary, too, to construct short canals around both the control dam at Iroquois as well as the main dam in the Long Sault Rapids. In the 1941 agreement it was proposed that the canals be on the United States side, but there is no problem about putting them on the Canadian side. As a matter of fact, general plans have been prepared for such Canadian canals.

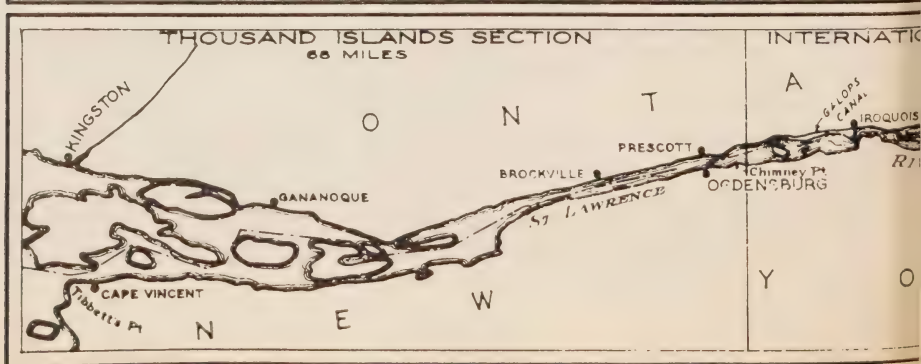
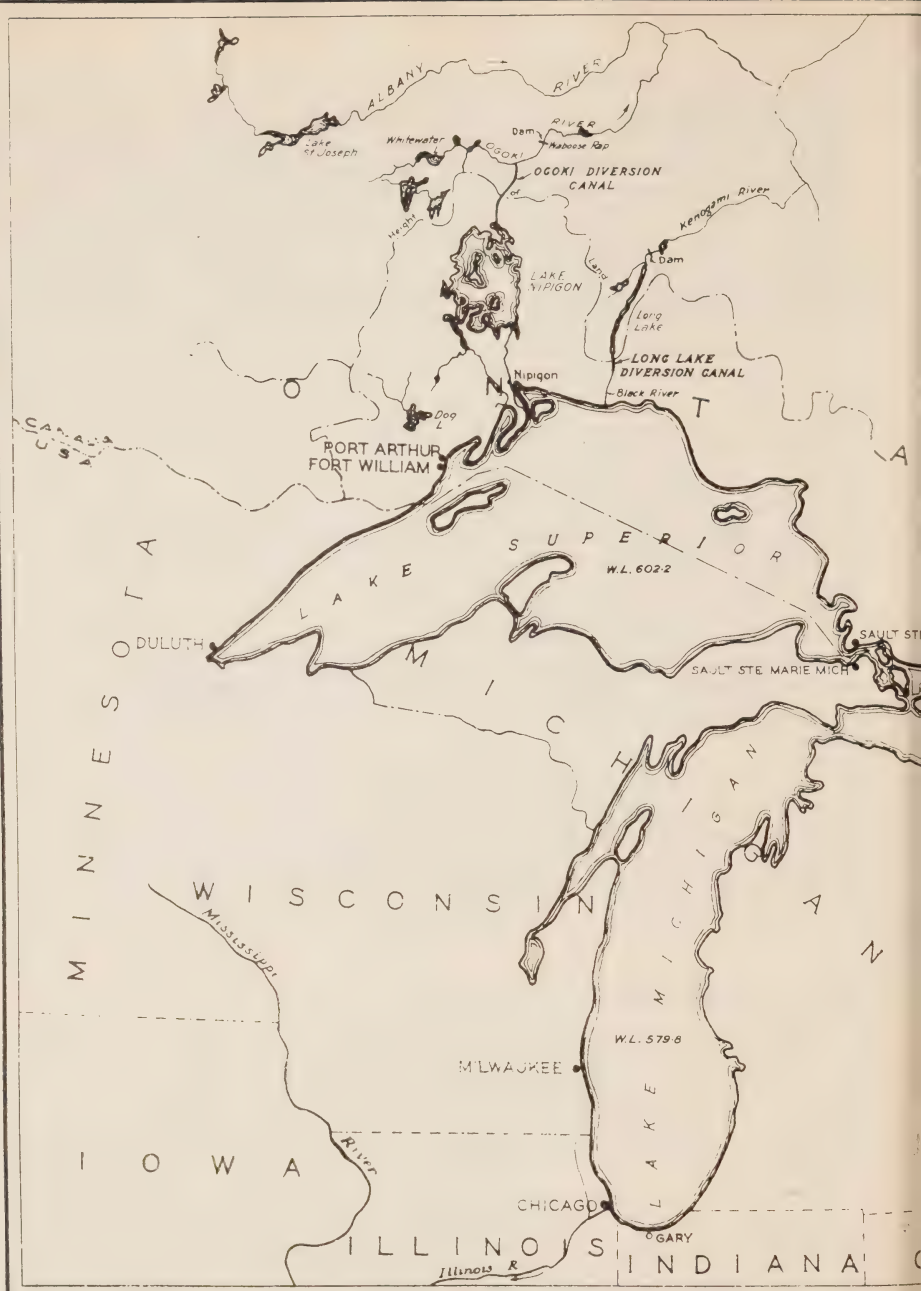
The other section that I had reference to a moment ago is Soulange. Here the basic power development already exists at Beauharnois, and a wide power canal is available for navigation. Little more is necessary than to add the locks and short access channels.

In the Lachine Section the minimum development will be a 10-mile canal and considerable channel enlargement. But a large-scale power development is possible in this section too. Discussions have been opened with Quebec, out of which may come an agreement for a combined power and navigation development in the Lachine Section.

As for the work required in the Great Lakes, it will be necessary to enlarge the various connecting channels and deepen them to 27 feet. Except for the Welland Ship Canal, the work would be done by United States. This is no more than a continuation of a development that has been going on for over a century, it will be observed. And it is worth noting that this development could proceed independent of the 1941 Agreement.

Power Requirements

Why is the project necessary from a power standpoint? I need hardly dwell on the need for power, for the case has been clearly put by those who are interested in that part of the project. However, let me say in general terms that as a result of the rapid post-war expansion of industry, together with a constantly rising domestic consumption, the Province of Ontario has been, for the past few years, faced with an acute shortage of power to meet demands. The House will recall that Canada negotiated a treaty last year with the United States, ratified early this year, permitting a larger diversion of water for power at Niagara. The Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission lost no time in beginning a redevelopment there that is expected to harness another 600,000 horsepower or so before the end of 1954. But demand cannot wait in Ontario till 1954. In a province that prides itself on cheap hydro power, two large steam plants have already been started at Toronto and Windsor, and in each case the planned installation has been increased before the plant could be completed. I believe that the ultimate capacity now planned for these plants is nearly 900,000 horsepower. It appears that still more steam capacity will be required in the near future if the international hydro site is not developed. It comprises the one large block of undeveloped hydro power that now remains available in the southern part of the Province. The *Financial Post* in its issue of November 10 quotes Mr. R. H. Saunders, Chairman of the Ontario Hydro Electric Power Commission, to the effect that present estimates show demands for power can be met up to the end



WATER LEVEL PROFILE-GREAT LAKES & ST LAWRENCE DEEP WATERWAY

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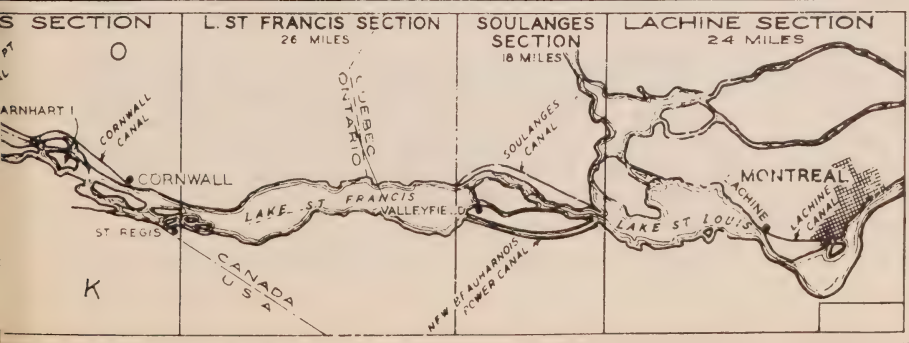
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LAKE ERIE

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EL 548.7 FT
WELLAND CANAL

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EL 510.0 FT
LAKE ONTARIO

194 MILES TO THE SEA



of 1956, and that after that the Commission stands at the crossroads if the St. Lawrence power is not available.

Post-war demand has been growing rapidly in Quebec too, including more particularly the metropolitan area of Montreal. Several power developments or expansions are under way right now, but it appears that construction of additional facilities must start in the near future as well. Quebec is fortunate in that Lachine is not an only choice. Power needs could be met for some time by first a final expansion at Beauharnois, and next by the expansion of other sites such as that at Carillon, for instance. It is my hope nevertheless that an agreement can be reached with the Province of Quebec for a joint development for power and navigation at Lachine. Why is the project necessary from a navigation standpoint? With respect to navigation, the main objective is to remove the present bottleneck in the St. Lawrence River. Removing the bottleneck would save many millions of dollars a year in the cost of moving shipments that today pass its small canals or follow alternative routes to market. This alone would be sufficient reason to construct the Seaway. Now it also promises to be the key that will unlock for the future the iron ore fields of Quebec and Labrador. It will open large new markets for these ores in the Great Lakes area, otherwise largely out of economic reach. And, on the other side of the coin, it will give those interior steel mills the best new source of ore at the lowest cost, a matter of serious concern at the moment.

Iron Ore

The mills within reach of the Great Lakes account for about 75 or 80 per cent of the steel produced in the United States. They draw ore preponderantly from the iron ranges of the Lake Superior district. The immediate problem is not the exhaustion of these ores, although that too may be expected at some more or less indefinite time. The point is that production of the ores now in use has just about reached its maximum annual rate, and that maintenance of even that rate promises to involve a continued increase in costs. Meanwhile ore requirements continue to rise, not only because of additions to steel capacity but because with a shortage of scrap it is taking more pig iron to make a ton of steel. The problem thus is one of a growing gap between supplies and requirements.

This gap can be filled partly with imported ore from Quebec-Labrador, Venezuela, Liberia and other countries, partly by resort to such low-grade sources of iron as the so-called "taconite" found in vast quantities in the Lake Superior district. It is likely that each of these sources will get some call in any event. But without the Seaway, the great inland steel mills can expect to find their ore more costly and their supply position less satisfactory all around.

Obviously enough, the steel mills are going to use the ore that is cheapest to them. At present that is Lake Superior ore, broadly speaking. But the delivered prices of these ores have been moving upward for many decades. I have just indicated that an even sharper upward movement is in prospect. This price increase may be limited to the amount that would cover the cost of delivering imported ores to the same markets.

Processes are being developed for concentrating one type of taconite, a low-grade iron formation that exists in large quantities in the Lake Superior ranges. But the best hope is that the product would be competitive with natural ore if production could be maintained at full plant capacity. The high overhead of the concentration plants would make them vulnerable to any slackening of demand. Accordingly it appears in like manner that it would take a substantial increase in ore prices to bring a development of this source on the scale required.

The New Ore Traffic

Completion of the Seaway would change this picture completely. Quebec-Labrador ores, after paying any likely toll, would be enabled to compete in most of the Lake districts at current prices for ore. The ore deposits occur near the surface over a wide area, readily mined from open pits, and hence low-cost shipments could be made in any volume likely to be required. Accordingly the Seaway will give the best possible answer to the ore problem, both in terms of cost and of ready availability.

This invites a sober comparison with the role that has been played by the navigation facilities in the Upper Lakes. These facilities made available a plentiful supply of iron ore at a low cost, on which were based the great steel centres of today. Now that production of those ores has reached its limit and costs threaten to increase sharply, the new facilities will make available new and expansible supplies at comparatively low cost.

The Quebec-Labrador development already is going ahead. The production goal is 10 million tons a year. Given the Seaway, however, the mining interests have already indicated that they would expect to sell 20 million tons a year as soon as production could be raised to that volume. They could expect a further growth of demand in following years.

Canada has a twofold interest in this matter. We are concerned with making the best and greatest use of a rich natural resource. But we are interested in the other side of the coin too, the ore supply problem facing the steel mills. A plentiful supply of iron and steel at comparatively low prices has been taken for granted in our economy. It can be taken for granted no longer. A little thought will show the serious implications of the threatened higher costs in these fields. The Seaway promises to avert the worst of this threat. We cannot afford to do without it.

Other Benefits

I have referred to transportation economies in other fields as well as iron ore. They may attract less attention but they will be important too. It so happens that they promise to be all the greater because of the new ore movement. It appears that the lake carriers delivering ore from Seven Islands to Lake Erie will find it of advantage to proceed to the head of the Lakes to pick up cargo for Montreal or beyond, and that for such offerings they could underquote any other vessels that did not have a like advantage in two-way cargoes. This of course means a more economical use of shipping. Moreover, it is expected that the up traffic will outweigh the down, what with the preponderance of iron ore. The difference may not be great, but it should be enough to shift the rate advantage to the downbound cargoes as a result of normal competitive forces.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that ocean-going vessels are not expected to play a major role on the Seaway. They may very well enter in some numbers, to be sure. But in the circumstances I have outlined it would appear that an ocean vessel would not enter unless it had an inbound cargo as well as an outbound offering. No doubt there will be those that would have this advantage, but otherwise most of them will find it more attractive to pick up their cargoes at Montreal or some other transfer point.

Is the project necessary from the point of view of defence? From the point of view of national defence, I believe that the development of the St. Lawrence Deep Waterway is of the greatest urgency. The main contribution perhaps would be in the field just discussed, iron ore supplies. The demand for ore has risen in the present period of preparedness, and would rise sharply again on the outbreak of a

major war. The possible sources are sea-borne imports, taconite concentrates, and seaway shipments from Quebec and Labrador. But sea-borne imports would be highly vulnerable in war. Far from increasing, they would decline or disappear, putting a still greater strain on other sources. This did happen during the late war, when millions of tons had to be shipped from the Lake Superior ranges to the East Coast. Yet taconite production could not be expanded rapidly unless expensive plants were held idle in reserve. New plants would be so costly in time and materials that it might prove too late to start them after the emergency arose, and hence the war effort would be seriously handicapped. On the other hand, once the initial mining development is complete in Labrador and the Seaway is open, it would be little more than a matter of putting additional shovels to work to get all the ore that the steel furnaces could use. Even those mills on the East Coast of the United States could draw Labrador ore from Lake Erie.

The Seaway would make at least four other contributions to defence. Important as they are, I will do no more than mention them now. The project would create a reserve of power in the industrial heart of Canada, to be drawn on in the emergency. The combination of power and navigation will stimulate industrial growth, permitting more of the specialized production required in modern war. The Seaway will add flexibility and dispersal to a shipbuilding and ship repair industry in a sheltered area in the upper and lower reaches of the Great Lakes. And it will provide an additional transportation route between the factories and the battlefield.

Will the Seaway be vulnerable to attack? In the first place, ore carriers and other vessels from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Seaway would be infinitely less vulnerable to submarine attack than on the open sea, where this is the main menace. On the other hand, it is true that a determined enemy attack could damage or destroy some of the Seaway installations. The same can be said for any one of the existing hydro developments, steam power plants, the locks at Sault Ste. Marie, taconite concentration plants, the ore docks on Lake Erie, the steel plants themselves, or the railway lines. But an enemy would find it extremely difficult to knock out all the various alternatives at the same time. Surely, then, the best overall defence is to increase and disperse the most promising alternatives. Just as surely, the deep waterway and the associated power development qualify for a high priority.

Availability of Materials and Manpower

What about the materials and manpower for construction? The same considerations give the answer to this pertinent question, whether the project warrants the use of scarce materials and manpower in today's circumstances. The present period of defence preparation may be short or may be long, but it is precisely in such a period that works should be undertaken to add to our economic strength and efficiency. That is this Government's attitude toward resource development and defence-supporting projects generally. Postponing the project would not relieve the pressure on men and materials. It might rather increase it. For without the Seaway, other hydro or steam capacity would be required, other transportation facilities, more ore concentration facilities and other works. Moreover, as I have suggested above, a large part of these alternative facilities would be less suitable to the needs of war if it came.

What are the regional benefits of the project? Perhaps I have given enough reason already for saying that this project is of national concern, that it will benefit Canada from coast to coast. That is my own firm conviction. But I would like to mention some of the direct benefits that I see for each of the ten provinces.

Let me say at once that the main benefits do not promise to fall to the areas of industrial concentration in Ontario and Quebec. The outstanding industrial stimula-

tion promises to be in the ore fields of Newfoundland's Labrador and Quebec's Ungava district. It has been arranged that the men to be employed in Labrador shall be recruited as far as possible in Newfoundland, and indeed the two most obvious benefits in both provinces are the new employment opportunities and the provincial royalty revenues.

Both the power and the navigation facilities provided by the project will be important for a number of industries in Ontario and Quebec, of course, and in some cases there will be obvious benefits on both counts.

Power Development Serves Expansion of Industry

Further development of power from the St. Lawrence certainly will serve the expansion of industry. That is its purpose and its justification, for the demand for power is growing rapidly. But that demand is going to grow in any event. It is simply a matter of meeting it in the most economical manner. Whether industrialization comes from this scheme or from another, namely from coal by the development of steam plants, I do not think it would be possible to stop that development. This is particularly true in Ontario, where still more steam plants are the only alternative to an international hydro development in the St. Lawrence. Quebec on the other hand can develop its St. Lawrence power independently of the Seaway project, and has other hydro sites as well that will serve its industrial expansion.

On the navigation side, the benefits will be most important for commodities having high transportation costs relative to their value. The volume of such commodities used or produced in central Canada and likely to be served by the Seaway is only a small part of the prospective traffic. Without meaning to belittle the advantages to this area, it must nevertheless be observed that the main benefits will be felt elsewhere.

As a matter of fact it is difficult to go very far in ranking the benefits to the various provinces in order of importance. Rather than argue about which will gain the most, let us look at what concrete opportunities will be opened for each.

The Prairies would find a substantial saving in the cost of moving grain, flour and other products to markets in Eastern Canada and overseas. Moreover the Seaway would permit large ocean vessels to move into the Great Lakes to relieve such shortages of shipping as occurred this year. Shortages occur from time to time to hinder the grain movement, for at present the only vessels that can enter the Lakes are too small and too few to make much impression.

I have mentioned already Newfoundland's interest in the Labrador development. Beyond this, the four Maritime Provinces would get a new and low cost transportation route to the heart of the continent. They complain now with some justice that there is no effective water competition to keep down the rail rates. Well this is it. There can be no doubt but that it would bring new opportunities to explore in pulpwood, wood pulp, paper, lumber, specialty agricultural products, minerals and other products.

The Seaway would bring British Columbia much closer to the centre of this continent. For example, British Columbia lumber now moves "all-rail" to these markets, but at Montreal it has been delivered cheaper by the "all-water" route through the Panama Canal. The possibility of a continued water movement without trans-shipment holds great promise, for the market to be reached is substantial.

What will be the effect on the railways of Canada? I do not think that the fortunes of the railways nor the economy of the railways would be materially affected

by this project. For one thing, almost half the Seaway traffic foreseen is in iron ore. That is traffic which does not exist at the moment in so far as the Lower St. Lawrence is concerned, and in so far as the railways are concerned it is new traffic. Another large part already uses the water route for a good deal of its movement, and either leaves the Lakes to move by United States routes or trans-ships to small canallers. Still another substantial part now moves all the way by water in those canallers. Such traffic as is lost by railways will be largely in items now paying rates among the lowest in the schedule, rates that are low in the areas affected because strong competition from vessel service already exists.

On the other hand a continued industrial development, further stimulated by the project, may be expected to bring new and high class traffic to the railways, including new traffic in the very areas where diversions may occur. Canada has not stopped growing yet, and the coming decade looks as promising as any in the past. We are going to need not only the Seaway but a continued expansion of railway facilities as well.

Do we want the United States to participate in the project? This brief review has outlined the reasons as I see them why Canada should press forward with the Seaway. To me, the case from the United States point of view is just as strong as or even stronger than that which I have attempted to make for Canada. That is why we would welcome full participation of the United States along the terms of the 1941 Agreement. But that agreement, as I stated earlier, after slightly more than ten years still awaits Congressional approval. In the face of this uncertainty, we are forced to consider how else our objective can be achieved.

The whole project hinges on the development of the International Rapids Section. Above it Canada could deepen the Welland Ship Canal, and the improvement of the other canals could be left to the United States to undertake in the normal process of expansion of water transportation, as has been the case down through the years. Below it the river is wholly within Canada and the necessary works will be Canada's responsibility in any event.

Benefits Derived By Canada

I believe I have shown to the House the benefits to be derived by Canada through the joint development of power and navigation in the Seaway. The project is not one of navigation alone nor of power alone. It is jointly one of power and navigation, and to achieve this maximum objective it is obvious that some form of international co-operation is necessary for the successful development of the International Rapids Section of the river. Without a doubt, the final solution is to be found either in the approval of the 1941 Agreement with some modifications or in the 1909 Treaty between the United States and Canada.

But let me say again that Canada would prefer approval of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Agreement of 1941 with modifications as already discussed in the United States Congress, such as a provision for the charging of tolls. That agreement was signed in recognition of the fact that the International Section of the St. Lawrence River is a boundary water. It was signed in recognition of the fact that both countries would participate in the benefits and each would have a continuing interest in the success of the project. These considerations are as valid today as they were in 1941. We want these considerations expressed today in terms of that agreement if possible because we want to respect the Agreement of 1941. But over and above that we are anxious to get on with the job.

In the event that approval of Congress is withheld or action further delayed, this Government is prepared to undertake an alternative, namely an all Canadian

Seaway, and to endeavour to bring about the development of power in the International Rapids Section by the Province of Ontario and an appropriate United States authority, through the machinery established under the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty or by whatever other means may be found suitable. Canada could and would add the navigation facilities and complete the other essential parts of the Seaway. If the costs not borne by power are covered by tolls on shipping, it is of much less consequence who makes the initial expenditures, and Canada can do any necessary financing.

It is in this context that the resolution before us today and that covering the bill implementing the agreement between Canada and Ontario should be considered. The proposed St. Lawrence Seaway Authority would have power to act for Canada under whatever arrangements the project does proceed. If the Canada-United States Agreement of 1941 is approved, it would be the agency to construct the works assigned to Canada as provided therein. If the project proceeds on any other basis, the authority would undertake the works required to provide the navigation facilities from Montreal to Lake Erie, and such other work as might be the responsibility of this Government.

On completion of the project the Authority would be responsible for the operation, maintenance, and administration of the Canadian navigation works from Montreal to Lake Erie, including not only the new works but such existing works as may be entrusted to it. It would be responsible for levying such tolls as would cover its current expenditures and recover its capital expenditures over a period not exceeding fifty years.

What will be the cost to the Federal Treasury? Ontario and New York already have indicated their willingness to undertake the basic power development in the International Rapids Section, which it is estimated would cost something over \$400 million, and this would be a normal business investment. If Quebec joins with the Federal Government to develop power in the Lachine Section, it will be because that, too, is a good and timely investment. The remaining cost to be borne by Canada on behalf of navigation would not much exceed \$250 million, which would provide a 27-foot waterway from Montreal to Lake Erie.

This might appear to be a large sum of money, but let us take a look at it from this angle. Already Canada has invested about \$300 million in the ship channel below Montreal, the 14-foot canals into Lake Ontario, the Welland Canal, and the lock at Sault Ste. Marie. Most of those expenditures date back to years when a dollar meant a great deal more than it does today, and when Canada was much poorer in material resources. The Welland Ship Canal cost \$132 million. If the work and material that went into it were priced at today's levels, this figure alone would exceed the estimated cost of the remaining navigation works now contemplated. And whereas the earlier investments have been carried without benefit of tolls, as part of the cost of national development, it is now proposed to liquidate the investment in the Seaway by a levy on the traffic served.

The Present Position

In conclusion, let me summarize the Government's view in a very few words. We believe that Canada needs the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development at the earliest possible date. We believe that it is important for economic development and urgent for national defence. We believe not merely that it can pay its own way, but that the benefits to both Canada and United States will far outweigh its original cost.

We would prefer to have full United States participation in the project under the terms of the 1941 agreement, perhaps with some modification along lines already discussed in Congress, providing the agreement is approved at an early date. We are now recommending to Parliament that, failing such approval, the all-Canadian Seaway be undertaken on the most suitable basis that can be established.

When it is realized that more traffic now passes through the locks at Sault Ste. Marie in a season than passes in twelve months through the Panama, Suez, Manchester, and Kiel Canals put together, one can get some idea what the opening of this river would mean to the economy of Canada as a whole. The traffic foreseen for the new canals—and for the Welland Canal—will also far outrank that on any of these other famous canals. One glance at the map of the world will indicate why it was decided to build the Panama Canal, for instance, through the Isthmus of Panama, or the Suez Canal linking the Mediterranean with the Red Sea. One glance at the map will indicate that those were logical things to do; they were inevitable things to do, and they were the right things to do no matter what the cost. On the proposal to construct a deep waterway in the St. Lawrence River to link the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean, the verdict must be the same.



ITALIAN PEACE TREATY

The Department of External Affairs announced on December 26 that a communication had been delivered to the Italian Ambassador in Ottawa regarding the interpretation of the preamble and certain articles of the Italian Peace Treaty. The message, which was in reply to an approach from the Italian Government, expressed the agreement of the Government of Canada that certain clauses of the Peace Treaty are not consistent with Italy's position as an equal member of the democratic family of nations and released Italy from its obligations to Canada under a number of articles in the Treaty. The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, France and certain other signatories of the Italian Treaty have taken similar action.

Following is the text of the Canadian Note:

I have the honour to refer to your Note 2585/69 of December 8, 1951 and to inform you that my Government welcomes the proposals of the Government of Italy concerning the preamble and certain clauses of the Italian Peace Treaty.

The Government of Canada agrees that the spirit reflected by the preamble of the Peace Treaty no longer exists and has been replaced by the spirit of the United Nations Charter and that the political clauses of the Treaty, articles 15-18, are superfluous. The Government of Canada also agrees that the military clauses of the Treaty are not consistent with Italy's position as an equal member of the democratic and freedom-loving family of nations and hereby releases Italy from its obligations to Canada under articles 46-70 and annexes relevant thereto.

THE KOREAN CRISIS

No major agreement was reached in the armistice negotiations during December but some progress was made. Discussion was confined to items 3 (supervision of the armistice) and 4 (prisoners of war) of the agenda agreed on July 26 (see *External Affairs*, volume 3, No. 8, p. 277).

Supervision of the Armistice

After a month of wrangling, there was disagreement on one main point under item 3: the Communists wanted unrestricted freedom to rehabilitate and enlarge any airfields anywhere in Korea. The United Nations Command was willing to agree only to the rehabilitation of specified airfields for civilian use but not to include extension of runways. There remained disagreement also on the right to replenish equipment used up after the armistice, although there were indications that this would not be a major issue.

The Communists, during the month, conceded that there should be some rotation of military personnel and that there should be a certain amount of inspection in rear areas. The United Nations Command on the other hand made substantial concessions: it had agreed to give up its demand for the right of aerial observation by non-combattant observers anywhere in Korea; it had agreed to project the demarcation line out to sea on both sides of the Korean peninsula and to give up the islands it held north of the line so projected; it had abandoned its insistence that teams of neutral observers should be under the Military Armistice Commission rather than independent; it had agreed to the rehabilitation of some airfields for civilian use although its original position was that all airfields should be left as they were found when the armistice should be signed; and it had accepted the principle that there should be a limit of some sort on the rotation of personnel.

Prisoners of War

As a result of requests by the United Nations Command, the Communists on December 10 agreed to discuss item 4 concurrently with item 3 and a second sub-committee met for this purpose on December 11. The Communist position was that there should simply be an all-for-all exchange on the signature of the armistice. The United Nations Command maintained that in accordance with international custom there should be an exchange of data on prisoners of war first and it also pressed for the right of the International Committee of the Red Cross to inspect prisoner-of-war camps. On December 18, the Communists suddenly handed over a list of 7,142 South Korean, 3,198 United States, 919 United Kingdom, 234 Turkish, 40 Filipino, 10 French, 6 Australian, 4 South African, 3 Japanese [sic], 1 Canadian, 1 Greek and 1 Netherlands prisoners. Estimates by the United Nations Command showed approximately 60,000 missing and still unaccounted for. The United Nations Command handed a much larger list of prisoners to the enemy. Since that time, discussion has centred on attempts to clarify the status of those not accounted for.

Military Demarcation Line

Meanwhile the 30-day period for which the demarcation line was valid expired on December 27. After discussion on items 3, 4 and 5 is complete and before the armistice is signed it will, therefore, be necessary to redefine the line in accordance with the agreement on November 27 on item 2 (see *External Affairs*, volume 3, No. 12, p. 410).

Military Situation

Enemy aerial activity continued at a high level during December. Although little change took place on the ground, the Communist forces made a few more attacks against islands north of the demarcation line occupied by troops under the Unified Command.



—United Nations

CANADIAN SOLDIER ADDRESSES UNITED NATIONS ASSEMBLY

A group of wounded veterans from eighteen countries which have contributed to the United Nations forces in Korea were guests of honour of the United Nations General Assembly during a recent visit to Paris. During the special ceremony held in the Assembly Hall, they were seated in a semi-circle on the speakers' rostrum, under the flags of their respective countries. They were welcomed by the President of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, Dr. Luis Padilla Nervo, and Secretary General Trygve Lie.

Corporal Jean Raymond of Montreal, who served in Canada's Korea Brigade, is shown above addressing delegations on behalf of the veterans group during a plenary session.



CORRIGENDUM

Vol. 3, No. 12, December 1951, page 410, caption to map: for November 23, read November 27 in both places.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Sixth Session of the General Assembly

The Disarmament Debate*

A sub-committee of the Political Committee, composed of representatives of France, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States, under the chairmanship of the President of the General Assembly, met in private, from December 1 to 10 in an attempt to reach agreement on proposals for the control and reduction of armed forces and armaments and for the abolition of atomic weapons. The President presented his report on the sub-committee's discussions to the Political Committee on December 11. The report indicated the areas of agreement and disagreement on the disarmament question, and stated that the private meetings had served to increase the area of agreement and to clarify the main points of difference. Both sides agreed that a single commission should be set up under the Security Council, to consist of the eleven members of the Security Council, and Canada. However, several fundamental points of disagreement between the U.S.S.R. and the West remained, especially over the timing both of the exchange of information on, and the reduction of, armaments and over the programme for the prohibition of atomic weapons.

France, the United Kingdom and the United States then submitted an amended version of their original resolution, taking into account the measure of agreement reached in the sub-committee. The tripartite resolution came to the vote in the Political Committee on December 19, and was approved by a vote of 44 (including Canada) to 5 (the Soviet bloc), with ten abstentions (predominantly Asian states).

German Elections Commission

The Delegations of France, the United Kingdom and the United States presented a draft resolution which called for the establishment of a United Nations commission to supervise free elections throughout Germany and which was later amended by a number of delegations, including Canada. Invitations were sent to representatives from both East and West Germany to participate in the meetings of the Assembly. The West German representative spoke in favour of a United Nations electoral commission, while the East German representative rejected it. The Soviet bloc opposed a United Nations Commission on the grounds that it would be a violation of Articles 1 and 2 (7) of the Charter (regarding "the self-determination of peoples" and the domestic jurisdiction of states). Despite this opposition of the Soviet bloc, the Assembly adopted the amended tripartite resolution on December 20. The vote was 45 in favour (including Canada), 6 against (the Soviet bloc and Israel), and 8 abstentions (principally Asian Delegations). By this resolution the Assembly appointed a Commission, composed of representatives of Brazil, Iceland, the Netherlands, Pakistan and Poland, to investigate the conditions for holding free elections throughout Germany and to report back to the Secretary-General not later than September 1952. Poland has declined to serve on the Commission.

Elections to United Nations Organs

During December, the General Assembly held elections for the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice. For the Security Council, Pakistan and Chile were elected on the first ballot on December 6. A bitter contest developed between Greece and Byelo-russia

* For a summary of the earlier stages of the debate, see *External Affairs*, December 1951, page 420.

for the third seat, previously held by Yugoslavia, and it was not until nineteen ballots had been taken that Greece was elected on December 20.

Argentina, Cuba and Egypt were elected to the Economic and Social Council, and Belgium, China and France were re-elected. Argentina then resigned from the Trusteeship Council and El Salvador was elected to the vacancy for the unexpired portion of Argentina's term.

The Assembly and the Security Council elected six judges to the International Court of Justice on December 6. The judges elected were: Levy Carniero (Brazil) to complete the unexpired term of the late Dr. Azevedo (also of Brazil), S. A. Golunsky (U.S.S.R.), E. A. Ugon (Uruguay), Green H. Hackworth (U.S.A., re-elected), Sir Benegal Rau (India), and Helge Klaestad (Norway, re-elected).

Economic Development of Under-developed Areas

The Second (Economic and Financial) Committee completed before Christmas its examination of various aspects of the problem of the economic development of under-developed countries, the main item on its agenda. In particular, it endorsed the arrangements made by the Economic and Social Council at its Thirteenth Session last summer for the financing in 1952 of the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies. It urged member governments to make contributions for 1952 at least equal to those which they had pledged for the previous eighteen-month financial period.

The Second Committee also adopted a resolution sponsored by Burma, Chile, Cuba, Egypt and Yugoslavia on the financing of economic development. This resolution requests the Economic and Social Council to submit to the General Assembly at its regular session a detailed plan for establishing, as soon as circumstances permit, a special fund for grants-in-aid and for low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries for the purpose of accelerating their development. Support for the resolution came largely from Latin American and Asian countries. It was opposed by the United States, the Western European and Commonwealth countries (with the exception of India and Pakistan). The Soviet bloc and certain of the Central American republics abstained. The resolution recommended by the Second Committee has not yet been approved by the plenary meeting of the Assembly.

Budgetary Matters

On December 22 the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee, approved a regular budget of \$48,096,780, from which will be deducted an estimated income of \$6,399,800. The Committee also revised the scale of assessments for the regular expenses of the United Nations. The contribution of the U.S.S.R. was increased from 6.98 to 9.85 per cent. The percentage of the United States was reduced from 38.92 to 36.90, in partial implementation of the principle of a ceiling of 33 1-3 per cent on any single contributions, which was accepted by the Assembly in 1948. As a result of these and other minor adjustments in the scale and of the significant improvement in Canada's economic position during the past year, the Canadian assessment was raised slightly, from 3.30 to 3.35 per cent. The United States Delegation called for the immediate application of the 33 1-3 per cent ceiling but received virtually no support from other delegations. The U.S.S.R. and other members of the Soviet bloc strongly objected to any increase in their assessment and opposed the recommended scale without, however, threatening to default on their payments.

Finally, the Fifth Committee approved on November 27 a United States-United Kingdom resolution calling on the President of the Assembly to appoint a seven-member negotiating committee. This committee will consult during the Assembly



—United Nations

FIRST COMMITTEE IN SESSION

The Secretary of State for External Affairs and Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, Mr. L. B. Pearson, addresses the Political and Security (First) Committee during the debate on disarmament.

with member and non-member states regarding funds which governments might be willing to contribute, on a voluntary basis, toward programmes not provided for in the regular budget of the United Nations, in particular the Korean and Palestine aid programmes and the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance.

International Children's Emergency Fund

On December 11, 1951, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, better known as UNICEF, completed its fifth year of operation. The General Assembly, in the resolution which established the Fund in 1946, was concerned with getting help speedily, and on a large scale, to the millions of children in dire need in the war-devastated countries. However, the addition to the resolution, of the phrase . . . "and for child health purposes generally" enabled the Fund to extend its aid to another large category of children in need: those in the under-developed countries.

By the time present programmes are completed, more than 42,000,000 children, chiefly in under-developed areas in Africa, Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean countries, and Latin America, will have directly benefited. The shift from emergency relief to long-range projects has been under way for some months. The Fund is continuing to meet emergencies, as in Korea and Palestine and, more recently, in Italy, but for the most part its assistance is now being given for two purposes: the building up of a country's own maternal and child health and welfare services, including the conduct of large-scale campaigns against communicable disease; and child-feeding and related undertakings.

This emphasis on meeting the long-range need was apparent in the programmes approved by the Fund's 26-nation Executive Board, meeting in Paris in November 1951. The trend is perhaps even more noticeable in the Fund's projected budget,

that is, in its statement of what it would do if it had the money. The sum projected is \$30,000,000, for the 12 month period July 1951 to July 1952. It is proposed that it be allocated as follows:

Africa	\$2,000,000
Asia	7,500,000
Eastern Mediterranean	3,000,000
Europe	2,000,000
Latin America	4,000,000
Emergency Aid	6,000,000
Freight	3,500,000
Administration	2,000,000

UNICEF has always required that, except for emergencies, the help which it gives must be “matched” by an equal effort on the part of the government of the assisted country. UNICEF does not propose to do the work: it offers, instead, to provide the supplies and equipment, and in some cases the technical assistance, to enable the receiving countries to carry the responsibility themselves. The requirements, however, sets up limitations; for work can be undertaken only as the receiving countries can meet their share of the financing and can spare people for the tasks at hand. Though they are often short of both funds and trained personnel, the receiving countries have nevertheless managed to find them and also to make substantial contributions to the Fund’s work in other countries.

The part played by Canada in this United Nations undertaking has been important. Its governmental contributions now total \$7,293,000, and from the United Nations Appeal for Children an additional \$1,486,000 has been raised for the Fund. In terms of the total contribution, Canada ranks third on the list, after the United States and Australia. On a per capita basis the contribution of the Canadian Government ranks sixth: Australia, \$1.345; Iceland, \$0.958; New Zealand, \$0.924; Switzerland, \$0.573; United States, \$0.532; Canada, \$0.527.

During the last five years, the Fund has received \$164,000,000 from all sources. This is not a large sum in terms of the needs which exist, but it has permitted UNICEF to reach an impressive number of children with direct benefits in various forms of aid. This international aid has also stimulated receiving countries to develop further programmes of their own which will bring lasting benefit to even larger numbers of children.

Resumed Thirteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council met for five days in Paris, beginning on December 18, in order to discuss its basic programme for 1952 and to draw up a provisional agenda for the Fourteenth Session. This resumed session was the first of its kind to be held in accordance with the re-organization of the Council’s operating procedures which the Council decided upon at its Thirteenth Session last August. The Canadian Representative at this resumed session was Mr. D. M. Johnson, the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations.

At the outset, the Soviet Delegate proposed that in view of the special circumstances created by the prolongation of the General Assembly until 1952, the Council should meet only once during the coming year. This proposal was approved by 7 votes in favour (France, United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mexico and Sweden) 4 against (Belgium, Canada, Chile, United States) and 3 abstentions (Pakistan, Iran the Philippines). Four countries were absent (Peru, China, India, Uruguay). The Council further agreed that this single session would last a maximum of 12 weeks and would open in New York on May 13, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. E. W. T. Gill was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, to Ottawa, effective December 3, 1951.
- Mr. J. F. Grandy was posted from Ottawa, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, effective October 11, 1951.
- Miss K. G. MacDonnell was posted from Ottawa, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, effective October 25, 1951.
- Mr. H. B. O. Robinson was posted from Ottawa, to Paris (temporary duty with the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations), effective November 5, 1951.
- Mr. A. D. Ross was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in Australia, to Ottawa, effective December 10, 1951.
- Mr. G. H. Blouin was posted from Ottawa, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in India, effective December 27, 1951.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Dr. Klas Eric Bööck presented his Letter of Credence as Minister of Sweden, December 14.

Mr. Norman J. Bentley, Assistant Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, December 6.

Mr. Gunder Johan Melleby Kvaerne, First Secretary, Legation of Norway, December 16. He is also Vice-Consul at Montreal.

Mr. J. D. McCredie, Assistant Official Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Australia, end of December.

Departures

Mr. Philip C. Habib, Second Secretary and Assistant Agricultural Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, November 25.

Mr. Branko Cabrilo, Attaché, Embassy of Yugoslavia, December 15.

Mr. Asbjorn Slordahl, First Secretary, Legation of Norway, end of December. He was also Vice-Consul at Montreal.

His Excellency Primo Villa Michel, Ambassador of Mexico, resumed charge of the Embassy on December 20 on his return from a visit to Mexico.

CONSULAR

Exequaturs were issued to:

Mr. James E. Callahan, Consul of the United States of America at Vancouver, December 10.

Mr. Luis Guimaraes Vieira de Campos de Carvalho, Consul General of Portugal at Montreal, December 10.

Mr. William Espinosa Dominguez, Consul of Cuba at Montreal, December 10.

Mr. Cyrus B. Follmer, Consul of the United States of America at Calgary, December 10.

Mr. Carl O. Hawthorne, Consul of the United States of America at Edmonton, December 10.

Mr. Donald F. Hunter, Honorary Consul of Portugal at Toronto, December 10.

Dr. José Ramon Hernandez Lebron, Consul General of the Dominican Republic at

Ottawa, December 10.

Mr. Kingdon W. Swayne, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, December 10.

Miss Dorothy M. Barker, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Quebec, December 26.

Mr. Ray Neil Bryson, Honorary Consul of Denmark at Toronto, December 26.

Mr. Mauricio Melendez Duke, Honorary Consul of El Salvador at Victoria, December 26.

Mr. Gunder Johan Melleby Kvaerne, Vice-Consul of Norway at Montreal, December 26.

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. O. S. Franzen as Vice-Consul of Sweden at Edmonton, December 14.

Miss Mildred V. Deike as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, December 17.

Mr. Joseph E. Gross as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, December 17. He was previously Vice-Consul at Quebec.

Mr. Leonard E. Thompson as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, December 17.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Mauricio Melendez Duke as Honorary Consul of El Salvador at Victoria, December 5.

Mr. H. Friser Frederiksen as Acting Honorary Consul of Denmark at Vancouver, December 12.

Mr. Waldo H. Heinrichs, Jr., as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, December 12.

Departures

Mr. Orsen N. Nielsen, Consul General of the United States of America at Toronto, November 29.

Mr. Cecil M. P. Cross, Consul General of the United States of America at Montreal, November 30. Pending the appointment of a successor, Mr. Albert W. Scott, Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to International Conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such Conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned).

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

1. Canada-United States*

1. *International Joint Commission.* (1909). Chairman: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Commissioners: J. L. Dansereau and G. Spence.
2. *International Boundary Commission.* (1912). J. E. R. Ross, Dominion Geodest, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
3. *Permanent Joint Board on Defence.* (1940). Canadian Section: Chairman: Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton; Rear-Admiral H. De Wolf, Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff; Maj. Gen. H. A. Sparling, Vice-Chief of the General Staff; Air Vice-Marshal F. R. Miller, Vice-Chief of the Air Staff; R. A. MacKay, Department of External Affairs; Secretary: R. A. J. Phillips, Department of External Affairs.
4. *Joint United States-Canada Industrial Mobilization Planning Committee.* (1949). Canadian Section: Chairman: C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production; S. D. Pierce, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
5. *International Fisheries Commission* (Halibut). (1923). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries; G. W. Nickerson, Department of Fisheries.
6. *International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission.* (1947). Senator T. Reid; O. Hanson and A. G. Whitmore, Department of Fisheries.

2. Canada-United Kingdom

1. *Canada - United Kingdom Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.* (1948). W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Dr. J. G. Taggart, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; A. F. W. Plumptre, Department of External Affairs. (L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, is Chairman of the Committee when it meets in London).

3. Commonwealth of Nations

1. *Commonwealth Shipping Committee.* (1920). L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom.
2. *Commonwealth Economic Committee.* (1925). F. Hudd, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
3. *Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux.* (1928). *Executive Council.* Dr. H. J. Atkinson and Dr. M. I. Timonin, Department of Agriculture; J. G. Robertson, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
4. *Commonwealth Telecommunications*

* For each body the date of its establishment is given in brackets.

- Board.* (1948). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
5. *Commonwealth Air Transport Council.* (1945). J. H. Tudhope, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
 - i. *Committee on Air Navigation and Ground Organization.* F. Hudd and H. R. Horne, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
 6. *Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council.* (1947). A/V/M D. M. Smith, Department of National Defence; R. J. Brearley, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
 7. *Commonwealth Liaison Committee.* (1948). A. E. Ritchie, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
 8. *Imperial War Graves Commission.* Col. D. C. Unwin-Simpson, Canadian Embassy, Paris.
 9. *Imperial Institute.* (1888). L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom.
 10. *Commonwealth Committee on Mineral Resources and Geology.* Dr. G. S. Hume, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.

4. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (1949)

1. *North Atlantic Council.* (1949). L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence.
North Atlantic Council Deputies. (1950). L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
2. *North Atlantic Military Committee.* (1949). Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff, Department of National Defence.
3. *North Atlantic Financial and Economic Board.* (1950). J. F. Parkinson, Representative, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the OEEC, Paris.
4. *North Atlantic Defence Production Board.* (1950). H. R. MacMillan, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
5. *North Atlantic Planning Board for Ocean Shipping.* (1950) E. A. Coté, Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London.
6. *Committee on the North Atlantic Community.* L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs.

5. United Nations (1945)

1. *General Assembly.* (Canada as a member of the United Nations is represented in the General Assembly which meets at regular annual sessions. Its representatives are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - i. *Interim Committee of the General Assembly.* (1947). Representative: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternate: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
 - ii. *Standing Committees of the General Assembly.*
Committee on Contributions. Representative: M. W. Sharpe, Assistant Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce.
 - iii. *Subsidiary Bodies of the General Assembly.*
Board of Auditors. Watson Sellar, Auditor General of Canada.
2. *Security Council.*
Atomic Energy and Conventional Armaments Commission (1951). D. M. Johnson, Permanent Delegate of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
3. *Economic and Social Council.*[†] (Canada's membership in the Council will expire on December 31, 1952).
 - i. *Functional Commissions.*
Fiscal Commission. A. K. Eaton, Assistant Deputy Minister of Finance.
Statistical Commission. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician, Bureau of Statistics.
Social Commission. R. B. Curry, National Director, Family Allowances Division, Department of National Health and Welfare.
Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Col. C. H. L. Sharman, % Department of National Health and Welfare.

[†] Unless listed, Canadian representatives on the Council, its Commissions, Sub-Commissions or Special Bodies are not permanent and are appointed by the Government for each successive session.

4. *Special Bodies of the Principal Organs.*

- i. *UNICEF Executive Board.* Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Executive Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare.
- ii. *Collective Measures Committee.* (1950).
- iii. *Permanent Central Opium Board* (Supervisory Body). Col. C. H. L. Sharman, % Department of National Health and Welfare.
- iv. *UNKRA Advisory Committee.* J. Lesage, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; S. Pollock, Department of Finance.

5. *Headquarters Advisory Committee.* C. D. Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production; Alternate: K. A. Greene, Canadian Consul General, New York.

6. *International Court of Justice.* (The parties of the Statutes of the Court automatically include all members of the United Nations. The Court consists of fifteen judges, in no way representatives of their country of origin, elected for a nine year term of office by the General Assembly and the Security Council voting independently. A Canadian citizen, Mr. John Erskine Read, presently sits on the Court, his term of office due to expire in 1958).

6. United Nations Specialized Agencies

1. *International Labour Organization.* (1919)*

- i. *General Conference.* (Canada sends delegations comprising two Government members and one member each representing management and labour together with their advisers to each session of the Conference which meets at least annually. Delegations to the Conferences are not permanent and are appointed for each session).
- ii. *Governing Body.* Dr. A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister, Department of Labour. (Canada holds a seat as one of the States of chief industrial importance.)

2. *Food and Agricultural Organization.* (1945).

- i. *Conference.* (Canada, as a member of FAO sends a representative, together with his alternate and advisers to each session of the Conference which meets bi-annually. Canada's representative is not permanent and is appointed by the Government for each session).
- ii. *Council.* (Also known as World Food Council). (Canada has always been a member and was re-elected by the recent Conference in Rome for a further term of membership).

3. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.** (1946).

- i. *General Conference.* (Canada sends delegates to each session of the General Conference which meets at least once a year. Delegations comprising delegates, alternates and advisers are

not permanent and are appointed by the Government for each successive session).

4. *International Civil Aviation Organization** (1947)

- i. *Assembly.* Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO; H. A. Pattison, Deputy Delegate.
- ii. *Council.* Brig. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO.

5. *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.* (1946).

- i. *Board of Governors.* Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: R. B. Bryce, Deputy Minister of Finance.
- ii. *Executive Directors.* Director: L. Rasminsky, Foreign Exchange Control Board, Bank of Canada.

6. *International Monetary Fund.* (1945).

- i. *Board of Governors.* Governor: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Alternate: G. F. Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada.
- ii. *Executive Directors.* Director: L. Rasminsky, Foreign Exchange Control Board, Bank of Canada.

7. *Universal Postal Union.* (1875).

- i. *Universal Postal Congress.* (Canada, as a member of the UPU, is represented at each meeting of the Congress usually held at intervals of five years. Canadian Delegations are appointed by the Government for each meeting).

* The Specialized Agencies marked with an asterisk set up from time to time, through their main organs, standing bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada may or may not be invited to participate. Because of the large number of such bodies, committees or commissions to which Canada is a party, and their relative importance, it has been felt that they might, with reason, be excluded from the scope of this list.

8. *World Health Organization*.* (1948).
 - i. *World Health Assembly*. (Canada, as a member country of the WHO, sends delegations to each annual session of the Assembly. Delegations are not permanent and are appointed by the Government at each session).
 9. *International Refugee Organization*. (1948-1951).
 - i. *General Council*.
 - ii. *Executive Committee*. (Canada has been a member of IRO since its inception and was represented by official delegates appointed by the Government at each of the Executive Committee's and the Council's sessions).
 10. *International Telecommunications Union*. (1947).
 - i. *Plenipotentiary Conference*. (Canada, as a member of ITU, is represented at the Conference which meets every five years. Canadian Delegations to the Conference are appointed by the Government for each session).
 - ii. *Administrative Council*. C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
 11. *Inter-Government Maritime Consultative Organization*.**
 12. *International Trade Organization*.**
 - i. *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (GATT). (The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is an international trade agreement. It is not a specialized agency of the United Nations, but is serviced by the Secretariat of the Interim Commission of the International Trade Organization (ICITO). The regular sessions of the Contracting Parties are, as a rule, held once a year and these sessions are supplemented by intersessional meetings at the call of the Secretariat. Canada is one of the original contracting parties).
 13. *World Meteorological Organization*.***
- 7. Miscellaneous**
1. *Far Eastern Commission*. (1945). Delegate: H. H. Wrong, Canadian Ambassador to the United States; Alternate: P. C. R. Campbell, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
 2. *Inter-Allied Trade Board for Japan*. (1946). J. H. English, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
 3. *Restitution Advisory Commission*. (1947). J. C. Britton, Canadian Liaison Mission, Tokyo.
 4. *Inter-Allied Reparation Agency*. (1946). A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.
 5. *International Whaling Commission*. (1949). G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.
 6. *International Commission for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries*. (1951). S. Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries; R. Gushue, Chairman, Newfoundland Fisheries Board; J. H. MacKichan, United Maritime Fisheries Board.
 7. *Organization for European Economic Co-operation*. (1948). Representative: J. F. Parkinson; Deputy Representative: L. Couillard; Adviser: A. R. Kilgour.
 8. *International Materials Conference*. (1950). Representative: J. H. English, Canadian Embassy, Washington; Alternate: S. V. Allen, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
 9. *Permanent Committee of the International Copyright Union*. (1948). Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland.
 10. *Inter-American Statistical Institute*. (1940). (The Dominion Bureau of Statistics participate in the work of the Institute.)
 11. *Postal Union of the Americas and Spain*. (1921).
 12. *Inter-American Social Security Conference*. (1942). (Technicians from the Canadian Government Departments concerned attend the meetings of the Conference.)

** Canada has indicated its willingness to become a member of each of the Organizations referred to above once they have been formally established, and is presently a party to the principal preparatory organs of these proposed agencies set up at the instigation of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations in 1946 and 1947 respectively.

*** Although the World Meteorological Organization came into being on March 23, 1950, and will not operate formally as an agency of the United Nations for some time to come, Canada was a signatory of the Conference of the World Meteorological Organization, however, and serves on the International Meteorological Committee of the IMO, the Interim Preparatory organ for the WMO.

Conferences Attended in December

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of December 1951, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier Conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

1. *Conference to Discuss Creation of European Army.* Paris—February 15. Observer: Maj. Gen. G. P. Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France; Senior Political Adviser: J. Chapdelaine, Canadian Embassy, Bonn; Adviser: Brig. R. W. Moncel, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
2. *Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.* Paris—November 6. Representatives: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Chairman; S. S. Garson, Minister of Justice, Deputy Chairman; Senator J. R. Hurlbut, M.P.; Bourget, M.P.; Mrs. R. J. Marshall, Past President of the National Council of Women; Alternates: C. Bennett, M.P.; T. A. Stone, Canadian Minister to Sweden; D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York; R. M. Macdonnell, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to the OEEC, Paris; Parliamentary Advisers: F. H. Larson, M.P.; Maj. Gen. G. R. Pearkes, M.P.; Advisers: A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels; S. Pollock, Department of Finance; G. G. Crean, Canadian Embassy, Belgrade; A. J. Pick, Department of External Affairs; E. A. Côté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Miss E. MacCallum, Department of External Affairs; J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York; P. T. Molson, Department of External Affairs; D. Stansfield, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; H. B. O. Robinson, Department of External Affairs; O. G. Stoner, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. J. McCordle, Department of External Affairs; Information Officers: F. Charpentier, Canadian Embassy, Paris; Miss M. Gordon, Canadian Consulate General, New York; Secretary-General: A. R. Crépault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
3. *Sixth Session of the Conference of FAO.* Rome—November 19 to December 6. Member: J. G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture; Alternate: Dr. G. S. H. Barton, Special Assistant to the Minister of Agriculture; Associate Members: Dr. S. C. Hudson, and S. J. Chagnon, Department of Agriculture; D. A. Macdonald, Department of Resources and Development; Dr. L. B. Pett, Department of National Health and Welfare; Advisers: Dr. H. H. Hannam, Canadian Federation of Agriculture; A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; F. G. Hooton, Department of External Affairs; S. G. MacDonald, Canadian Embassy, Rome; J. H. Tremblay, Canadian Embassy, Paris; H. L. Trueman, Department of Agriculture.
4. *Seventh International Conference of the Inter-American Bar Association.* Montevideo—November 21 to December 2. J. W. T. Michel, Commissioner of Patents.
5. *Ad Hoc Migration Conference.* Brussels November 26 to December 8. Head of Delegation: C. E. S. Smith, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; Delegate: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Adviser: P. W. Bird, Canadian Immigration Mission, Germany.
6. *Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe.* Strasbourg—November 26. Parliamentary Observers: Senator J. R. Hurlbut, M.P.; Maj. Gen. G. R. Pearkes, M.P.; Official Observer: T. C. Davis, Canadian Ambassador to Germany.
7. *Tripartite Conference on Food Aspects of Civilian Defence.* London—November 26 to December 13. Head of Delegation: Maj. Gen. F. F. Worthington, Department of National Health and Welfare; Delegates: S. J. Bailey and Dr. L. B. Pett, Department of National Health and Welfare; G. B. Miller, Department of Agriculture; D. A. B. Marshall, Dr. J. B. Malloch and J. F. Grandy, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Dr. J. G. Armstrong, Defence Research Board, Department of National Defence.
8. *Conference on External Trade and Balance of Payments Statistics.* Panama City December 3 to 15. Representative: C. D. Blyth, Bureau of Statistics.
9. *Fourth Session of the Inland Transport Committee of ILO.* Genoa—December 4 to 15. Government Delegates: G. R. Currie and W. F. Anderson, Department of Labour; Employers' Delegates: R. C. Johnson, Montreal; A. W. Cross, Vancouver; Workers' Delegates: T. McGregor, Winnipeg; D. S. Lyons, Calgary.
10. *27th Session of the International Statistical Institute.* New Delhi—December 5 to 18. H. Marshall, Dominion Statistician.
11. *Resumed 13th Session of ECOSOC.* Paris—December 18. Representative: D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative.

tative to the United Nations, New York; Advisers: L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the

European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; A. R. Crépault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

Conferences to be Held in January and February 1952

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate; the dates are tentative. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted.)

1. *Meeting of Sub-Committee of the Legal Committee of ICAO.* Paris—January 7.
2. *Preliminary Meeting of Commonwealth Finance Officials.* London—January 8.
3. *Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.* Colombo—January 10.
4. *Annual Meeting of Joint Arctic Weather Stations Programme,* Ottawa, January 10.
5. *Meeting of Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Intersessional Business of GATT,* Geneva, January 14.
6. *Meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers,* London, January 15.
7. *United Kingdom—Canada Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs.* London—January 21.
8. *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.* Burma—January 29 to February 9.
9. *North Atlantic Military Committee.* Lisbon—January 29.
10. *Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices. (ECOSOC).* New York—January 29.
11. *North Atlantic Council.* Lisbon—February 2.
12. *Economic Commission for Latin America.* Santiago—February.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS

A SELECTED LIST

This list of United Nations documents recently received in the Department of External Affairs contains the titles of those documents which may be of general interest. It consists of reports by subsidiary bodies of the United Nations on the more important current activities of the organization, research notes by the Secretariat and general surveys of the work of the United Nations. The following list has been divided into two sections, section (a)—printed publications—which may be obtained by the general public from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations Publications, The Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English), and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec, (French); and section (b)—mimeographed United Nations documents—which can only be procured by the general public, by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat at Lake Success, New York. They are available to university staffs and students, teachers, libraries and non-governmental organizations, from the United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York. The publications and documents listed below may be consulted at the following places in Canada:

University of British Columbia (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Provincial Library of Manitoba (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Library of Parliament, Ottawa (English and French printed documents and English mimeographed documents).

McGill University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

Laval University (French printed documents).

Dalhousie University (English printed and mimeographed documents).

University of Montreal (French printed documents).

Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Toronto (English printed and mimeographed documents).

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

**Progress Report of the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea during the year 1951;* 16 November 1951; document A/1959; 182 p.

Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction—Report of the General Assembly on the Session held 1 August-31 August 1951; 8 September 1951; document A/AC.48/4; 73 p.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

(b) Printed Documents:

Annual Report of the United Nations Joint Staff Pension Board for the year ended 13 December 1950 and Supplementary Report as of 31 May 1951; document A/1846; 14 p.; 15 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 8.

Report of the International Law Commission covering the work of its third session 16 May-27 July, 1951, document A/1858; 20 p.; 25 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 9.

**Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea*; document A/1881; 68 p.; 70 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 12.

**Second Annual Report of the United Nations Commissioner in Libya* prepared in consultation with the Council for Libya; document A/1949; 157 p.; \$1.75; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 17.

**Problems of Unemployment and Inflation 1950 and 1951*; 2 August 1951; document E/2035/Rev.1, ST/ECA/12; 173 p.; \$1.25; Sales No.: 1951.II.A.1.

**National Income and its Distribution in Under-Developed Countries*; 9 October 1951; 35 p.; 40 cents; Sales No.: 1951.XVII.3.

**Report of the United Nations Mission of Technical Assistance to Bolivia*; 11 October 1951; document ST/TAA/K/Bolivia/1; 128 p.; \$1.50; Sales No.: 1951.II.B.5.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Canadian Representatives Abroad and Representatives of Other Countries in Canada, December 15, 1951. Price, 25 cents.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 51/47—*Disarmament Proposals Before the United Nations*, text of a statement on disarmament proposals, by the Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, and Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the First Committee of the General Assembly in Paris on November 21, 1951.

No. 51/49—*North America's Place in the World of Today*, an address by the

Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, to the Economic Club of New York, on November 19, 1951.

No. 51/51—*Boundary Waters and Waters Crossing the Boundary Between Canada and the United States*, text of an address by General A. G. L. McNaughton, Chairman, Canadian Section, International Joint Commission, to the Empire Club of Canada, made in Toronto on December 6, 1951.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 51/48—*Canada's Viewpoint on the Development of the St. Lawrence Seaway*, text of an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, at the annual dinner of the Washington Society of Engineers, made in Washington, D.C., on November 28, 1951.

No. 51/50—*The Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries*, text of a statement at the Sixth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, by Mr. Maurice Bourget, M.P., Canadian Representative on the Second Committee, made in Paris on November 27, 1951.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Melbourne (83 William Street)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Casier Postal 373)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (46, rue Montoyer)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (P.O. Box 1006)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.)
China.....	Consul General.....	Shanghai (27 The Bund)
Colombia.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bogotá (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor Seguros)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida de las Misiones No. 17)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmansstrasse, 14)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Commonwealth House)
“.....	Consul.....	Frankfurt (145 Fuerstenbergerstrasse)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatamala City No. 28, 5th Avenue South)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong Bank Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
“.....	Trade Commissioner (Fisheries).....	Naples (via Cimarosa 65, Int. 12, Vomero)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers)
Japan.....	Head of Mission.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plaas 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	“ (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Katowika, Saska Kepa)
Portugal.....	Minister.....	Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103)
Puerto Rico.....	Trade Commissioner (Fisheries).....	San Juan (P.O. Box 3981)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Minister.....	Berne (Thunstrasse 95)

Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (43 St. Vincent St.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (211, Ayranci Baglari, Kavaklidere)
"	Commercial Secretary.....	Istanbul (Istiklal Caddesi, Kismet Han 3/4, Beyoglu)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24, Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok)
"	Chargé d'Affairs, a.i.....	Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
"	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
"	Consul.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Los Angeles (Associated Realty Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
"	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (503, 120 Exchange Street)
"	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (8° Peso Edificio America)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Sv. Markovica, 20)
*OEEC.....	Representative.....	Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Delegate.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
"	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

"EXTERNAL AFFAIRS": THREE YEARS OF PUBLICATION

The issue of *External Affairs* for December 1951 completed the third year of publication of the monthly bulletin of the Department of External Affairs. Until November 1948 this bulletin was issued in multilith form; but it had become evident that there was a considerable demand both in Canada and abroad for a printed publication which would provide reference material on Canada's external relations and reports on the current activities of the Department of External Affairs. Accordingly, *External Affairs* in its present form was launched in November 1948 and the issues of that and the following month were numbered Volume 1, No. A and Volume 1, No. B; Volume 1, No. 1 appeared in January 1949. Indexes have been published in the December issues.

That *External Affairs* is serving a useful purpose is suggested by the fact that its monthly circulation has averaged over 9,000 copies during 1951. The circulation of the December 1951 issue of *External Affairs* was 8,521, made up of 7,584 English and 937 French; and of this number 6,231 were distributed in Canada and 1,988 abroad.

A number of articles appearing in *External Affairs* have been reprinted in Canadian and foreign publications. The Department welcomes the reprinting of articles appearing in the bulletin, but requests that their source be indicated; the editors would be glad to receive marked copies of publications using material appearing in *External Affairs*.

Ottawa, Edmond Cloutier, C.M.G., O.A., D.S.P., Printer to the King's
Most Excellent Majesty, Controller of Stationery, 1952



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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS is issued monthly in English and French by the Department of External Affairs, Ottawa. It provides reference material on Canada's external relations and reports on the current work and activities of the Department. Any material in this publication may be reproduced. Citation of EXTERNAL AFFAIRS as the source would be appreciated. Subscription rates: ONE DOLLAR per year (Students, FIFTY CENTS) post free. Remittances, payable to the Receiver General of Canada, should be sent to the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, Canada.

Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

MR. CHURCHILL'S OTTAWA SPEECH

Text of an address by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill, delivered at a banquet given in his honour by the Government of Canada in Ottawa, on January 14, 1952.

Your Excellency, Prime Minister, my lords and gentlemen: I am indeed honoured that you should receive me in Ottawa with so much kindness. I came here first more than fifty years ago to give a lecture about the Boer War. A little later on I was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a rather radical Government, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier came to England, and I saw a lot of that august Canadian statesman. He brought with him a young secretary named MacKenzie King. I made a lifelong friendship with him and I shared my grief with all Canada, and indeed all the free world, at his death after so many years of faithful and skillful service to the great causes which we uphold today.

The Prime Minister of Canada and his Cabinet have welcomed me and my colleagues, who are one-quarter of the British Cabinet, not only with Canadian hospitality, but with that sense of true comradeship facing difficulties together, which often makes it possible for these difficulties to be overcome.

I am very glad also to see here tonight my old friend, Mr. George Drew, and I am truly sorry that I cannot yet visit Toronto where I have long been invited to receive a degree. Mr. Drew is the leader of the Opposition. Well, I have been a leader of the Opposition, too. In a free country one is always allowed to have an Opposition. In England we even pay the leader of the Opposition a salary of £2,000 a year, but that is nothing to what you do here. He is paid this salary to make sure the Government is kept up to the mark. I have no doubt Mr. Attlee, whom you welcomed less than a year ago, will devote himself to his task with the zeal which, under any totalitarian system, might well lead to Siberia or worse. However, we in the free nations have our own way of life, and are able to keep separate, except perhaps at election times, those things which affect the life of the state and those which merely decide what party gets into office.

It is ten years almost to a week since I last came to see you in Ottawa. That was indeed a memorable occasion for me with all the burdens I had to bear. It was also an inspiring but formidable moment in the war. With the entry of the United States into the struggle, the pathway to victory seemed, and in fact was, open and sure. But I bore in my heart and conscience the knowledge, which I could not share with you, of immense, shattering disasters which were about to fall upon us throughout the East, as the inevitable consequence of the Japanese onslaught in vast regions where we were weak and ill-prepared to meet it.

I knew and I could feel beforehand, the heavy blows that must fall upon us, and the perils to Singapore, the Dutch East Indies, to Burma and to India itself. I had no feeling of self-reproach for not being ready then, because, between the fall of France in 1940 and Hitler's invasion of Russia in 1941, it had taken Britain and the British Empire—I hope you do not mind my using the word: it is quite a good word in its proper place—it had taken Britain and the British Empire fighting alone, every scrap of our life and strength to keep the flag of freedom flying until we were joined, as I was sure we should be, by the mighty allies who came to us. But while I spoke to you ten years ago gaily and confidently, and was sure that final victory would be gained, I felt like one about to come under the lash wielded by a strong and merciless arm.

I knew that many months must pass before the United States Navy could regain the control of the Pacific Ocean. I knew that that meant a terrible period

for us. We, with your gallant Canadian help, had to fight the Battle of the Atlantic against the U-boats—that might not be entirely overlooked I think sometimes—whose attack was ever-growing in strength and skill, and who were about to take their greatest toll along the American seaboard. An almost unbroken series of misfortunes and defeats lay before us until the battle of Alamein was won by your famous Governor General and his brilliant lieutenant, General Montgomery, and the concerted descent upon Northwest Africa by General Eisenhower's Anglo-American Army, until these great events and these great men—I think I may say that without getting at all mixed up with party politics—turned the tide of war once and for all. Until these events occurred, we could not see our way clear sufficiently through our many problems.

Your Excellency, Prime Minister: I have many Canadian memories of the war. My friend General Crerar was saying the other day how frightened I was—quite rightly—not for myself, but for my responsibility of the whole Canadian Division coming over together through the U-boats, and how I thought it might be better for them to land at separate ports in France, but he and others said they would like to take the risk. Then, I said: “The Admiralty have hardened their hearts; we will make the best arrangements in human power.” Not a man was lost. All landed safely in England. And, although the Canadian Army was very sulky and upset by being kept so long in England, we must remember the Canadian Army Group was the only really formidable force we had in our country during the period when Hitler might easily have decided to throw his effort into an invasion.

Then, afterwards, I had the honour to see your troops in Italy when I visited the Field Marshal — I beg your pardon, His Excellency — there, and also to see them when they were about to cross the Rhine. They have a great record in the war and I am proud to be able to remind you of it tonight and to have been associated with you in some of those historic occasions.

What is the scene which unfolds before us tonight? It is certainly not what we had hoped to find after all our enemies had surrendered unconditionally and the great world instrument of the United Nations had been set up to make sure that the wars were ended. It is certainly not that. Peace does not sit untroubled in her vineyard. The harvests of new and boundless wealth which science stands ready to pour into the hands of all people, and of none perhaps more than the people of Canada, must be used for exertions to ward off from us the dangers and the unimaginable horrors of another world war.

At least this time in visiting you I have no secrets to guard about the future. When I came last time I could not tell what was going to happen, because I could not make it public. This time I do not know. No one can predict with certainty what will happen. All we can see for ourselves are the strange clouds that move and gather on the horizons, sometimes so full of menace, sometimes fading away. There they are. They cast their shadow, as Mr. Truman, the President of the United States, said the other night, they cast their shadow on our life and actions.

But this time at any rate we are all united from the beginning. We all mean to stand by each other. Here in Canada, in the United States, in Britain, in Western Europe, all of us are united to defend the cause of freedom with all our strength and by that strength we hope to preserve unbroken the peace which is our heart's desire.

Your Excellency, I have spoken tonight a good deal about the past. Edmund Burke said: “People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors.”



—NFB

MR. CHURCHILL'S OTTAWA VISIT

After laying a wreath in the Memorial Chamber of the Parliament Buildings, during his visit to Ottawa January 11-15, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Winston S. Churchill, examines the Book of Remembrance in which are inscribed the names of Canadians killed during the First World War. Looking on are Senator Wishart Robertson (left), and the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis S. St. Laurent.

The past is indeed the only guide to the future. But it is the future which dominates our minds. A great future is yours in Canada.

The two world wars of the terrible 20th Century have turned the economic balance of power from the Old World to the New. It is certain that Europe could not have survived without the moral and material help which has flowed across the ocean from Canada and the United States. Now, we have the North Atlantic Treaty, which owes much to Canadian statesmanship and to the personal initiative of Mr. St. Laurent. This Treaty is not only the surest guarantee of the prevention of war but it is the sure hope of victory should our hopes of preventing war be blasted.

So far this solemn compact has been regarded only in its military aspect, but now we all feel, especially since our visit to Washington, that it is broadening out into the conception of the North Atlantic community of free nations, acting together not only for defence for a specific danger but for the welfare, happiness, and progress of all peoples of the free world. For this we require to do all in our power to promote United Europe and the design of a European Army, including Germany.

I have long been an advocate of both these ideas. We shall do all in our power to help them to fruition. That does not mean that Great Britain will become a unit in a federated Europe, nor that her army, already in line upon the

continent and to grow steadily, will be merged in such a way as to lose its identity. We stand with the United States, shoulder to shoulder with the European Army and its German element. We stand under the Supreme NATO Commander and we stand ready to face whatever aggression may fall upon us.

Now—now be careful! I am going to do something which I always warn my French friends about. I am going to speak French. The late Lord Birkenhead, whom many of you knew, said of my French that it was the best in the world. He said: "The French seem to understand it and it is the only French I have ever been able to understand." However, I will follow the example of the Prime Minister, asking for all your kindness and consideration.

In repeating what I have just said—

Jusqu'à maintenant, cette alliance a été envisagée seulement sous son aspect militaire, mais nous sentons tous, spécialement depuis notre visite à Washington, qu'elle prend une envergure à la mesure de la conception qu'ont les pays du pacte de l'Atlantique de la liberté des nations. Celles-ci agissent non seulement pour leur défense, mais pour le bien-être, le bonheur et le progrès de tous les peuples du monde libre. Pour cela, nous devons faire tout en notre pouvoir pour favoriser l'unification de l'Europe et la création d'une armée européenne incluant l'Allemagne.

Je suis depuis longtemps un défenseur de ces deux idées. Nous devons tenter l'impossible pour les réaliser. Cela ne veut pas dire que l'Angleterre deviendra une unité au sein d'une Europe fédérée, ni que son armée, déjà rangée sur le continent, et sans cesse augmentée, sera incorporée de telle façon qu'elle perdra son identité. Nous sommes prêts, de concert avec les États-Unis, aux côtés de l'armée européenne et de ses élément allemands, et sous l'autorité du commandant suprême de l'OTAN, à affronter une agression éventuellement dirigée contre nous, d'où qu'elle vienne.

Your Excellency, Prime Minister, it was only ten weeks last Friday that I accepted His Majesty's commission to form a Government in the United Kingdom. We have hardly yet had time to learn the full facts of our economic position, but what we saw at first sight convinced us of its gravity. By reducing our imports, mainly of food, by £350 million a year, and by other measures, we strove to arrest the evils which were advancing and descending upon us.

We do not intend, we do not want to live on our friends and relations, but to earn our own living and pay our own way as far as the comforts and standards of the British people are concerned. I can assure you that will be the resolve of the British nation. We gave all our strength to the last ounce during the War, and we are resolved to conquer our problems now that the War is over. The ordeal that lies before us will be hard and will not be short. We do not shrink from any measures necessary to restore confidence and to maintain solvency, however unpopular those measures may be.

Prime Minister, you have spoken in your most gracious speech, if I may apply the word, your most kindly speech, about the Crown; and you have spoken in terms which express our deepest feelings. No absolute rules can be laid down about the methods of government, but on the whole it is wise in human affairs and in the government of men to separate pomp from power. Under the long established constitutional monarchy, established over the centuries, of Britain and of the Commonwealth, the King reigns but does not govern. If a great battle is lost, Parliament and the people can turn out the Government. If a great battle is won, crowds cheer the King.

Thus while the ordinary struggles, turmoils and inevitable errors of healthy democratic government proceed, there is established upon an unchallenged pedestal

the type of deeds and the achievements of all the realms, and every generation can make its contribution to the enduring treasure of our race and fame. You spoke, Mr. Prime Minister, of the Crown as the symbol of our united life, and as the link between our vigorous communities spread about the surface of the globe. But perhaps you will allow me tonight to pass from the constitutional to the personal sphere. Besides the Crown there is the King. We have a truly beloved King. In constitutional duty he is faultless. In physical and moral courage he is an example to all his peoples. We are proud to pay him our tribute; and this is no formal salute of loyalty but an expression of our deepest natural feelings.

Here in Canada you have had what might be called a wonderful visit. Princess Elizabeth and her husband have travelled the length and breadth of what you will not mind my styling the great Dominion. They have left behind them a long and lasting trail of confidence, encouragement and unity.

I claim here in Ottawa that tonight in our gathering here we make a valiant and, I believe, unconquerable assertion of the spirit of our combined identity and survival. We have surmounted all the perils and endured all the agonies of the past. We shall provide against and thus prevail over the dangers and problems of the future, if we will withhold no sacrifice, grudge no toil, seek no sordid gain, fear no foe. All will be well. We have, I believe, within us the life, strength and guiding light by which the tormented world around us may find its harbour of safety after a storm-beaten voyage.

This year will mark the 85th anniversary of Canada's Confederation. A magnificent future awaits Canada if only we can get through the present hideous world muddle. When I first came here after the Boer War, these mighty lands had but 5 million inhabitants. Now there are 14 million. When my grandchildren come here there may well be 30 million. Upon the whole surface of the globe there is no more spacious and splendid domain open to the activity and genius of free men, with one hand clasping in enduring friendship the United States, and the other spread across the ocean both to Britain and to France. You have a sacred mission to discharge. That you will be worthy of it I do not doubt. God bless you all.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Within the last century an acute new problem has developed in mankind's age-old struggle for subsistence. Progressive application of scientific knowledge to the problems of providing for material human needs, together with the rapid spread of social reform, has resulted in a state of affairs in which the rate of increase of the world's population has outstripped that at which food can be produced. The last fifteen years have witnessed a 12 per cent growth in the population of the globe but no more than a 9 per cent increase in its production of food. The present population rise of 1 per cent per annum, when translated into figures representing human beings, reveals the startling fact that there are between 55,000 and 60,000 new mouths to be fed every day.

The chief credit for bringing the countries of the world together to seek ways of narrowing the gap between the population and the food supply must be given to the late President Roosevelt, who convened at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May 1945, a conference that was attended by representatives of forty-four nations. A second meeting, in October of the same year, formally established the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. This international agency, which started with forty-four member nations, had, by 1951, increased its membership to sixty-eight.

In the governing body of the FAO, called the Conference, each member possesses a single vote. The Conference originally met annually, but now meets at two-year intervals. Between sessions, the Council, the executive body of the FAO, takes such action as may be necessary. Council membership, consisting of eighteen nations (of which Canada is at present one), is elected for two years. The Council refers to the Conference, for approval and guidance, important matters on which it has acted, and adopts the policies laid down by the parent body. The present Chairman of the Council is the noted Brazilian nutritionist, Josue de Castro. The FAO as a whole contains five technical divisions — Agriculture, Economics, Fisheries, Forestry and Nutrition.

Heading the staff is the Director-General. The present holder of this office is Norris E. Dodd, a former United States Assistant Secretary of Agriculture. Both the Director-General and the Chairman of the Council are elected by the Conference for a two-year term. The Director-General has under him the General Secretariat, the Special Assistants and the Area Liaison Service, which staffs the regional offices for North America, Latin America, Asia and the Far East, the Near East and Europe.

Aims and Functions

The aims of the FAO are "to raise levels of nutrition and standards of living of the peoples of all countries; to secure improvements in the efficiency of production and distribution of all food and agricultural products; to better the conditions of rural populations and thus contribute towards an expanding world economy". Its main functions in pursuit of these objects are four:

- (1) It provides a world advisory service, which mobilizes scientific knowledge to help increase production, improve handling and processing and make better distribution of farm and fisheries products. Much of this work directly affects the economic improvement of under-developed areas.
- (2) It provides a forum where member governments can discuss problems requiring international co-operation and work out solutions to them.

- (3) It makes available to member governments information of all sorts on agriculture, fisheries, food, forestry and nutrition.
- (4) It endeavours to predict production and consumption trends and the development of international trade in food and agricultural commodities.

Technical Assistance Projects

Of great importance among the activities of the FAO has been its participation in the Technical Assistance Programme of the United Nations. Within the framework of the Programme, the Organization has signed 144 basic agreements with forty-eight countries and territories. There are, at present, either in the field or just returned from completing short-term assignments, 266 experts whose services have been made available by the Organization to member countries requiring technical advice. Already recruited or actually en route to assume their duties are another forty-five specialists. The 107 vacancies that remain are to be attributed either to the seasonal nature of the projects for which experts have been sought or to the fact that certain governments are not yet ready to receive the specialists they have requested. Of the total number of experts now in the field or awaiting their appointments, 143 specialize in agriculture, forty-two in forestry, eleven in fisheries and twenty in nutrition. The majority of the experts provided by the FAO are recruited from member nations, the rest being members of the Organization's permanent staff.

The FAO does not make technical assistance available unconditionally. The Organization pays the expert's salary and his travelling expenses to and from the country he is serving; but the government requesting his services is expected to pay part, if not the whole, of his subsistence and travelling-expenses within the country and to provide him with such office-space and clerical assistance as he may need.

In countries receiving technical assistance, the FAO co-operates with such missions from other UN agencies as may be present, in order to ensure that the various kinds of assistance complement rather than duplicate one another.

A striking illustration of the work being done by the FAO under the Technical Assistance Programme is the world-wide campaign against rinderpest, the most notorious killer of livestock known to veterinary science. This highly contagious pestilence sometimes destroys between 75 and 90 per cent of the livestock in countries to which it gains entry. The seriousness of such a calamity to the many backward regions where cattle are used not only for food but as the only source of power for ploughing and hauling can scarcely be exaggerated.

The FAO contributes to the struggle against rinderpest by serving as a centre for the collection and distribution of the most up-to-date information available on the production and use of cheap vaccines. Teams of FAO specialists have vaccinated cattle in Thailand, Ethiopia and China. Thailand has, as a result, been free from the disease since 1949. During 1951, about one million cattle were vaccinated in Ethiopia, and that country, which possesses about 18 million head, is expected to be free of the pest within a few years.

Assistance provided to Pakistan affords a second illustration of the activities of the FAO under the Technical Assistance Programme. Pakistan is at present planning a comprehensive pattern of projects for the development of modern methods in irrigation, drainage, land reclamation, grain-storage, livestock breeding, marketing, the use of fertilizers, forestry, fisheries and economic and statistical services. The plan requires the services of thirty FAO experts for periods ranging from three months to a year.

A second programme, related to that described above, makes 260 fellowships available each year to government officials and senior professional men of some thirty



—Publifoto

FAO in PLENARY SESSION

Shown above is a plenary meeting of the Sixth Session of the Conference of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization, held in Rome during November and December 1951.

countries. Applicants are required to possess experience in the fields in which they wish to hold their grants. Their work is supposed to be directly related to the technical assistance received by their countries.

Similar projects have been fostered in Ecuador, where a United States expert has taught new techniques to Indian weavers; in Costa Rica, where modern grain-handling methods have been introduced, and in numerous other parts of the world.*

Sixth Conference of FAO

The 1951 Conference of the FAO was held in Rome from November 19 to December 9. Besides reviewing the Organization's accomplishment during the year, the meeting outlined the policies and plans of the FAO for the period between this session and the next, to be held in 1953. Emphasis was placed on the importance of extension services in under-developed countries. A Standing Co-ordinating Committee, composed of seven experts, was established, the functions of which would be to review progress, to consider broad fields of activity and to advise the Director-General on the co-ordination of activities.

The Working Party on the Programme of Work and Associated Long-Term Problems, a continuing committee reporting to the Conference before each session, presented a set of principles, paramount among which was the urgency of increasing the world supply of food as fast as possible — by expanding production and reducing waste, by concentration on activities both of benefit to the largest possible number of countries and most likely to produce early results, and by aiming at the highest pos-

* Full details can be found in the annual report of the Director-General of the FAO, entitled "The Work of FAO 1950 '51".

sible standard of service. Steps were taken to guarantee prompt reports on the development of food shortages anywhere in the world. The Conference also instructed the Council to establish an emergency food reserve, which could be made available quickly to member nations threatened by, or actually suffering from, food scarcity or famine.

Conference support was given to the programme of work on the utilization and conservation of land and water resources. Canada brought to the attention of the meeting its activities in this field and offered to provide assistance in training Fellows seeking FAO grants to study these subjects.

The Conference urged members to take immediate steps to put into effect a resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations calling for land reform. Specifically, they were asked to co-operate with the Organization in supplying information on land-reform matters, to participate in investigations and to seek the assistance of the FAO in carrying through their own agrarian reforms. To illustrate what was being done in Italy, delegates were invited to attend a ceremony at Cerveteri marking the transfer of land to the ownership of tenant farmers.

During the Conference an important revision to the International Plant Protection Convention of 1929 was adopted. The purpose of this agreement is to prevent the spread of plant diseases across international boundaries in shipments of plants and plant products. The revised convention was signed by forty member nations, subject to ratification by their government. The Canadian delegation took an important part in drafting it.

The Conference was gravely concerned by the fact that food production in large areas of the world was not keeping pace with the increase of population. It has been established that world production of the principal food crops during 1951 and 1952 will slightly exceed that for 1949-50 and will be about 9 per cent greater than the totals for pre-war years between 1934 and 1939. As a result of rapid increases in the population of the world, present *per capita* supplies of food are below the unsatisfactory pre-war levels. Moreover, the increase in production has not been uniform throughout the world. While a substantial increase over pre-war levels has occurred in certain areas, notably those that normally produce surpluses, production in many European and Far Eastern countries has remained below pre-war standards. Thus a situation has come about in which those peoples who were well-fed before the war have as much food as ever (or even more), whereas those who were hungry before are now even hungrier. As a result, countries experiencing scarcity have become dependent for their supplies of many foods, to a greater degree than ever before, on the hard currency countries of the Western Hemisphere — and this at a time when their dollar-reserves have been seriously depleted.

In the endeavour to alleviate this situation, the Conference agreed on the following policies:

- (a) Adoption by member nations of agricultural programmes, suited to their special conditions, aimed at a balanced increase in world production of basic foods and other essential agricultural products of at least 1 to 2 per cent a year in excess of the rate of population growth during the next five years;
- (b) Establishment of extension and educational programmes adequate to ensure to farmers the technical knowledge they require to increase production;
- (c) Reform of agrarian structures in many countries where, owing to the uneconomic size of farms, fragmentation of holdings, maldistribution of landed property, excessive rents, inequitable taxes, insecurity of tenure, perpetual

indebtedness and the lack of clear title to land and water, improvement in agricultural production has been impeded;

- (d) Provision of sufficient capital for agricultural development through national and international effort.

The importance to the success of any scheme for agricultural expansion of convincing farmers that they would be able to dispose of their produce at reasonable prices in secure and stable markets led the Conference to prolong the life of the Committee on Commodity Problems. This body, comprising representatives of fourteen nations including Canada, was established for the purpose of considering commodity surpluses and deficits and of serving as a forum where member nations could discuss the promotion of appropriate international action. The Committee helps plan the movement of surplus supplies from countries producing them to countries with food deficits. In addition it studies measures for improving the conditions of agricultural marketing both on the national and international scales.

The Organization received a budget of \$5,250,000 a year for the period 1952-53 — an increase of \$250,000 over the allowances for previous years. The contribution of Canada was set at \$238,350 (4.54 per cent) for 1952 and \$249,900 (4.76 per cent) for 1953. The United Kingdom assessment was 14.35 per cent and 15.03 per cent and that of the United States was 30 per cent for both years.

Canadian Participation

The participation of Canada in the activities of the FAO since its establishment has been more important than is perhaps generally realized. Several eminent Canadians have been members of the FAO staff or closely associated with the Organization from the start. The Canadian delegation to the recent Conference meeting consisted of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. James G. Gardiner, Dr. G. S. H. Barton, special assistant to the Minister, Dr. H. H. Hannam, President of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, and several government experts in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, forestry and nutrition.

Dr. Barton was one of the founders of the FAO. As Deputy Minister of Agriculture from 1932 to 1949, and more recently as special assistant to Mr. Gardiner, he has made invaluable contributions to the progress of the Organization. He has held the Chairmanship of both the FAO Council and the Committee on Commodity Problems and has been a member of the Working Party on the Programme of Work and Associated Long-Term Problems. Although he retired from the Government service in January of this year, Dr. Barton will continue his connection with the activities of the FAO as one of the seven members of the Standing Co-ordinating Committee that advises the Director-General.

Of the 600 permanent staff members of the FAO, about thirty are Canadians, who serve in all phases of the Organization's activities. Among the more prominent are Dr. L. E. Kirk, former Dean of the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. D. B. Finn, former Deputy Minister of Fisheries, Dr. D. Roy Cameron, former Dominion Forester and Dr. E. S. Archibald, former Director of the Dominion Experimental Farms Service, who is now head of the FAO mission to Ethiopia. In addition, several technical and professional men from Canada have served in various parts of the world as experts in agriculture, fisheries and forestry.

During the recent Conference, Mr. Pearson, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, one of the founders of the FAO, said, in a speech recalling the establishment and history of the Organization, "... FAO has gone on from achievement

to achievement — achievement often without the spectacular, which is a contrast to some of the international work of recent years, where we have the spectacular without the achievement.” This was deserved praise. Now in its seventh year, the FAO has secured itself a role of enduring importance in the universal struggle for peace and prosperity. The preliminary work to determine the food requirements of the globe having been completed, it can be said with truth that the ideals that inspired the Hot Springs Conference are, slowly but surely, being realized in action.



THE FAO CONFERENCE IN ROME

Dr. G. S. H. Barton, Special Assistant to the Minister of Agriculture, signs the International Plant Protection Convention, during the Sixth Session of the Conference of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization in Rome. Behind Dr. Barton is the Director-General of FAO, Mr. Norris E. Dodd.

SOME ASPECTS OF FOREIGN SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

The snow had been falling steadily for several days and it was icy on the streets: perhaps there would be good skiing this week-end. He brought his attention back to the man across the desk who was speaking to him.

We would like to post you to Prague in three months. We need a Clerk, Grade IV, there on the establishment. If there are any reasons involving your family which would make this difficult . . .

Prague. Three months. Could he rent the house? How much was the mortgage? Would there be schools for the children?

I'd like to talk to my wife. Could I let you know in a few days?

The decision was made. He was to leave with his family in the middle of February. A short time to make all the preparations necessary for a two and a half years' stay in Czechoslovakia. He had been able to rent the house furnished, but he still had his old car to sell.

Then there were the children's clothing and food, drugs, toilet articles and other supplies for two years which had to be bought. The clothing was a problem as they had to buy to allow for the children's growth. It needed capital to make these purchases, but he was able to receive a loan from the department, which he could repay from his salary over a period of 28 months.

Living costs in Prague seemed to be pretty high by Ottawa standards. They would, however, receive a living allowance designed to meet higher costs of living there, which, added to his salary, should meet their expenses. In addition he would receive a bonus of 10 per cent of his salary for services at this Iron Curtain post. Although it wouldn't lessen the isolation and the inconvenience, it made them seem a little less painful.

He had written one of the staff there about a place to live. It seemed the kind of accommodation he would need was scarce in Prague. However, if they were lucky and his efforts didn't get bogged down in Czechoslovak red tape, they might get something. If the rent was over \$35 the department would pay the extra amount up to \$70. If they had to go over this figure his share would be 25 per cent and the department would pay 75 per cent. This would mean he could at least count on a roof over his head at a reasonable rent.

Special Training

Apart from the many personal arrangements he had to make, as his training in the department had been principally in registry work, he was to receive during the weeks before his departure special training in a number of subjects about which he had only a limited knowledge. It seemed that in a small mission, each member of the staff is expected to be a jack-of-all-trades. He, therefore, was to receive training in accounts, consular work, communications, leave and attendance, and pay and allowance procedures.

In addition he had to start learning Czech. He found a refugee who could give him lessons. He was able to receive up to \$25.00 a month to help meet the cost of these lessons. If he was able to find a teacher in Prague he could continue to receive this language tuition subsidy until he was sufficiently fluent to take a language examination. If he was successful in the examination, he would then receive an allowance of \$15.00 a month while he continued to use Czech in his work. He was able to

borrow Czech linguaphone records from the department which he and his wife were able to use in the evening.

It was necessary for him and his family to be inoculated and immunized against small pox, typhus and typhoid. It was a nuisance, but then he supposed they were lucky as a posting to a tropical country would require a few more. He was able to have these inoculations done at public expense for himself through the Department of National Health and Welfare. At the same time, if he wished, he was able to receive a thorough medical examination including an X-ray, the results of which would be placed on file in that department for future use if this were found necessary. In the case of his children and his wife, he was obliged to have them treated and examined by their family doctor. The cost of inoculation could be met by the department, the examination, however, was at his expense.

As the time passed he became anxious about the sale of his car. In addition to it being a bad season of the year for selling a car, the market for cars, new and used, was at its worst for several years. He hadn't received even a nibble, although he had done everything he could to advertise it.

When you don't move for a number of years, and he hadn't moved outside of Ottawa since they were married, it is surprising how many belongings one can accumulate. Although they were renting the house furnished they had a great quantity of items of a personal nature, such as children's toys, pictures, gardening tools, books, phonograph, radios, etc., which had to be put in storage while they were away. The cost of crating and storing these was paid for by the department.

He found that another drawback to never having moved from Ottawa lay in their lack of adequate trunks and suitcases. He had to buy two strong wardrobe trunks and two large suitcases, which at present day prices took quite a sizeable chunk out of the loan he had received from the department.

The week before he left he was obliged to sell his car at a price considerably below the amount he had hoped to get. There was no way of being recompensed for such losses, which it seemed were merely part of the game.

They had to vacate their house a few days before they were to leave Ottawa as their tenant was anxious to move in on the day on which his lease took effect. They were able to go to an hotel for that time at public expense. They had rather looked forward to this part of the trip as they had counted on catching their breath after several days of hectic packing and preparation. They hadn't reckoned on the children, however, who didn't take well to hotel life, and could be kept in their room only with the greatest difficulty. They couldn't leave them for a moment and to get a "sitter" at the last minute wasn't possible. As a result, they weren't sorry when the train pulled out of the Union Station.

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The railway coach in which they were riding was cold, and they had to keep their coats on. The train drew to a halt. Clouds of steam leaking from a connecting hose partially obscured their view of the railway station which marked the border. They could hear compartment doors being opened in their carriage.

"Cestovné Pasy Prosim."

He reached for his suitcase and took out their four passports.

Arrival Abroad

Their arrival in Prague was uneventful. They were met at the station and settled into an hotel where they stayed until he was lucky enough to find a small apartment not far from the Hradcany. During the time they were in the hotel he was able to

charge the meals and the cost of their rooms to the department, which, considering the cost of everything, was just as well. When they moved into their apartment he began to receive his living allowances. For the first two months he was able to receive these allowances from the post until arrangements could be made to have his allowance cheques issued regularly. His salary cheques, of course, continued in the regular way.

The view from their apartment overlooking the city was magnificent, which made up for its smallness. There were only two bedrooms which made it crowded. However, his wife was satisfied as it meant a good deal less work for her. He was able to arrange to have the oldest child attend an English school which had been organized and maintained by some members of foreign missions in Prague. As the older boy was 7, he was able to receive from the department a maximum of \$200 a year to help to meet the cost of the tuition fees. The younger boy, being only four, couldn't qualify for an education allowance, although he attended the kindergarten, as this was the only opportunity for him to play with other children speaking English.

Several weeks passed. They were well installed now and life although not normal was more settled. He had spent the better part of the afternoon in a government warehouse arranging for the release of office supplies from Canada. As he walked across the square, the snow began to fall again obscuring the buildings and dimming the street lights. He wondered if the skiing in the Gatineau would be good this week-end.

. . . .

This story is, of course, repeated in different circumstances many times during each year as members of the foreign service are moved abroad and returned to Canada. Because most of its members are liable for foreign service, the administration of the Department of External Affairs assumes dual aspects, probably not found to the same degree in any other department of government. On the one hand there are the normal problems of administration which face any department of government in Ottawa. Superimposed on the same framework are the additional and unusual problems of administering a foreign service. The difficulties of developing a diplomatic service have been magnified in Canada, because it has had to be done to a pattern at times ill designed for these purposes. Very often the rules and procedures so carefully worked out for the conduct of business in government departments in Ottawa are impossible to apply in the operation of a foreign service. It has been necessary, therefore, to devise new rules and new procedures, the evolution of which continues, often at a painfully slow pace.

Administrative Machinery Developed

Not least among the problems facing the Department of External Affairs has been the development of administrative machinery capable of making possible the proper maintenance abroad of individual members of the foreign service. Like members of an army in the field, members of the foreign service have to be fed, quartered, equipped and maintained before they can carry out their work. In certain places where living conditions are exceedingly difficult it has been necessary, literally, to do this. Normally, however, individual members of the foreign service are expected to find their own accommodation and to feed themselves out of their salaries and their allowances. Office equipment and supplies of many kinds have to be provided to them to permit them to do their work properly, which is, of course, a separate problem.

The problems facing the Clerk, Grade IV, posted to Prague are not the same as the problems facing the Stenographer, Grade III, posted to New Delhi, or the Foreign Service Officer sent to Tokyo or to Buenos Aires. There are problems of

administration concerning the maintenance of individuals and their families in foreign service which have common features. The difficulty has been to devise basic principles which are sufficiently broad and flexible to make it possible to meet all the variations which arise out of the conditions of foreign service.

To ensure that equal treatment is accorded to individuals in various countries, serving under widely differing conditions, has only been possible through the gradual development of a proper system of allowances. This has not been easy as prior to 1946 there was no comprehensive system of allowance based on principles which could be used throughout the service. These principles had to be carefully worked out, and, with experience in their application, suitably adjusted from time to time.

Allowance Structure

It is not proposed to discuss here the manner of calculation of foreign service allowances or their composition. Suffice it to say there are living allowances and various other allowances which when taken together with salary, are calculated to maintain an employee's Canadian standard of living and to enable him to do his job. These allowances are established by the Treasury Board, but their administration and the responsibility for suggesting changes in them rests with departments of government having employees abroad.

Very often, it becomes necessary to seek changes designed to overcome deficiencies in the allowance structure. It is not possible, nor would it be good practice to seek to make changes on an ad hoc basis. Thus, where a serious fault is found to exist the implications of seeking to correct it must be carefully studied from the point of view of its effect throughout the foreign service. For instance, in many parts of the world recently there has been a tendency on the part of landlords to augment the amount of their normal rentals, which often are fixed by law, by the imposition of surcharges. Unusual and sometimes exorbitant charges in the form of "key money" or "decoration expenses" must be met before accommodation can be secured. Permanent residents are little affected by these practices. Members of the foreign service, on the other hand, who must take what they can find and for relatively short periods of time, cannot escape these extra financial burdens. The rental allowances as they were first conceived did not make provision for meeting such expenses. Although this was soon evident, it took months of research to collate the information required to have the regulations amended to meet this situation.

There are other aspects of the administration of the foreign service sometimes taken for granted, which cause problems in matters generally regarded as routine and straightforward in most departments. For instance, in the foreign service the payments of salaries and other monies assumes unusual aspects. During every month of 1951, there were an average of 388 Canadian members of this department abroad. Because it is necessary to move staff frequently and because of the variety of payments which must be made in the foreign service, the work connected with payments of all kinds to employees in the department is much greater than is the case in the average government department. Much of the work is occasioned by the procedures laid down in the various statutes which it has been found necessary in controlling public monies.

Again in most government departments the issue of cheques is regarded as a relatively simple operation. Usually it is handed to the employee. In the case of staff abroad this isn't possible. The cheque has either to be mailed to the individual, or to be deposited to his bank account in Canada. In both cases, speed and accuracy are of the essence, as the cheque must be available to the employee on its date of

maturity. Difficulties of communication and differences in banking methods make it necessary for some employees to receive their cheques by diplomatic mail. At present there are approximately ninety employees who have elected to receive their cheques by this means at posts as far distant as Karachi and Buenos Aires. The preparation and issue of cheques to these employees, therefore, has to be timed to meet many different mailing schedules throughout the world. The majority of employees are able to receive their cheques through normal banking channels. It is of importance to the stenographer in Paris, in Wellington or in Pretoria seeking to negotiate a draft on her bank account in Canada, however, to have her cheques deposited on their date of maturity. This presents a problem as there are eighty-six branches of banks across Canada from Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to Vancouver, where cheques of employees must be deposited.

The aspects of administration touched upon in this article represent only some of the problems which must be dealt with continually in order to make it possible for members of the foreign service to do their work. The general aim, of course, is to operate the foreign service as efficiently and as economically as possible. However, it seems impossible to establish a static administrative framework with which to work toward that goal. As conditions change and fresh problems arise so must administrative techniques and methods be revised. What will work in Pretoria possibly cannot be made to work efficiently in Shanghai. The administrative problem in Tokyo may be similar, in principle, to the problem in Oslo, but the manner of its resolution may have to be quite different.



NORTH PACIFIC FISHERIES CONVENTION

The International Convention for the High Seas Fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean initialled in Tokyo on December 14, 1951, by Canadian, Japanese and United States representatives provides a constructive solution to perhaps the major problem between these three countries left unresolved by the Japanese Peace Treaty. The danger that friendly relations between the United States and Canada on the one hand and Japan on the other might be spoiled by a dispute over fishing areas in the North Pacific has been reduced. This new Convention provides a procedure for co-operation between these three countries in the development and proper utilization of the high seas fisheries of the North Pacific and suggests principles which may be helpful in drawing up agreements for international fisheries co-operation elsewhere. It protects the joint Canada-United States conservation programmes for salmon and halibut and the Canadian conservation programme for herring. It leaves undisturbed the complex web of fisheries agreements and arrangements between Canada and the United States and it provides through the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission the machinery for future co-operation among the three countries in the development of the fisheries resources of the North Pacific Ocean.

There has been concern during recent years on the part of the west coast fishermen of Canada and the United States that, after the occupation of Japan ends, Japanese fishermen might come over and fish the stocks of salmon and halibut that the west coast fishermen have built up to commercially valuable levels by joint observance of scientifically directed conservation programmes. There was reason for this concern. The Japanese have been excluded since the end of the war from the commercially valuable salmon and crab fisheries they had formerly exploited along the Siberian coast and off the Kurile Archipelago. There was a temptation for them to find compensation in the fisheries of the East Pacific. In 1937, Japanese factory ships began fishing for red salmon in Bristol Bay, off Alaska, and were warned off in a stiff note by the United States Government. This incursion took place at a time when some Japanese fishermen resident in British Columbia and on the west coast of the United States had got a bad reputation for themselves and their countrymen by their failure to observe fishing regulations. Before the war, Japan also had a bad reputation for its unwillingness to abide by the terms of the International Whaling Convention. The war increased the demand that the United States and Canadian Governments take firm measures to protect the conserved fisheries of the Pacific Coast.

Halibut and Salmon Commissions Established

Pacific halibut, which were decreasing in numbers because of too intensive fishing, were brought under scientific study by the creation of a Canada-United States International Pacific Halibut Commission in 1924. Later this Commission was given the power in a new treaty of 1937 to direct joint regulation of halibut fishing. Similarly, in 1930 an International Pacific Salmon Fisheries Commission was established by treaty to restore the once-valuable sockeye salmon run of Puget Sound and the Gulf of Georgia.

Generally speaking, Canada's fisheries conservation policy has provided for constant biological and scientific study of the various species of fish at fishery biological stations on the Pacific coast.

On the basis of these scientific investigations and general experience, the Government regulates the fisheries as necessary. The right of fishing is withheld by opening and closing fishing seasons, by having closed areas, by regulating mesh sizes of fish-nets to allow escape of small fish, by having quotas on the catch, and

the like. To give effect to these measures, fisheries acts and regulations are passed by the Canadian Parliament and enforced by fisheries officers on land and fishery patrol vessels at sea.

These steps have been at substantial cost to the Government, and to the Canadian fishing industry as well. For example, the whole quota of halibut allowed to the fishermen of Canada and the United States is now caught in one month's time, leaving special gear unused for the remainder of the year. In salmon, fishing during the season is closed for three days every week, leaving boats tied up and canneries idle. In these ways, the fishing industry contributes to the costs of conservation. The annual run of fish like salmon that come into Canadian rivers to spawn and to grow through their first year, involves other costs. Those wishing to build dams for the generation of power have to accept restrictions. They are asked not to use for industrial purposes the rivers that are frequented by the largest runs of salmon. They are asked to provide fishways around dams, to prevent pollution of the streams and to install other devices for the protection of the salmon.

It appeared to the Canadian and United States Governments, therefore, that, when fisheries were scientifically studied, legally managed, and fished to the maximum extent compatible with a continued high level of productivity, the entry of fishermen of another country which had had no part in developing, conserving and paying for the management of the fishery would discourage those who had exercised self-denial to conserve the fishery. This would be particularly true if the high level of productivity maintained in such fisheries as salmon and halibut by intelligent management was an important factor in enticing the fishermen of other countries to enter these fisheries. The only way to encourage fish conservation is to ensure that the fishermen of the country that has accepted restraints and has supported the research programmes will reap the benefits of the maintained and increased productivity resulting from such measures.

A good many people in Canada and the United States hoped that the threat of Japanese entry into the East Pacific fisheries could be taken care of in the Japanese Peace Treaty. However, it was found that it was not practical to try to determine Japan's future fisheries relations with its Pacific neighbours in the Peace Treaty itself. Instead, with a view to setting at rest the concern of the various fishing countries, Prime Minister Yoshida in a letter of February 7, 1951, promised that, pending negotiation of fisheries agreements with interested governments, "the Japanese Government will, as a voluntary act, implying no waiver of their international rights, prohibit their resident nationals and vessels from carrying on fishing operations in presently conserved fisheries in all waters where arrangements have already been made, either by international or domestic act, to protect the fisheries from over-harvesting, and in which fisheries Japanese nationals or vessels were not in the year 1940 conducting operations".

Peace Treaty Provisions

Article IX of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, signed at San Francisco on September 8, 1951, provided that "Japan will enter promptly into negotiations with the Allied Powers so desiring for the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral agreements providing for the regulation or limitation of fishing and the conservation and development of fisheries on the high seas". The Japanese Government accordingly invited the Governments of Canada and the United States to send representatives to Tokyo for a tripartite fisheries conference to begin November 5, 1951.

The meetings were held in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Gaimusho). At the first plenary session it was agreed that during the conference the Japanese Government would negotiate on a basis of "*ad hoc* sovereign equality with the



INITIALING OF THE NORTH PACIFIC FISHERIES CONVENTION IN TOKYO, DECEMBER 14, 1951

The Japanese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr. Ryutaro Nemoto, signs the Convention in the presence of (left to right): the Japanese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sadao Iguchi; the Special Assistant to the United States Under-Secretary of State and Chief of the United States Delegation, Mr. W. C. Herrington; Mr. Warren F. Looney, Office of the Special Assistant to the United States Under-Secretary of State; the Canadian Deputy Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Stewart Bates; and the Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Japan, Mr. A. R. Menzies.

Governments of Canada and the United States". It was decided that all proceedings of the Conference would be conducted in the English and Japanese languages. While full translation slowed down the work of the Conference, it did ensure full understanding on the part of all attending. The Japanese Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Honourable Ryutaro Nemoto, was elected honorary chairman of the Conference, and the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sadao Iguchi, was elected permanent chairman. The work of the Conference was divided between a Committee on Principles and Drafting and a Committee on Biology and Conservation. The chairmanships of these Committees rotated daily.

The Canadian Delegation

The Canadian Delegation was headed by the Minister of Fisheries, Mr. Robert W. Mayhew, who stayed for the first two weeks of the Conference; Mr. Stewart Bates, Deputy Minister of Fisheries, was Vice-Chairman of the Delegation. Other members were Mr. E. T. Applewhaite, Member of Parliament for Skeena, Mr. Arthur R. Menzies, Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission in Japan, Mr. Samuel V. Ozère, Legal Adviser, Department of Fisheries, Dr. John L. Hart, Director, Pacific Biological Station, Mr. John M. Buchanan, President, B.C. Packers, Limited. The United States Delegation was headed by Mr. William C. Harrington of the Department of State and included Mr. Milton C. James of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the United States, Mr. Warren F. Looney, Department of State, and advisers from the fishing industry. The Japanese Delegation included Mr. Iwao Fujita, Director, Fisheries Agency, Mr. Jun Tsuchiya, Director, European and American Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and advisers from the Japanese fishing

industry. Throughout the six weeks of meetings, there was a full and frank discussion of the present and potential fisheries problems of the Pacific Ocean.

The Convention finally agreed upon may be divided into two main parts. One provides the incentive and encouragement for the signatory governments working individually or working in co-operation to regulate the harvesting of fully utilized stocks of fish of the high seas, on the basis of sound and extensive scientific research, for the purpose of obtaining the maximum continued yield. The second part provides the machinery—the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission—for co-operation among the three countries in the scientific study and management for conservation purposes, of any stocks of fish in the North Pacific Ocean which are now, or in the future may be, jointly harvested by two or more of the countries and which are in need of such study or management.

Article IV

In Article IV, the signatories agree to abstain from their right under international law to take part in fishing for a specific stock of fish when

- (a) evidence based upon scientific research indicates that more intensive exploitation of the stock will not provide a substantial increase in yield which can be sustained year after year;
- (b) the exploitation of the stock is limited or otherwise regulated through legal measures by each Party which is substantially engaged in its exploitation, for the purpose of maintaining or increasing its maximum sustained productivity; such limitations and regulations being in accordance with conservation programmes based upon scientific research; and
- (c) the stock is the subject of extensive scientific study designed to discover whether the stock is being fully utilized and the conditions necessary for maintaining its maximum sustained productivity.

Provided, however, that no recommendation shall be made for abstention by a Contracting Party concerned with regard to: (1) any stock of fish which at any time during the twenty-five years next preceding the entry into force of this Convention has been under substantial exploitation by that Party; (2) any stock of fish which is harvested in greater part by a country or countries not party to this Convention; (3) waters in which there is historic intermingling of fishing operations of the Parties concerned, intermingling of the stocks of fish exploited by these operations, and a long-established history of joint conservation and regulation among the Parties concerned so that there is consequent impracticability of segregating the operations and administering control. It is recognized that the conditions specified in subdivision (3) of this proviso apply to Canada and the United States of America in the waters off the Pacific Coast of the United States of America and Canada from and including the waters of the Gulf of Alaska southward and, therefore, no recommendation shall be made for abstention by either the United States of America or Canada in such waters.

As a result of careful study in the Committee on Biology and Conservation, it was agreed that initially Japan would abstain from fishing halibut, salmon and herring in the waters off the west coast of North America. Canada agreed to abstain from fishing for salmon in the East Bering Sea. These original undertakings to abstain remain in force for five years. After that, agreement to abstain may be withdrawn on recommendation of the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission, should the Commission find that these fisheries no longer qualify for abstention under the above principles.

The Commission is to be made up of three national sections, each consisting of not more than four members. All decisions of the Commission are to be made by unanimous vote. The Commission is to meet at least once a year, the first

meeting taking place in the United States. No decision was made concerning a permanent seat for the Commission. The Commission is to review the stocks of fish from which the Contracting Parties have agreed to abstain from fishing to see if the stock continues to qualify for abstention. If it does, it will so recommend. If it does not, the Commission will recommend arrangements for wider participation. The Commission will also study, on request of a Contracting Party, any stock of fish for the purpose of determining whether such stock qualifies for abstention under the provisions of Article IV or whether some other joint conservation arrangements would be more suitable. Regular reports on the conservation measures adopted from time to time relating to stocks of fish from which one or more of the Parties has agreed to abstain are to be filed with the Commission.

The Parties to the Convention undertake that, if they have agreed to abstain from fishing any particular stock of fish, they will prohibit their nationals and fishing vessels from engaging in fishing, loading, processing, possessing or transporting such fish. They agree to enact and enforce the necessary laws and regulations to give effect to the provisions of the Convention. Furthermore, there is a provision that when a fishing vessel of a Contracting Party has been found in waters in which that Party has agreed to abstain from fishing a stock or stocks of fish, the properly authorized officials of any Contracting Party may board such vessel to inspect its equipment, books, documents and other articles and question the persons on board. If violation is detected or seriously suspected, the suspected person or vessel may be arrested or seized and later turned over with the necessary evidence to an authorized official of the country to which such person or vessel belongs. It is the responsibility of these authorities to try the case and impose appropriate penalties.

This Convention was recommended to the Government of Canada, Japan and the United States in resolutions adopted and signed at the final meeting on December 14, 1951. Mr. Stewart Bates and Mr. Arthur Menzies signed for Canada. When the Japanese Peace Treaty has come into force it is recommended that the Convention should be signed and ratifications exchanged in Tokyo. The Convention will come into force on the date of the exchange of ratifications and continue in force for a period of ten years and thereafter until one year from the day on which a Contracting Party shall give notice to the other Contracting Parties of an intention of terminating the Convention.

THE UNITED KINGDOM OF LIBYA

On December 24, 1951, Emir Mohamed Idriss el Mahdi es Senussi proclaimed the former Italian colony in North Africa a free and independent sovereign state to be known as the United Kingdom of Libya. By the terms of the constitution which had been drafted by representatives of the Libyan people, the Emir acceded to the throne of the new state as King Idriss I. Due credit for the attainment of independence by this former colony must be given to the United Nations as well as to those states which have, since the Second World War, been administering the area pending agreement on its eventual status.

Following the cessation of hostilities in North Africa in 1943 responsibility for the three territories of Libya was assumed by the United Kingdom (for Cyrenaica and Tripolitania) and by France (for the Fezzan). By the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Italy the disposal of the former Italian colonies was left in the hands of the Council of the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, the United States and the U.S.S.R. The Council was to be guided in its decisions by the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants of the former colonies and by the interests of peace and security. The Treaty of Peace made further provision that if the Council of the Foreign Ministers should be unable to reach agreement on the matter within a year of the coming into force of the Treaty the question was to be automatically referred to the General Assembly of the United Nations for a recommendation, which the four powers bound themselves to accept. In the event, no agreement on this matter was reached by the Council within the time limit prescribed and it accordingly fell to the General Assembly to make the required recommendations.

Resolution Adopted

At its Fourth Session in New York in 1949 the General Assembly adopted a resolution recommending that Libya, comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the Fezzan, be constituted an independent and sovereign state not later than January 1, 1952, and that a constitution for the new state, including the form of government, be determined by representatives of the three territories assisted by a United Nations Commissioner and a Council for Libya. The Council was to be composed of ten members, six nominated by the Governments of Egypt, France, Italy, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the United States, one representative from each of the three territories and a representative of the minorities in Libya.

During 1950 the United Nations Commissioner and his Council assisted the inhabitants of Libya in bringing together a small body of representatives to decide on the composition and powers of a constituent assembly to be known as the National Assembly.

At the Fifth Session of the General Assembly a further resolution respecting Libya was adopted recommending that the National Assembly be convened at an early date to draft a constitution and to establish a provisional government not later than April 1, 1951. The administering authorities (France and the United Kingdom) were to begin a systematic transfer of powers to the provisional government.

The National Assembly met to begin its work before the end of the year. Agreement was soon reached on the form of state: the three territories were to be federated and the Emir Idriss of the Senussi sect of Cyrenaica was invited to become king of the new state. A provisional government was likewise created. By October the work on the constitution was completed. This constitution will be ratified by the bi-cameral parliament to be convened as soon as general elections have been held.

Canada Extends Recognition

Following the proclamation by the king-designate on December 24, an exchange of telegrams took place by which Canada extended recognition to the new state. The texts of these messages read:

To the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada.

Have honour inform you that in accordance resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted in pursuance of Annex XI, paragraph 3, of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, 1947, Libya was, on 24 December, 1951, declared a free and independent sovereign state as the United Kingdom of Libya. It is a great pleasure for me to inform Your Excellency that His Majesty King Mohamed Idriss el Mahdi es Senussi has today acceded to the throne of the United Kingdom of Libya. King's Proclamation of this memorable event is being forwarded by airmail. I avail myself of this opportunity to express to you the assurance of my highest esteem.

MAHMOUD MUNTASSER,

Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

Tripoli, Libya,
December 25, 1951.

To His Excellency Mahmoud Muntasser, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister,
Tripoli, Libya.

I desire to express on behalf of the Government of Canada and also personally the gratification with which Your Excellency's telegram announcing the establishment of the United Kingdom of Libya was received. I should be grateful if you would convey to His Majesty King Mohamed Idriss el Mahdi es Senussi the felicitations of the Government of Canada on his accession to the throne and I shall look forward to receiving the text of His Majesty's proclamation on this historic occasion. I am sure that all Canadians share the pleasure of their government in welcoming the United Kingdom of Libya to its place among the free, independent and sovereign nations of the world.

Secretary of State for External Affairs.

Ottawa, January 7, 1952.

To the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canada.

On behalf of the government and people of Libya I thank Your Excellency and through you all Canadians for their kind congratulations and welcoming of the birth of the United Kingdom of Libya. I avail myself of this opportunity to express to Your Excellency my best wishes for your well being.

MAHMOUD MUNTASSER,

Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

Tripoli, Libya, January 8, 1952.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Sixth Session of the General Assembly

The Disarmament Debate*

The tripartite resolution on disarmament was adopted by the plenary session of the General Assembly on January 11, 1952, by a vote of 42 in favour (including Canada), 5 against and 7 abstentions. Various proposed amendments, including a number put forward by delegations from the Soviet bloc, were rejected in the final voting.

The resolution as it was finally adopted established a "Disarmament Commission" under the Security Council with the same membership as the Atomic Energy Commission; dissolved the Atomic Energy Commission and recommended the dissolution of the Commission for Conventional Armaments (it was later dissolved by the Security Council), and directed the Disarmament Commission to prepare proposals to be embodied in a draft treaty for which guiding principles were set out, to formulate plans for the establishment of an international control organ to ensure the implementation of the treaty, to begin its work not later than thirty days from the adoption of the resolution, and to report periodically to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, the first report to be submitted not later than June 1, 1952.

On January 12 the debate on the Soviet counter-resolution, many features of which had been discussed in the consideration of the Western resolution, was formally opened. The original text had by now been altered to include provisions "that the prohibition of atomic weapons and the institution of international control shall be put into effect simultaneously" and that "the international control organ shall have the right to conduct inspection on a continuing basis; but it shall not be entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of States". The Western powers introduced a new resolution transmitting to the new Disarmament Commission the specific proposals on disarmament and atomic control contained in the Soviet resolution. That proposal was adopted on January 18 by a vote of 53 in favour (including Canada), with 5 against (the Soviet bloc) and 2 abstentions. It was subsequently agreed that those particular sections of the Soviet resolution should not again be put to the vote. The remainder of the Soviet resolution was then defeated, paragraph by paragraph, by substantial votes without the resolution as a whole being voted upon.

The debate revealed that there is no apparent prospect of early agreement on arrangements for disarmament or the control of atomic weapons. The establishment of the new Disarmament Commission, however, will probably prove a useful development. While there appears to be no indication that it will achieve any substantial accomplishment in the immediate future, it does provide a more appropriate organ than any hitherto available for the comprehensive and detailed examination of plans for disarmament and atomic energy control. Should the policies of the major powers at any time be altered, and in particular should the U.S.S.R. show any inclination seriously to discuss practical plans for these purposes, an appropriate agency is now available. Beyond that point there is little that the Western powers can do so long as the Soviet Union refuses to accept those specific principles having to do with inspection and control which alone could render effective any agreement upon disarmament and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

* For a summary of the earlier stages of the debate, see *External Affairs*, December 1951, page 420, and January 1952, page 35.

The Report of the Collective Measures Committee

On December 1, 1951, a draft resolution was introduced in the Political Committee, sponsored by Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, the Philippines, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia concerning the report presented by the Collective Measures Committee. (These sponsors consisted of eleven of the fourteen states represented on the C.M.C. The other three members of the C.M.C. were Burma, Egypt and Mexico). The draft resolution called for approval of the conclusions contained in the report and for the continuation of the work of the Collective Measures Committee for another year. The report of the C.M.C. contained a number of recommendations for collective economic, military and financial measures which might be taken under the aegis of the United Nations against any future aggressor. The report, which was concurred in by Canada, also stressed the need for further studies.

The debate on the draft resolution opened on January 2, 1952, and was concluded on January 7. A large number of delegations participated, and the resolution provided an opportunity for wide ranging statements on almost all aspects of the international situation. Particularly toward the end, the debate tended to degenerate into a heated propaganda exchange along lines established earlier by Mr. Vishinsky.

The draft resolution and the work of the Collective Measures Committee were heavily attacked by delegations of the Soviet bloc, who attempted to distract the attention of the Committee from the subject of collective security in order to consider various other proposals of long standing in the Soviet propaganda armory. Virtually all the non-Cominform countries were prepared to give at least some support to the resolution, although in the course of the debate minor amendments were introduced by a number of smaller powers. A number of these amendments which were accepted by the sponsoring powers tended to water down the resolution without altering it substantially. In its amended form, the resolution was adopted by a plenary session of the General Assembly on January 12 by a vote of 51 in favour, 5 against (the Soviet bloc) and 3 abstentions (Argentina, India and Indonesia).

Treatment of People of Indian Origin in South Africa

On December 20, 1951, the Ad Hoc Political Committee resumed discussion of the complaint submitted by India in 1946 and considered at four previous sessions of the General Assembly. The South African Delegation again contended that under Article 2 (7) of the Charter, discussion of the subject constituted interference in South African internal affairs and claimed also that earlier discussions with India and Pakistan had broken down because India had objected to the South African condition that the discussions must be without prejudice to the question of domestic jurisdiction.

A draft resolution submitted by the delegations of Burma, India, Indonesia, Iran and Iraq recommended the appointment of a commission of three for the purpose of assisting the governments concerned, namely India, Pakistan and South Africa, in carrying through appropriate negotiations. The resolution also requested South Africa to suspend the enforcement of the Group Areas Act pending the conclusion of negotiations. An Israeli amendment to this resolution was later accepted by the five powers sponsoring the original resolution, and the revised resolution was adopted by a vote of 41 in favour (including the United States and the Soviet Union), 2 against (South Africa and Australia) and 13 abstentions (including Canada). The resolution as amended requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to lend his assistance in the event that members of the commission were not nominated by the governments concerned.

When the plenary session of the General Assembly considered this question on



United Nations

FIFTH COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Canadian Minister to Sweden, Mr. Thomas A. Stone, (centre), chairs a meeting of the Fifth Committee (Administrative and Budgetary) of the General Assembly during the Sixth Session held in Paris. Also shown are Dr. Miguel Albornoz of Ecuador, Vice-Chairman (left) and Mr. Rafik Asha of Syria, Rapporteur.

January 12, it approved, by a vote of 44 in favour, 1 against and 14 abstentions (including Canada), the resolution already agreed to by the Ad Hoc Political Committee.

While favouring direct negotiations on the question among the disputants concerned, the Canadian view is that the problem should be referred to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion since the law and the facts are in doubt.

Admission of New Members

Three proposals on this subject were submitted to the General Assembly. The first of these was a resolution sponsored by the Soviet Union which would have asked the Security Council to reconsider the applications of 13 states (Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Nepal, Outer Mongolia, Portugal and Roumania) and to consider the new application of Libya. The Soviet proposal included all the outstanding applicants except the Republic of Korea, the North Korean Government, and the two rival governments of Viet Nam. The Soviet proposal led to heated debate in the Political Committee and was attacked by the United States Representative as "blackmail". It was adopted in the Political Committee by a vote of 21 in favour, 12 against and 25 abstentions (including Canada), but was rejected in the plenary session of the Assembly since it failed to secure a two-thirds majority. The vote was 22 in favour, 21 against, and 16 abstentions (including Canada).

A Peruvian proposal on this subject was also considered by the Assembly. This draft resolution declared that the admission of new members should be "based exclusively on the conditions contained in Article 4 of the Charter"; and recommended that the Security Council "reconsider all pending applications", basing its recommendations exclusively on the facts submitted by applicants regarding their qualifications under Article 4. After being adopted in the Political Committee, this reso-

lution was approved in the plenary by a vote of 43 in favour, 8 against and 7 abstentions (including Canada).

A number of Central American Delegations submitted a third draft resolution which would have, in effect, requested an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on whether or not a permanent member of the Security Council could employ its veto to block a favourable recommendation by the Council on an applicant state. (On March 3, 1950, the Court gave its opinion that the General Assembly could not, by itself, effect the admission of an applicant state, in the absence of a recommendation by the Security Council. This opinion of the Court did not, however, deal with the question of how the Council should make such recommendations, i.e. whether or not the veto could be applied). A number of delegations were reluctant to discuss the substance of this Central American resolution, in view of the late date on which it was submitted to the Political Committee. Accordingly, the Central American Delegations introduced a second resolution which transmitted their first resolution to the Seventh Regular Session of the Assembly, for its consideration. In order to avoid a debate on the substance of the first Central American resolution the Canadian Delegation voted in favour of the transmittal resolution, which was adopted in the plenary session by a vote of 36 in favour, 5 against and 14 abstentions.

The Canadian Delegation made no statement in the debates on this subject either in the Political Committee or in the plenary session.

Palestine

In its report to the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, after reciting the efforts it had made during 1951 to resolve the refugee problem and to promote peace in Palestine, was forced to acknowledge its inability to carry out the task originally assigned to it in 1948 by the General Assembly of assisting the parties to reach a final settlement of all outstanding questions.

In the view of the members of the Commission — the United States, France and Turkey — it was nonetheless essential to keep alive the principle of conciliation, while attempting to inject some new element into the Commission's future activities which would provide a much-needed fresh approach. Accordingly the members of the Commission, together with the United Kingdom, jointly sponsored in the Ad Hoc Political Committee on January 12 a draft resolution, the principal recommendation of which was to move the headquarters of the Commission from Jerusalem (where it had never been able to hold a meeting of the parties to the dispute) to New York where its work would be carried on by the permanent delegations of the Commission's members. The Four-Power draft contained a number of Canadian amendments designed to render its terms more acceptable to both Arabs and Israelis and also incorporated a Canadian formula for resolving the question of maintaining a representative of the Commission in Jerusalem. Draft resolutions were also submitted by the Soviet Union, recommending dissolution of the Commission; by Israel, recommending its replacement by a Good Offices Commission; and by Pakistan, emphasizing the rights of refugees and suggesting an increase in the Commission's membership from three to seven.

Only the Four-Power draft was put to the vote, and this not until its original text had been so altered by a series of last-minute amendments introduced by Asian, Arab and Latin American states that the sponsoring Powers withdrew their support and Israel moved into opposition. The amended resolution, as adopted by the Committee on January 14, invoked all previous Assembly resolutions on Palestine, expressed special regret that the refugee problem had not been settled, eliminated the

proposal to move the headquarters to New York and increased the Commission from three to seven members.

Owing to the slender majority by which the more contentious clauses of the revised resolution were adopted in Committee on a paragraph-by-paragraph vote, there remained a possibility that the resolution would undergo further amendment when discussed in plenary session, where a two-thirds majority would be required. The Canadian Delegation therefore concentrated on securing approval of the minimum number of amendments to this resolution which would produce, without losing Arab support, a revised text acceptable to the original sponsors and Israel. In this the Canadian Delegation was successful. On January 26, 1952, the General Assembly adopted a resolution, incorporating the Canadian amendments, by a vote of 48 in favour (including Canada, Israel and all the Arab states except Iraq) to 5 against (the Soviet bloc), with 1 abstention. The resolution, as adopted, charged the parties to the dispute with the primary responsibility for resolving their differences in conformity with Assembly resolutions and called upon them to make use of the conciliation facilities of the Commission, whose mandate was renewed for that purpose. The composition and meeting place of the Commission were not changed. The Canadian contribution to the debate, which led directly to the adoption of a resolution acceptable to all the parties concerned, was commended by both the Arabs and Israelis.

On the same day, January 26, the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Ad Hoc Political Committee, adopted a resolution jointly sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Turkey, which endorsed a new plan for the relief and rehabilitation of Palestine refugees submitted by Mr. John Blandford, Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA). The plan envisages the expenditure of \$50 million for relief and \$200 million for re-integration, over and above such contributions as may be made by local governments, and is to be carried out over a period of approximately three years. UNRWA is to explore with the Arab Governments concerned the desirability and practicability of transferring the administration of relief to these Governments at the earliest possible date. The Arab Governments gave their support to the plan on humanitarian grounds and because it did not prejudice the right of refugees to ultimate repatriation and compensation. The resolution was adopted by 47 votes in favour, none against and 7 abstentions (Burma, Byelo-Russia, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Ukraine and the U.S.S.R.). While supporting the resolution, the Canadian Delegation specifically reserved the Canadian position on the financial aspects of the plan.

South-West Africa

Under the General Assembly's resolution of December 13, 1950, an Ad Hoc Committee on South-West Africa, with members from Denmark, Syria, Thailand, the United States and Uruguay, was set up to negotiate with the Government of South Africa on the measures necessary for the implementation of the advisory opinion on the international status of South-West Africa, handed down on July 11, 1950 by the International Court of Justice. In its report of October 8, 1951, the Ad Hoc Committee said that it had thoroughly examined the South African Government's proposals and found them to be not within the Ad Hoc Committee's terms of reference since they did not allow for a full implementation of the International Court's advisory opinion. The South African Government found the Ad Hoc Committee's counter-proposals unacceptable. The Ad Hoc Committee also reported that it had been unable to comply with the General Assembly's instruction to examine a report on the administration of the territory because of the refusal of the Union of South Africa to submit reports.

When the Trusteeship (Fourth) Committee began consideration of its agenda, it decided to treat the granting of hearings to representatives of the Hereros and other sections of the indigenous population of South-West Africa as a prior question, to be taken up before the first item on its agenda. The Committee agreed to grant the hearings and expressed the wish that the South African Government would facilitate the prompt travel of these witnesses from South-West Africa to Paris. The Canadian Delegation did not take part in this debate and abstained on the vote since without closer examination, it was not prepared to reject the South African contention that the resolution was outside the competence of the Committee, neither was it prepared to reject the opposing viewpoint that since South Africa had shown no inclination to accept that part of the International Court's advisory opinion dealing with petitions and annual reports, the Committee was morally justified in consulting representatives from that territory as a means of obtaining fuller information on local conditions.

After the resolution to grant these hearings was passed, the South African Representatives did not take part in the work of the Trusteeship Committee and informed the President of the General Assembly of their withdrawal pending a review by the General Assembly of the constitutionality of the Committee's resolution. The President of the General Assembly, in reply to a South African request, stated that he could find no valid reason for arranging a review by the General Assembly of the resolution already adopted by the Trusteeship Committee.

Two substantive resolutions on South-West Africa were later approved by the Committee. One resolution, carried by a vote of 39 in favour (including Canada), 5 against and 8 abstentions, reconstituted an ad hoc committee on South-West Africa which would continue to confer with the South African Government concerning means of implementing the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. This resolution expressed regret that the Union of South Africa, while prepared to **negotiate on the basis of certain articles of the Mandate**, had indicated its unwillingness to give adequate expression to its international obligations with respect to South-West Africa, and solemnly appealed to that Government to reconsider its position. The second resolution passed by the Trusteeship Committee reasserted that the normal way of modifying the international status of South-West Africa would be to place it under the international trusteeship system. The vote on this was 33 in favour, none against and 17 abstentions (including Canada).

When the General Assembly considered the question of South-West Africa in plenary session on January 18 and 19, it adopted the two substantive resolutions approved earlier by the Trusteeship Committee, the first by a vote of 45 in favour (including Canada), 5 against and 8 abstentions, and the second by a vote of 36 in favour, none against and 22 abstentions (including Canada).

Land Reform

On the recommendation of the Economic and Financial (Second) Committee, the General Assembly adopted unanimously, on January 12, 1952, a resolution on land reform which was jointly sponsored by Brazil, Chile, France, India, Israel, Pakistan, Thailand, the United Kingdom and the United States. The resolution incorporated several features of a parallel draft resolution submitted by Poland. At the Committee stage, the discussion was based on a report prepared by the Secretary-General on "defects in agrarian structures as obstacles to economic development". The resolution urged all governments, to the extent appropriate to the particular technical and financial circumstances of their countries, to take certain practical steps which would include measures designed to increase agricultural production and, in particular, to safeguard the interests of landless agricultural workers and of those farmers having small-sized and medium-sized holdings. For example, the resolution envisages assistance to farmers in under-developed countries to secure agricultural equipment at a

reasonable price as well as low-interest agricultural credit. Further, governments were called upon to adopt measures which would enable agricultural workers and tenants as well as farm owners to reduce or liquidate indebtedness which may have arisen from unfavourable conditions of land tenure. They were also urged to assist in the organization of co-operatives for the production and disposal of agricultural products. The Secretary-General, the Specialized Agencies concerned and institutions providing international loans were asked to give high priority to the question of land reforms in their programmes of work and in the technical and financial assistance which they provide to governments.

Food and Famine

On January 26, the Assembly endorsed by a vote of 48 in favour, 0 against and 5 abstentions (Soviet bloc) a resolution of its Economic and Financial Committee originally sponsored by the United States and Chile on the question of food shortages and famine. The Assembly urged governments to attack the problems of hunger and famine by giving high priority to food production in their national economic development plans, by co-operating with the Food and Agricultural Organization in its efforts to increase such production, and by promoting and facilitating the work of voluntary non-governmental agencies organized to meet famine conditions. It requested member states to assist the Food and Agriculture Organization in a study which it is undertaking concerning the establishment of an emergency food reserve to relieve famine-stricken countries. Finally, the Assembly asked the Economic and Social Council to include in its future reports a special section on this problem and on the steps taken by Specialized Agencies and by governments to deal with it.

Refugees

Immediately after the Christmas recess, the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural (Third) Committee of the General Assembly considered two items concerning refugees. The High Commissioner for Refugees opened the discussion with a general statement which enlarged upon his formal reports to the General Assembly on the results of his first year's work. He made several recommendations on the basis of his experience and studies of the problems of refugees. The discussion was timely because of the impending dissolution of the International Refugee Organization.

The Committee adopted two resolutions which were later approved by the General Assembly. The first expressed satisfaction at the conclusion of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and invited Member States to become parties to it as soon as possible. The main provision of the second resolution authorized the High Commissioner to issue an appeal for funds to provide emergency aid for needy groups of refugees within his mandate. Other provisions called upon governments and international organizations to pay special attention to the refugee problems in their economic development and immigration programmes. Both the Canadian and United States Delegations abstained on this resolution, which subsequently was adopted by the General Assembly by 38 votes to 5 with 8 abstentions.

Definition of Aggression

The Legal (Sixth) Committee debated at length a contentious report of the International Law Commission on the question of defining aggression. The International Law Commission, whose reports are considered each year by the Legal Committee, had been asked to consider a proposed definition of aggression which had been submitted to the Political (First) Committee by the Soviet Union at the Fifth Session of the General Assembly.*

* See *External Affairs*, December 1950, page 441.

The problem of defining aggression is an old one and had already been before the Legal Committee. The International Military Tribunal, which was set up after the Second World War to try the major war criminals and which became known as the "Nuremberg Tribunal", had been established by a Charter which set forth the law it was to apply. This Charter had defined crimes against peace and in so doing had referred to the "waging of a war of aggression" but it did not define that word. The Nuremberg Tribunal itself had not attempted a definition of aggression and the International Law Commission, when reporting to the Fifth Session of the General Assembly on its formulation of the principles recognized in the Charter and Judgment of the Nuremberg Tribunal, had decided not to include any definition. The Legal Committee at the Fifth session had not been obliged to formulate any definition and many of the representatives of states on the Legal Committee at that time thought that the determination of aggression depended upon a political appraisal of specific facts and could not be covered by precise definition. Nevertheless, as a result of the Soviet proposal, the Political Committee had referred to the legal experts on the International Law Commission for further study the question of defining aggression.

The International Law Commission endeavoured to formulate a definition. It considered various general definitions and failed to agree. It attempted a definition which enumerated specific acts and again failed to agree. It finally reported that it was unable to formulate a definition. Its difficulties arose not because of any political or ideological differences (the Soviet and Czechoslovak members of the Commission have recently boycotted its sessions) but stemmed from the fundamental difficulty of drafting a definition which would cover all conceivable situations including acts of direct aggression. The problems involved were illustrated in the conclusion of one of its members who had prepared a working paper which was quoted in its report:

"... Whenever governments are called upon to decide on the existence or non-existence of 'aggression under international law' they base their judgment on criteria derived from the 'natural', so to speak, notion of aggression... and not on legal constructions... This notion of aggression... was composed of both objective and subjective elements, namely the fact that a state had committed an act of violence and was the first to do so and the fact that this violence was committed with an aggressive intention. But what kind of violence constituted aggression could not be determined *a priori*. It depended on the circumstances in the particular case... This 'natural' notion of aggression is a 'concept per se' which is not susceptible of definition. The legal definition of aggression would be an artificial construction which could never be comprehensive enough to comprise all imaginable cases of aggression since the methods of aggression are in a constant process of evolution".

Although the International Law Commission had been unable to agree on a definition of aggression it did suggest that the draft code of offences against the peace and security of mankind include the following provisions:

"(1) Any act of aggression, including the employment by the authorities of a State of armed force against another State for any purpose other than national or collective self-defence or in pursuance of a decision or recommendation by a competent organ of the United Nations.

"(2) Any threat by the authorities of a State to resort to an act of aggression against another State".

The Legal Committee was unable to agree on any more satisfactory solution and finally decided that since the code of offences in question was not to be considered until the Seventh Session it would recommend to the General Assembly that no decision be taken until the code of offences was considered and that in the meantime

the Secretary-General should make a further study and report on the question of defining aggression.

The resolution recommended by the Committee stated that it was both possible and desirable to define aggression and that it would be useful if directives of this nature were formulated for the guidance of other international bodies. The Canadian Delegation did not think that the Committee should have prejudged the issues in this way and therefore opposed the resolution. Nevertheless, the General Assembly accepted this recommendation by a vote of 30 to 12 (including Canada) with 8 abstentions.



CANADIAN WAR GRAVES IN KOREA

The Minister of Veterans Affairs, Mr. Hugues Lapointe (centre) and the Minister of National Defence, Mr. Brooke Claxton, accompanied by Brigadier J. M. Rockingham, Commander 25th Infantry Brigade Group, inspect Canadian war graves in the United Nations Cemetery at Pusan, Korea.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

In December 1951 a new international organization came into being at a conference in Brussels. It is the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME). The purpose of establishing this new international body is to keep in the service of international migration at least some of the ships which had been used for this purpose by the International Refugee Organization which is ceasing operations early in 1952. With these ships and the trained people who operate them, it will be possible, it is hoped to move from Western Europe and Greece to such countries as Australia, Brazil, Canada and the United States, migrants who might not otherwise have been able to emigrate and who wish to leave their present homes to seek a new life elsewhere.

The IRO was empowered to resettle only certain types of refugees, although of late IRO ships have been used to move certain classes of migrants who were not eligible for direct IRO assistance. The Director-General of IRO was authorized to make this type of arrangement with particular governments on a reimbursable basis so that the ships would be kept filled and thus be able to operate as economically as possible. Non-IRO refugees and other migrants could not be transported if they would be taking the place of IRO refugees who were ready for resettlement overseas. But now the emphasis has been placed on migration and on migrants, rather than on refugees and resettlement. PICMME can and will transport refugees but, in its initial twelve-month period of operation, it is probable that ordinary citizens from such countries as Austria, Germany, and Italy will be carried in greater numbers than refugees. The emphasis may, of course, shift later, as it was in the minds of those who helped to establish PICMME that its facilities could, and should, be used to help to solve the growing problem of what to do with the constantly increasing number of new refugees coming from behind the Iron Curtain.

Membership of Organization

The countries voting for the resolution establishing PICMME and thus, those countries which, once their governments ratify membership, will become members of the new organization were:

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, France, West Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States.

The provisional headquarters of the organization has been established in Geneva and two co-directors have been appointed. They are Mr. G. Warren of the United States and Mr. F. Leemans of Belgium. They in turn, appointed a Deputy Director, Mr. P. Jacobsen, who has had considerable migration experience as an Assistant Director-General of IRO. These arrangements are only provisional and a permanent director will be chosen in the near future.

The Committee hopes to move approximately 115,000 persons within one year. This is not nearly as large a number as IRO has been resettling annually since 1947. Nevertheless, it represents a worthwhile target figure at which to aim. The facilities to be provided by PICMME are intended to supplement normal commercial shipping and air transport services. They are to be used, in the words of the enabling resolution establishing the new organization, to the extent necessary "to secure those movements for which commercial facilities are inadequate".

Not a United Nations Body

PICMME is not a United Nations body nor is it a Specialized Agency. Nevertheless, it is expected that it will establish close working relations with all major

organizations having an interest in migration and in refugees. Indeed, the Brussels conference resolution states that the Committee will give early consideration to the question of the relations to be established with international, non-governmental and voluntary organizations conducting activities in the field of migration and refugees. The United States Government took the initiative leading to the establishment of PICMME and is expected to contribute \$10 million to the organization in the initial trial period of one year. Other countries are expected to contribute proportionately.

A number of governments, including that of Canada, recently have given formal notification of their adherence to the Provisional Committee, the second session of which will commence in Geneva on February 18 to decide on operational plans and other important matters.



—Universal

MIGRATION CONFERENCE

A session of the Migration Conference, held in Brussels in November and December 1951, is shown above. This Conference resulted in the establishment of the Provisional Inter-Governmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe. Head of the Canadian Delegation was the Director of Immigration, Mr. C. E. S. Smith.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. J. J. Hurley was posted from the Canadian Consulate, Detroit, to Ottawa, effective December 14, 1951.

Mr. H. B. O. Robinson was posted from temporary duty with the United Nations General Assembly, Paris, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, effective January 1, 1952.

Mr. B. M. Williams was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Permanent Delegation to the United Nations, Geneva, effective, January 10, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Mr. Benjamin Aguirre Nugent, Attaché, Embassy of Chile, December 28.

At the Legation of Norway, January 15:

Rear-Admiral Peter Johannes Espeland Jacobsen, Principal Military Attaché and Naval Attaché;

Major Wolff Michelet Schultz, Army Attache;

Commander Reidar Michael Sars, Assistant Naval Attaché;

Major Olav Ullestad, Air Attaché.

The above-mentioned officers are concurrently serving in the same capacities at the Embassy of Norway in Washington and will reside in that city.

Mr. William Louis Rodman, Assistant Agricultural Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, January 15.

Departures

Mr. Pami G. Malamakis, Commercial

Counsellor, Embassy of Greece, December 20.

Mr. Tomas Vuksanovic, Commercial Counsellor, Embassy of Yugoslavia, January 1.

Colonel Sverre Refsum, Military Attaché, Legation of Norway, January 14.

Mr. D. R. Kawatra, Third Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for India, January 16.

His Excellency Urho Toivola, Minister of Finland, resumed charge of the Legation December 22 on his return from a vacation.

Mr. Tevfik Dünder Saraçoğlu, Third Secretary, Embassy of Turkey, was promoted to the rank of Second Secretary, December 26.

Dr. H. Zoelly, Second Secretary, Legation of Switzerland, was promoted to the rank of First Secretary, January 1.

The address of the Mexican Embassy is now: 88 Metcalfe Street (Tel: 3-8988).

The address of the Danish Legation is now: 451 Daly Avenue (Tel: 4-0704).

CONSULAR

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. Eric Low as Honorary Consular Agent of Brazil at Vancouver, January 15.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Adrian Colquitt as Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, January 10.

Mr. Emile Roland as Honorary Vice-Consul of Belgium at Quebec, January 14.

Mr. Arnold Kingsley Graham as Honorary Consul General of Finland at Toronto, January 22. Mr. Graham was previously Honorary Consul in that city.

Departures

Mr. M. Koetz, Honorary Consul at Belgium at Quebec, January 9.

Mr. Richard L. Leonhart, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Winnipeg, January 15.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of January 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".

The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new Continuing Boards and Commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for a complete list of continuing boards and commissions.)

Conferences Attended in January

1. *6th Session of the United Nations General Assembly*. Paris, November 6, 1951 — Representatives: Chairman: S. S. Garson, Minister of Justice; Deputy Chairman: J. Lesage, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mrs. R. J. Marshall, Past President of the National Council of Women; Alternates: T. A. Stone, Canadian Minister to Sweden; D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York; R. M. Macdonnell, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to the OEEC, Paris; Parliamentary Advisers: T. G. W. Ashbourne, M.P.; L. Balcer, M.P.; E. G. Hansell, M.P.; P. E. Wright, M. P.; Advisers: A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels; S. D. Pollock, Department of Finance; G. G. Crean, Canadian Embassy, Belgrade; L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Miss E. P. MacCallum, Department of External Affairs; J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York; D. Stansfield, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; H. B. O. Robinson, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; O. G. Stoner, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. J. McCardle, Department of External Affairs; Information Officers: F. Charpentier, Canadian Embassy, Paris; Miss M. Gordon, Canadian Consulate General, New York; Secretary-General: A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
2. *Meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Legal Committee of ICAO*. Paris, January 7. Brig C. S. Booth, Council Member for Canada.
3. *Preliminary Meeting of Commonwealth Finance Officials*. London, January 8 — W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; J. J. Deutsch and D. H. Fullerton, Department of Finance; A. E. Ritchie, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
4. *Annual Meeting of the General Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association*. Ceylon, January 10 — L. R. Beaudoin, M. P., Chairman, Canadian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.
5. *Annual Canada-United States Meeting on Joint Arctic Weather Stations Programme*. Ottawa, January 8 and January 10. Privy Council:— Chairman: C. C. Eberts; Secretary: W. P. Chipman; Department of External Affairs: R. A. J. Phillips; Department of Transport: A. Watson; Capt. C. Chouinard; W. B. Smith; J. C. Wyatt; A. Thomson; D. C. Archibald; R. W. Rae; H. M. Hutchon; Department of Mines and Technical Surveys:— Dr. Y. O. Fortier; Dr. N. L. Nicholson; E. Fry; R. G. Madill; Department of Resources and Development:— J. Cantley; A. Stevenson; National Research Council:— Dr. D. C. Rose; R. C. N.: Lt. Cmdr. C. E. Brooks; W. F. Ganong; Canadian Army: Lt. Col. R. Klaehn; Maj. E. F. Lyons; R.C.A.F.: A/C Ripley; W/C A. Rosenthal; W/C H. Morrison; A/C Carscallen; G/C Ball; W/C F. H. Pearce; W/C Parks; F/Lt. Cummings; Mr. Tibbley; Defence Research Board:—G. Rowley; R.C.M.P.: Inspector H. A. Larsen.
6. *Annual Meeting of the Highway Research Board*. Washington, January 14-18. W. R. Schriever, National Research Council.
7. *Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Intersessional Business of GATT*. Geneva, January 14-15. L. Couillard, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the OEEC, Paris.

8. *Commonwealth Finance Ministers*. London, January 15-21. Head of Delegation: D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; Advisers: L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; J. J. Deutsch and D. H. Fullerton, Department of Finance; A. E. Ritchie, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
9. *Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices*. (ECOSOC.) New York, January 29 — Delegate: T. D. MacDonald, Combines Investigation Commissioner, Department of Justice; Alternate: A. S. Whiteley, Department of Justice.
10. *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East*. Rangoon, Burma, January 29-February 9. Observer: R. G. Nik Cavell, Department of Trade and Commerce.
11. *Canada-United Kingdom Continuing Committee on Trade and Economic Affairs*. London, January. Chairman: L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; Dr. J. G. Taggart, Deputy Minister of Agriculture; W. F. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; J. J. Deutsch and D. H. Fullerton, Department of Finance; A. E. Ritchie, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.

Conferences to be held in February and March

The inclusion of the name of a conference or congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate; the dates are tentative. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted.

1. *United Nations Technical Assistance Conference*. Paris, February 6.
2. *11th Session of the Executive Committee of IRO*. Geneva, February 7-9.
3. *9th Session of the General Council of IRO*. Geneva, February 11-15.
4. *North Atlantic Military Committee*. Lisbon, February 11-12.
5. *North Atlantic Council*, Lisbon, February 16.
6. *2nd Session of Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe*. (PICMME). Geneva, February 18-23.
7. *Committee on Commodity Problems of FAO*. Rome, February 18.
8. *British Commonwealth Scientific (Official) Conference*. Canberra and Melbourne, February 18.
9. *Meeting of Sub-Committee to Consider the General Reduction of Tariff Levels*. Geneva, February 22.
10. *Conference on Settlement of German External Debts*. London, February 28.
11. *Economic Commission for Latin America*. Santiago, February.
12. *International Sugar Council*. London, March 3.
13. *118th Session of the Governing Body of ILO (and its Committees)*. Geneva, March 11-14.
14. *Economic and Social Council Committee on Non-governmental Organizations*. New York March 18-21.
15. *Consultative Committee on Cooperative Economic Development in South and South East Asia*. Karachi, March 24.
16. *Commission of Status of Women*. Geneva, March 24-April 4.
17. *Inter-American Conference on Social Security*. Mexico, March 24-April 5.
18. *Meeting of WMO*. Geneva, March.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
1	16/1	North Atlantic Council to meet in Lisbon, Feb. 16.
2	18/1	Exchange of diplomatic missions with Portugal.
3	21/1	Canadian recognition of the United Kingdom of Libya — exchange of telegrams.
4	23/1	Appointment of J. R. R. Ross as Canadian member of the International Boundary Commission.
5	28/1	St. Lawrence Seaway — exchange of notes regarding applications to International Joint Commission.
6	30/1	Appointment of G. A. Newman as Canadian Consul at New Orleans, La., U.S.A.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

List of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Relationship with the Economic and Social Council; 15 November 1951, document E.C.2/INF./3; pp. 138 (bilingual)

(b) Printed Documents:

* *Progress report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine covering the period from 23 January to 19 November 1951*; document A/1985; pp. 24; 25 cents; Paris, 1951; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 18.

* *Land Reform — Defects in Agrarian Structure as Obstacles to Economic Development*; 23 July 1951; document E/2003/Rev. 1, ST/ECA/11; pp. 101; 75 cents; Sales No.: 1951.II.B.3 (U.N. Department of Affairs).

Resolutions of the Economic and Social Council, thirteenth session, 20 July–21 September 1951; 10 October 1951; document E/2152; pp. 103; \$1.25; Economic and Social Council Official Records: thirteenth session, supplement No. 1 (bilingual).

* *Balance of Payments Trends and Policies 1950–1951*; November 1951; document E/2035/Add. 1/Rev. 1, ST/ECA/12/Add. 1; pp. 50; 40 cents; Sales No.: 1951.II.D.3 (U.N. Department of Economic Affairs).

* *Labour productivity of the cotton textile industry in five Latin-American Countries*; 25 April 1951; document E/CN.12/219; pp. 293; \$3.00; Sales No.: 1951.II.G.2 (U.N. Department of Economic Affairs).

* *Enquiries into household standards of living in less-developed areas — A survey of the Organization and Geographic and Demographic Range of filed investigations of the income, expenditure and food consumption of selected households in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Pacific (1930–1950)*; New York, 1951; document ST/SOA/1, 6 July 1950; pp. 191; \$2.00; Sales No.: 1950.IV.7 (Department of Social Affairs)

The suppression of slavery; 11 July 1951; document ST/SOA/4; pp. 83; 50 cents; Sales No.: 1951.XIV.2 (Department of Social Affairs).

* *Directory of building research and development — Organizations in Europe*; September 1951; document ST/SOA/SER. H/4; pp. 111; 75 cents; Sales No.: 1951.IV.5 (United Nations, Geneva, 1951).

* *Report of the United Nations Economic Mission to Chile 1949–1950*; 2 October 1951; document ST/TAA/K/Chile/1; pp. 38; 40 cents; Sales No.: 1951.II.B.6 (New York, 1951, United Nations Technical Assistance Administration).

* *Standards and techniques of Public Administration with special reference to Technical Assistance for under-developed countries*; 20 November 1951; document ST/TAA/M/1; pp. 65; 50 cents; Sales No.: 1951.II.B.7 (New York, 1951, United Nations Technical Assistance Administration).

Demographic Yearbook 1951; Third Issue; New York, 1951; pp. 608; \$6.00; Sales No.: 1952.XIII.1 (Statistical Office of the United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs). (bilingual).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial number is obtainable in Canada and abroad:

No. 52/1—*The St. Lawrence Seaway Project*, the text of an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, delivered

over the Trans-Canada Network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation on January 8, 1952.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 52/2—*Review of the Canadian Economy*, the text of an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister of

Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, delivered to the Toronto Board on January 21, 1952.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto; mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

CANADA AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the Annual Congress of the Co-operative Union of Canada, Ottawa, March 4, 1952.

The first consideration of Canadian foreign policy is the problem of our national security.

A second is the problem of our relationship with the other free countries of the world community — especially those in Asia — who have not participated in the prosperity which has resulted largely from the technological advances we have made in the Western world during the past two hundred years.

More than ever, in a world in which physical distances have so shrunk that countries far away are now our neighbours, the phrase "East and West" implies a cultural and economic rather than a geographical separation. Our association in the Commonwealth of Nations and our membership in the United Nations offers us a bridge of sympathy and understanding to three of these Asian countries. It also gives us a corresponding responsibility to examine with care and urgency the problems of the "have-not" nations of that great and ancient area.

When we in the West speak of improving economic and social conditions in our own countries we think in terms of raising our standards of living. The basic problem of most of the peoples of Asia, however, does not concern the standard of living but how to maintain life itself. Never have so many subsisted on so little. Nearly a thousand million Asians are trying to exist on a diet amounting to only 80 per cent of the pre-war level — the level of the "hungry East". The daily ration in rice in some urban areas has shrunk to five or six ounces per person as compared with the normal pre-war daily consumption of sixteen to eighteen ounces. Since 1945 India's food production has deteriorated. In spite of 165 million people being engaged in agriculture on 170 million acres of land devoted to food crops, the people are living from "ship to mouth".

The real hope of saving the millions of Asians from hunger and hardship depends not upon importing food from abroad but upon increasing the productivity of the lands of their own countries.

The partition of the sub-continent has handicapped the economic recovery of both India and Pakistan. Political differences fanned by the Communists into open warfare have cut food exports from Burma, Malaya and Indo-China. The prevalence of out-moded conditions both of labour and of land tenure have impeded improvements in agricultural production.

In India the individual holdings are so fragmented that it is difficult for the average farmer to raise enough to feed his own family. In Malaya 60 per cent of the farmers are small holders. In other parts of Asia the problem is more or less the same. Because the tenant does not want the major benefits of his efforts to pass to the absentee owner, the land remains without substantial improvement. In the absence of any small-credit facilities the farmer has had frequently to mortgage his holding, his future and that of his children to the unscrupulous money lender.

Without fundamental agrarian reform in Asia, therefore, it would be foolish to expect the full co-operation of the man who tills the soil in undertaking measures to step up food production.

A major factor impeding improvement is the use of primitive tools and techniques and the lack of knowledge of the science of agriculture. The steady growth of population in spite of the high mortality rate has increased the pressure on available



—United Nations

SECOND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CONFERENCE

The Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Jean Lesage (right), was unanimously elected President of the Second Technical Assistance Conference which opened in Paris on February 6. This Conference had been called to obtain pledges from governments for contributions to the 1952 fund for the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme in which the United Nations and ten of its Specified Agencies are participating. In the presence of members of the Secretariat, Mr. Lesage watches the United States delegate, Mr. John Cooper, signing his country's pledge. The United States pledged \$12 million with the condition that this pledge is not more than 60 per cent of the total amount pledged at the Conference. Canada will give \$850,000 if total contributions for the year reach \$20 million, less if the target figure is not reached.

resources of food. The lack of careful and well-coordinated planning, ignorance and illiteracy amongst the rural masses are further contributing factors that have made a solution of this basic problem of agricultural backwardness in Asia difficult.

As the dreadful facts of Asian poverty and misery have become more widely known in the West, some people, overwhelmed by the enormity of the problem, have taken refuge in the attitude that, on the one hand anything the West can or should do would be too little to have any real effect upon the problems of the area or, on the other, that making conditions of life more tolerable through increased supplies of food and better health and so cutting the mortality rate would merely increase the number of mouths to be fed and create an even greater problem.

Undernourishment and near starvation, however, do not reduce population. They actually cause over-population. Paradoxical as it may seem, if we were able to feed the hungry in India and other places the birth rate in those nations would begin to drop. China, India, Egypt and the Latin American countries, with the lowest nutritional levels in the world, have the highest rates of population growth.

The Asian countries are making great efforts to cope with the problems of economic development that confront them. But in tackling these problems the peoples of Asia are not willing to see their own culture lose its unique values and turn

into a mere imitation of the West. It must not be forgotten that a major factor in the Asian acceptance of many Western ways has been paradoxically their desire to gain national independence in order to preserve their own cultural values even at the expense of economic advantage. Not all Asian leaders agree upon the value to their countries of the religious, cultural and political influences they have previously received from the West. There is, however, one factor of the culture of the West, which most leaders of Asia feel could be of permanent value to them. That factor is science and technology.

Here, then, it seems to me, is one firm and clearly defined basis upon which to build mutual understanding between East and West.

There is nothing new in the exchange of technological information, nor in the provision of technical advice or "know-how" by the people of one country to those of another. Sometimes the motives have been purely humanitarian and disinterested in character, but more frequently the goal has been the improvement of commercial relations, the advancement of national interests or the winning of economic concessions. But it has been taking place for many decades.

The two programmes of international technical assistance to which the Canadian Government is now contributing and in which many Canadians are actively participating are, however, new and unique.

The first and more important of these is the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme. Here for the first time almost all the countries of the free world (the Soviet bloc refused to participate despite their constant professions of solicitude for the welfare of the peoples of the under-developed countries) have co-operated in pooling their resources to give technical assistance to member governments which are in need of such assistance and which request it.

Canada contributed \$850,000 to the first 18 months' operation of this programme and has offered to contribute at least \$750,000 and up to \$850,000 (depending upon the amounts offered by other leading contributing countries) towards the objectives of \$20 million for the succeeding twelve months' period.

This comprehensive programme, which is operated by the Technical Assistance Administration of the United Nations, the Director-General of which is Dr. H. L. Keenleyside, formerly our Deputy Minister of Resources and Development, and by the Specialized Agencies, such as the Food and Agricultural Organization and the World Health Organization, is already firmly established on a continuing basis.

Since the beginning of the Programme in July 1950 we have received 46 United Nations Fellows from under-developed countries for special training in Canada, in addition to many directed to us by the Specialized Agencies. We have completed training arrangements for an additional twenty-seven, amongst them a young Haitian whose training in co-operatives is being arranged by your National Office.

Canadians are also serving abroad in the field under the United Nations programmes, many of them in Asian countries. Professor Frank Scott of McGill University has recently gone to Burma to be resident co-ordinator of United Nations technical assistance activities in those countries. Mr. George P. Melrose, Deputy Minister of Lands for the Province of British Columbia, served for a time as Chief of the United Nations Technical Assistance Mission to El Salvador. Eight Canadians are at present serving abroad under the technical assistance programme of the International Labour Organization. One of the Canadians serving abroad with the FAO is Professor A. E. Hardy of the Department of Agricultural Engineering of the University of Saskatchewan. He is advising the Government of Ceylon on how to cope with its problem of agricultural development. There is a constant demand for the services of additional experts from our Federal and Provincial government departments, from Canadian universities and from private professions.

Because we realize that the needs of the peoples of South and Southeast Asia for technical assistance are particularly urgent, we helped to establish and are now participating in the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation. It is not possible for the Asian countries to carry out their plans for economic development without trained manpower and without the benefit of technical advice from the West. In addition, therefore to the \$25,000,000 the Canadian Government contributed to the Colombo Plan for Economic Development in the area for the year 1951-52 and to the same amount for 1952-53 for which Parliamentary approval will be sought, the Government secured Parliamentary authorization for an appropriation of \$400,000 to the technical co-operation programme for South and Southeast Asia for each of the past two fiscal years and is recommending a similar contribution for 1952-53.

Many of you may have come in contact with some of the fifty trainees chiefly from India and Pakistan, who have already come to Canada under this scheme. In addition, during this past year we have received three technical missions composed of senior officials from India, Pakistan and Ceylon. Some of the Indian members of the agricultural mission were particularly interested in the agricultural co-operative movement in this country and hoped to apply some of what they had learned from members of the Co-operative Union of Canada when they returned to their jobs at home.

We have had greater difficulty in meeting requests for experts but we are doing our best. A fisheries consultant from British Columbia has been sent to Ceylon to assist in the development of the fishing industry and he was followed by a refrigeration engineer to work in the same field. In addition, the Canadian Government is defraying the expenses of a survey to be undertaken in Pakistan by the Commonwealth Biological Control Service with a view to setting up a biological control station there.

Typical of the requests we are receiving from our Asian friends is one from Ceylon for a soil conservationist to give courses to groups of trainees, one from India, for instructor engineers for the Indian Institute of Science and one from Pakistan, for



—NFB

PAKISTAN AGRICULTURAL MISSION

Pakistan members of Colombo Plan agricultural mission to Canada study forage crops at Central Experimental Farm, Ottawa.

a three-man team to survey and advise on facilities for the preservation, processing and marketing of fruits, milk and similar produce. We are indeed hopeful that we can fill some of these requests for Canadian experts in addition to making training facilities available in Canada.

The Canadian Government regards the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation as a temporary supplement to the technical assistance activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in South and Southeast Asia. We consider it important, therefore, not only to avoid any duplication or overlapping between the United Nations programmes and the Colombo Programme but also to ensure that every effort is directed towards integrating them to as large an extent as possible.

We hope that the United Nations, if it is given appropriate support in these activities, will be able to assume by the end of a three or four-year period the major responsibility for technical assistance in South and Southeast Asia and we are urging the greatest possible use of all United Nations Agencies offering technical assistance to South and Southeast Asia. That is not to say that as a participant in the six-year Colombo Plan for the economic development of the area and particularly as a member of the Commonwealth we will not have a direct and continuing interest in special technical assistance to those countries. But we do not wish the two approaches to this problem to overlap or conflict. We do what we can to avoid this. Let me give two examples.

As part of our activities this year under the Colombo Programme we have invited an Asian public health mission to come to Canada. This mission will be composed of twelve fairly senior public health officials from those countries who will study the organization and administration of our public health services in Canada at federal, provincial and municipal levels. Before making final arrangements for the mission our own Department of National Health and Welfare is seeking the advice of the Regional Offices of WHO which are most familiar with the particular deficiencies of the public health services in those countries.

At the request of the Government of Pakistan, we have offered to give training in Canada in public administration to twelve young Pakistani civil servants. But in drawing up the programme we are consulting the public administration officials of the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration who have built up a detailed knowledge of Asian requirements in that field.

There are two other considerations which should guide our participation in both the United Nations and the Colombo Programmes. First, we should concentrate on the training of middle and lower grade workers and technicians and secondly, we should concentrate on the training of these people in the areas in which they live. The Asian countries themselves have requested this training in the report which is the basis of technical assistance activities under the Colombo Programme, and the General Assembly of the United Nations has recently reaffirmed its belief in the same principles.

I have referred to the basic need of increased food production in the area. The technical assistance we provide to South and Southeast Asia should, therefore, be directly related to efforts to solve this problem.

I think it is true to say that the whole concept of economic and technical aid to under-developed countries and of our participation in these programmes of technical assistance would have been inconceivable as recently as in the 1930's. I think we would have decided then that for both economic and practical reasons such schemes were impossible. In participating in these programmes we have embarked upon an experiment in international relations motivated by political and moral considerations which are both new and demanding.

The present modest rate and scale of these programmes is determined not only by our ability to make the assistance available but also by the ability of receiving countries to absorb it and put it to best use. Our assistance must be clearly and closely related to the local needs as the local authorities see them. We can and should assist those countries in assessing their requirements and in formulating them, but the judgment as to how those requirements can best be met must be their own.

Ruskin phrased a definition of technical assistance when he said of education that it was finding out what people were trying to do and helping them to do it better. That is what we are hoping to accomplish now. But there is a larger objective.

Our participation in these programmes of technical assistance offers us a two-way bridge of co-operation with the countries of Asia. That is why it is of such vital importance that they should succeed.



—Capital Press

SIGNING OF A NEW TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES

The Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier (centre) and the United States Ambassador to Canada, Mr. Stanley Woodward (right) sign a treaty providing for a uniform system of marine radiotelephony on the Great Lakes. On the left is Commissioner E. M. Webster of the Federal Communications Commission, Washington.

This treaty, which was signed in Ottawa on February 21, provides for greater safety and convenience for shipping on the Great Lakes. The treaty deals with the type of radio to be carried by ships and it provides for the extension of the requirements of both countries so that ships using Great Lakes ports must carry radiotelephone equipment.

Agreement on a common set of requirements for both countries is desirable because a large number of ships use the Great Lakes ports of both countries and must satisfy both Canadian and United States safety regulations on the carriage of radio. The signing of this treaty brought to completion discussions held in Ottawa in May 1951 between governmental authorities and the shipping interests concerned and negotiations which date back to prewar years.

THE LISBON MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL

The Ninth Session of the North Atlantic Council, held in Lisbon in February, may turn out to have been one of major significance in the history of the Organization. This is bound to be so if governments act favourably on the agreements reached at Lisbon by the Ministers.

As the original date of the meeting approached, the feeling grew that this session of the Council would be crucial. Several major issues affecting the alliance had reached a stage where their early solution seemed necessary to the continued healthy development of the Organization. Real progress had to be made with arrangements for a German military contribution to the defence of the West. Agreement was also necessary on the total defence contribution which each country would make, the question the Temporary Council Committee had been studying since the Ottawa meeting in September. Then there was the less urgent, but in some minds equally important, requirement of modifying the civilian structure to fit the Organization to carry out its changing functions as the emphasis shifted from plans to their implementations.

Meeting Postponed

Quickly changing events created an atmosphere which dimmed the hope of much success in these fields. To gain time, the meeting was postponed for a fortnight, from the 2nd to the 16th of February. Nevertheless, as this date approached, Germany and France seemed far apart on important issues. The French announcement that their High Commissioner in the Saar had been made Ambassador brought immediate sharp response from Germany, where a settlement of the Saar question was demanded as a pre-condition of a German military contribution. It was suggested in Bonn that German membership in NATO was the only logical solution to the problem of the association of the Federal Republic with the Western European defence system. Furthermore, the debate in the Bundestag brought into the open the existence of a large body of German opinion unfavourable to German rearmament in any form.

In France the political situation was particularly fragile and the position of the new Faure Government precarious. The possibility that progress on the contractual agreements to replace the occupation statute or on the European Defence Community would reach a point where anything could be presented to the Council at Lisbon seemed slim.

Then King George VI died suddenly and the Lisbon meeting was again postponed, this time to February 20, to permit national representatives to attend the King's funeral February 15.

During the intervening few days, conversations of importance took place in London, and the French Government obtained a vote of confidence from the Assembly on the principles underlying the European Defence Community.

Nevertheless, doubts persisted, and in this atmosphere of uncertainty the Ninth Session of the North Atlantic Council was opened in Lisbon with Mr. L. B. Pearson as President. The number of countries represented at the Council table had now risen to fourteen, with Greece and Turkey, who had just deposited their instruments of accession, attending for the first time as full members. In all, thirty-five Ministers were present.

European Defence Community

The first two days were taken up mainly with procedural matters and committee work. Then on Friday, the 22nd, the plenary session of the Council discussed the relationship with the European Defence Community. As a preliminary, reports were received on the progress of the Paris discussions on the European Defence Community and the Bonn discussions on the contractual agreements. These statements, made by Mr. Schuman and Mr. Eden, were encouraging and they predicted an early solution of the few remaining unresolved problems. It was clear that much progress had been made during the London talks and that the government leaders felt confident that the EDC treaty and the contractual agreements would be signed in a short time.

The Council had to consider specifically whether the principles underlying the proposed treaty to establish the European Defence Community and to bring the European Army into being conformed to the interest of the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty. This the Council was able to do. The next problem was to decide on the principles which should govern the relationship between the proposed Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. A decision was reached on this question, and consequently a solution was outlined for one of the most difficult problems — that of bringing Germany into the defence arrangements of the West on a basis of equality. This would make possible the raising of forces in Germany, while at the same time providing safeguards against the re-emergence of an independent German military force.

The North Atlantic Council agreed to propose to its members and to the European Defence Community reciprocal security undertakings between members of the two organizations. This, like similar decisions of the Council, would of course be subject to ratification by member governments. In reaching these decisions, it was recognized that the two organizations have the common objective of strengthening the defence of the Atlantic area, and that in this objective the EDC would work within the framework of NATO.

Historic Importance

During the discussion of this item there was an evident feeling in the Council that something of great historic importance was being achieved. Mr. Acheson, the United States Secretary of State, interpreted the feeling for the meeting when he described the conception of the European Defence Community as one of the most imaginative, forward-looking, powerful and healing steps which has been taken for centuries in this troubled world. He repeated what Congress has said, that the United States is deeply and permanently concerned not only that the European Defence Community be established but that it be preserved and maintained, and he mentioned particularly the United States view that the European Defence Community and the North Atlantic Organization are inter-connected institutions. Mr. Pearson, from the Chair, described the passing of the resolution as a great move towards peace, a move which is part of a greater development towards an Atlantic Community. It should, nevertheless, be borne in mind that these decisions are subject to ratification and implementation by governments. The measure of the achievement depends on the extent to which member governments can carry out the Council's resolutions. Nevertheless, the prospects of the meeting improved from this moment. Most delegates felt that the really difficult hurdle had been crossed. Although, undoubtedly, the real work of reaching agreement had been done elsewhere, the Council at Lisbon caught the spirit of agreement and moved with confidence to settle the other items on its agenda.



—NATIS

NATO HEADQUARTERS IN LISBON

Flags of the Member Nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization fly outside the Instituto Superior Técnico, Portugal's new Science University, situated about two miles from the centre of Lisbon. This building was the headquarters of the NATO Council and International Secretariat for the Ninth Session of the North Atlantic Council which was held on February 20-25.

Report of TCC

Almost without debate, the Council approved a comprehensive and detailed recommendation prepared by the Temporary Council Committee, which had been set up at the Ottawa meeting⁽¹⁾ to make a complete survey of the defence efforts of member countries in relation to political and economic conditions. Agreement was reached on defence requirements and forces to be provided this year and in following years. In the broader long-term sphere, it was agreed to recommend policies designed to maintain and strengthen the economic and social stability of member countries. The TCC issued a public report which is reprinted on page 103.

On the specific requirements for airfields, communications networks and headquarters structures, agreement was reached on the financing of an additional programme to be undertaken at once. (These requirements are described by the mysterious word "infrastructure".)

The Committee of Five

It will be recalled that at Ottawa, when the TCC was set up, another committee, the Committee of Five, was established to study the means of furthering the non-military objectives of the North Atlantic Organization. This Committee reported first

(1) See *External Affairs*, October 1951, p. 322 *et seq.*

at the Rome meeting, and last month submitted another report at Lisbon which emphasized the importance of economic co-operation and particularly the possibility of working out closer co-operative arrangements with other bodies, such as the Organization for European Economic Co-operation.

The problem of the movement of labour between member countries was acknowledged to be of importance and a recommendation of the TCC on this subject was endorsed. NATO was charged with the responsibility of keeping the question under continuous review in order to make specific recommendations where possible for the elimination, by the most effective utilization of manpower resources, of general or specific manpower shortages which hindered defence production. The Committee of Five reported that during its studies it had been conscious of the fact that all members of the Organization are equally interested in the field of general co-operation, and it was therefore decided that future work in this sphere should be transferred to the Council as a whole.

The Organization of NATO

The Temporary Council Committee, in its interim report at Rome, had drawn attention to the growing feeling that the structure of the Organization could usefully be modified so as to enable it to handle the new tasks as the work moves from the planning to the operational stage. These questions had been studied between the Rome and the Lisbon meetings. At Lisbon, it was decided that, while the Council would continue to hold periodic ministerial meetings, it would henceforth function in permanent session through the appointment of permanent national representatives. It was also decided to appoint a Secretary-General to head a unified international secretariat designed to assist the Council in the fulfilment of its increasing responsibilities. All civilian bodies of the Organization will be concentrated in one city and it was felt that the headquarters should, in the interests of efficiency, be situated near other international agencies whose work is closely related to that of NATO. These are at present situated in the vicinity of Paris, where it is planned that the NATO headquarters should shortly be established. When these changes have been effected, the Council will assume the functions at present performed by the Council Deputies, the Defence Production Board and the Financial and Economic Board. It is the plan that each member country should be represented at the headquarters by a permanent representative who will be assisted by a delegation, after the pattern of United Nations delegations, able to participate in the various aspects of NATO work.

On the military side, recommendations for re-organization were also accepted. These involve chiefly a revision of the responsibilities of the Standing Group and of the Supreme Commander Allied Powers in Europe (SACEUR) — notably, additional responsibility for equipment priorities and planning for the logistical support of the military forces.

The Military Committee of the Council met in Lisbon just prior to the Council. Lt. General Foulkes (Canada) presided.

Greece and Turkey

Also in the military sphere, it was necessary to make arrangements for the command of the Greek and Turkish forces assigned to NATO. It was decided that such ground and air forces would operate under the command of SACEUR through his Commander-in-Chief Southern Europe. The naval forces of Greece and Turkey, while operating in close co-ordination with other naval forces in the Mediterranean, will for the present remain under national command. The general question of the command of naval forces in the Mediterranean area will continue to be studied by the Standing Group.

The text of the communiqué issued at the close of the meeting is given below. It ends with a Declaration of Aims designed to point up the comprehensive long-range objectives which are the motivating spirit of NATO.

TEXT OF CLOSING STATEMENTS BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL, LISBON, FEBRUARY 25, 1952

The text of a final communiqué of the ninth North Atlantic Council meeting and of a Declaration of Aims follows:

The Communiqué

(1)

The Ninth Session of the North Atlantic Council was held in Lisbon from February 20 to February 25, 1952, under the chairmanship of Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs.

On February 18, the Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of Turkey acceded to the Treaty, and representatives of their respective Governments attended throughout the session. In all, thirty-five Ministers of fourteen countries took part in the discussions of the Council.

(2)

The Council made further progress in dealing with current and long-range problems of the Atlantic community. The decisions taken and the agreements reached by the Council are the practical result of projects initiated at earlier sessions and reflect the continuing work of the treaty agencies. They represent the united efforts of member governments to safeguard the peace, stability and well-being of the North Atlantic community through the strengthening of their collective defence.

(3)

The Council took note of a report of the Paris conference on the European Defence Community and a report by the occupying powers on the proposed contractual arrangements with the German Federal Republic. The Council found that the principles underlying the treaty to establish the European Defence Community conformed to the interests of the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty. It also agreed on the principles which should govern the relationship between the proposed community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The North Atlantic Council agreed to propose to its members and to the European Defence Community reciprocal security undertakings between the members of the two organizations. Such undertakings would require ratification in accordance with the constitutional processes of the states involved. All these decisions are inspired by the conviction that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Defence Community have a common objective, to strengthen the defence of the Atlantic area, and that the development of the European Defence Community should be carried forward in this spirit. Therefore, the Council considered that the obligations and relationships between the communities should be based on the concept of two closely related organizations, one working, so far as this objective is concerned, within the framework of, and reinforcing the other.

(4)

The Council took detailed and comprehensive action based on the recommendations of the Temporary Council Committee. The decisions taken by the Council provided for the earliest building-up of balanced collective forces to meet the requirements of external security within the capabilities of member countries. Agree-

ment was reached on the specific defensive strength to be built this year, and on a definite programme of measures to be taken this year to increase defensive strength in following years. A number of important steps were agreed to be taken by the Treaty Organization and by member governments to accomplish this building-up with a more efficient use of resources. Policies designed to maintain and strengthen the economies and social stability of member countries were agreed and recommended to governments.

(5)

Agreements was reached on the financing of a further portion of the infrastructure programme, for airfields, communications and headquarters.

(6)

The terms of reference of the Standing Group and of the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers in Europe, were revised to reflect added responsibilities, notably for equipment priorities and planning for the logistical support of the military forces.

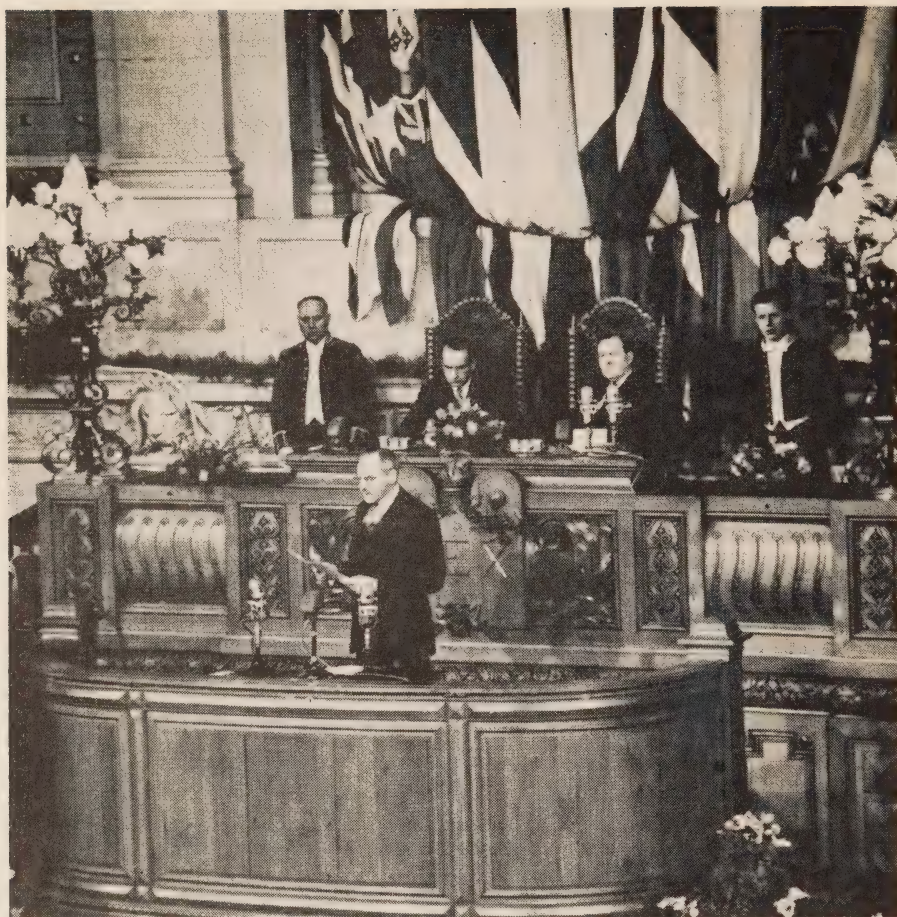
The Council agreed that the ground and air forces of Greece and Turkey assigned to NATO will operate under the over-all command of SACEUR (Supreme Allied Commander Europe) through Commander in Chief, Southern Europe. The naval forces of Greece and Turkey will remain for the present under their national Chiefs of Staff, operating in close co-ordination with all other naval forces in the Mediterranean. The Standing Group was directed to continue its study of command of naval forces in the Mediterranean area and their co-ordination with land and air forces and to submit a definitive report to the Council at its next meeting.

(7)

The Council also took action to adapt the Treaty Organization to the needs arising from the development of its activities from the planning to the operational stage. The North Atlantic Council, while continuing to hold periodic ministerial meetings, will henceforth function in permanent session through the appointment of permanent representatives. The Council decided to appoint a Secretary-General, who will head a unified international secretariat designed to assist the Council in the fulfilment of the increasing responsibilities. All civilian activities of the organization will be concentrated in the geographical area where are situated other international agencies whose work is closely related to that of the Treaty Organization and with which close administrative connection is essential to efficiency. These are presently situated in the vicinity of Paris. When these changes become effective, the Council will assume the functions hitherto performed by the Council Deputies, the Defence Production Board, and the Financial and Economic Board.

(8)

The Council adopted a report of the Atlantic Community Committee, established at its Ottawa meeting. This report emphasized the importance of economic co-operation, the expansion and liberalization of trade, and the possibility of working out closer co-operative arrangements with other bodies, particularly the OEEC (Organization for European Economic Co-operation). In approving the analysis of the problem of the movement of labor between member countries in the report of the Atlantic Community Committee, the Council acknowledged the importance of this problem and endorsed the resolution of the Temporary Council Committee on this subject. It was agreed that the permanent North Atlantic Treaty Organization should keep this problem under continuous review, and make recommendations for the elimination, by the most effective utilization of manpower resources, of general or specific manpower shortages which hinder defence production. As co-operation in the field covered by the five-power Atlantic Community Committee is of direct and common



—NATIS

NATO COUNCIL IN SESSION

The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dean Acheson, addresses the Ninth Session of the North Atlantic Council held in Lisbon, February 20-25. The Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson (rear, second from right) is in the chair. On the left is Dr. Costa Leite, Chairman of the Portuguese Delegation.

concern to each member of the Council, it was decided that the future work in this sphere should be transferred to the Council.

(9)

The Council issued a declaration reaffirming the aims of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as the promotion of peace through defensive strength and enduring progress.

The Declaration of Aims

In the course of their discussions in Lisbon the members of the North Atlantic Council reviewed the aims of their association.

They wish once more to emphasize that this association was forged as a shield against aggression. Its first aim is peace, and the armed strength which is being built up by the united efforts of the member nations will be used only for the defence of their countries and the security of their peoples.

The plan for the build-up of defence forces for the North Atlantic Treaty area laid down by the TCC (Temporary Council Committee) has been adopted at the present session of the Council in the belief that defensive strength will prove the best deterrent to aggression.

The Council has learned with approval of the main provisions of the plan worked out between five of its members (France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg) and the (West) German Federal Republic for a European Defence Community.

The establishment of this community will help to promote the closer association of the Western European countries and to strengthen the defence of the North Atlantic area.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, respecting the principles on which the community is founded, will support and co-operate with its institutions.

The arrangements to govern the relationship between the two organizations which have been approved at Lisbon will insure that in pursuit of the common objective the defence of the North Atlantic Treaty area, the EDC will reinforce and work within the framework of NATO.

The partnership between the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty is not for defence alone but of enduring progress. The members of the Council look forward to the time when the main energies of their association can be less concentrated on defence and more fully devoted to co-operation in other fields, for the well-being of their peoples and for the advancement of human progress.

Then, as now, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization will have to play its part, and to this end it has been agreed in Lisbon to strengthen its structure so that it may become a still more effective association of like-minded nations determined to maintain in peace the unity of purpose and effort achieved in the face of present dangers, and to express itself by continuous collaboration on common problems.

The understanding and sense of fellowship which the members wish to see develop between their countries cannot be achieved by governmental action alone. All citizens can play their part in the work of uniting the peoples in one Atlantic community which will afford, in ever increasing measure, the benefits of peace, freedom and prosperity.

NATO PRESS RELEASE ON THE REPORT OF TEMPORARY COUNCIL COMMITTEE

1. The North Atlantic Council yesterday (February 24) adopted the plan of action of its Temporary Council Committee. The approval of the Council Resolution on the TCC report brought to a successful conclusion the work of the TCC, established by the Council at its meeting in Ottawa on September 19, 1951.

2. By its resolution on the TCC Report, the North Atlantic Council agreed on specific policies and plans for building NATO defensive strength during the present year. NATO nations agreed to provide approximately 50 divisions in appropriate conditions of combat-readiness and 4,000 operational aircraft in Western Europe, as well as strong naval forces. It further provided a definite programme for taking measures this year necessary to increase the defensive power of NATO in following years. This defensive force does not include the contributions of Greece and Turkey.

There was general agreement that this increase in defensive power will constitute an important increased deterrent against aggression. While not covered specifically by the Council action at Lisbon, it was recognized that Allied strategic air power

is already a powerful deterrent to aggression and in the event of attack would be a most valuable addition to the defence of Western Europe.

3. The primary task of the TCC was to develop a plan of action reconciling the issues arising from the requirements of a militarily acceptable defence plan and the politico-economic capabilities of the member countries. Through the work of a Screening and Costing Staff under the direction of General McNarney, it considered ways and means of building balanced effective defensive forces at minimum cost. At the same time, it made a careful appraisal of the politico-economic capabilities of each NATO country and of the economic problems which will have to be dealt with in order to develop those capabilities.

4. The Council Resolution, derived from the TCC report, lays the emphasis on defence which is prompt, effective, and practicable. This requires (a) action for the earliest build-up of balanced collective forces, (b) policies designed to maintain and strengthen the economic and social structure of each country and (c) appropriate organizational arrangements.

I. The threat which the member countries of NATO now face clearly requires that they promptly build up their effective forces. The various elements of this build-up should be kept in balance so as to make possible at all times the maximum combat-ready forces as an effective deterrent against aggression.

(A) The Council Resolution stated measures essential to the achievement of the planned buildup of NATO defensive strength in this and following years. These measures emphasized:

- (1) economy in the use of resources for defence;
- (2) the elimination of less essential defence activities;
- (3) adoption of detailed measures developed by TCC for improving the combat efficiency of national forces;
- (4) a further development of NATO-wide equipment supply planning;
- (5) initiation of a system of NATO priority recommendations to assist in the allocation of equipment by nations;
- (6) an increased efficiency through improved organizational arrangements.

On these and other points, specific recommendations have been agreed to by NATO governments, and instructions for action given, with provision for NATO follow-up.

(B) The directives defining the duties and responsibilities of General Eisenhower and of the Military Committee's Standing Group have been revised to reflect added responsibilities.

(C) The TCC plan of action included the assumption that Germany will in subsequent years contribute forces through the EDC to the defence of Europe.

II. Adequate defensive strength can be created and maintained only if the economic and social foundation in each country remains sound and healthy. The Council made a number of recommendations for strengthening the economies of the participating countries, involving national and co-operative action. The Council recommended that all NATO governments should take all practicable measures:

- (a) to encourage general economic expansion;

- (b) to increase production of scarce raw materials and to control their use as necessary to conserve supplies and insure defence requirements are met;
- (c) to prevent inflation by adoption of necessary sound fiscal, financial, and monetary policies;
- (d) to facilitate labour mobility among NATO countries, and to alleviate manpower shortages in defence industries;
- (e) to adopt measures to improve the equitable distribution of the internal burden of defence in the NATO countries;
- (f) to maintain essential imports through a satisfactory solution of balance of payments problems, in particular by increasing the dollar earnings of European countries.

III. NATO activities are shifting in emphasis from the planning to the operational stage. The machinery and methods of operation of NATO must be adjusted to this new situation. In particular, the TCC recommended methods to develop and keep up to date a NATO-wide defence programme which is balanced, feasible and economical. On this basis, there is a need for continual planning and follow-up by NATO agencies, based on annual reviews of the TCC type by the permanent NATO, to provide a firm programme for the immediately ensuing year and provisional guidance for longer-term actions.

The Council recognized the existence of a number of military, economic and political problems which the member countries face in implementing fully its recommended programme for 1952. The Council agreed that urgent and sustained action on these problems is of vital importance to the achievement of NATO security objectives, and urged that the governments and the NATO agencies undertake without delay the specific actions required.

The Council Resolution recognizes that the risk of aggression will continue. It also recognizes that there is a great urgency for increased defensive power in the North Atlantic Treaty area on a truly operational basis, and that governments individually and collectively should devote their best efforts to this end.

5. The Council invited the Governments of Greece and Turkey to consider with appropriate NATO bodies the applicability of the findings and recommendations of the TCC to Greece and Turkey. It opened the way for participation of Greece and Turkey on a full and equal basis in the annual review to be undertaken beginning next summer.

CANADIAN FILMS ABROAD

Every night last summer crowds of children and adults stood packed into a blind alley in the poor section of Tokyo watching films on Canada lent to a local exhibitor by the Canadian Military Mission to Japan. These showings, frequently lasting more than two hours, were received by the spectators with unflagging enthusiasm. An observer wrote at the time: "The applause . . . , including many cries of 'Bravo' commenced while the . . . titles were being shown and continued to punctuate the film until its close." Last spring, at Leopoldville in the Belgian Congo, more than 243,000 persons attended showings of Canadian films. At present, the first-run theatres of seven countries are widely featuring *Royal Journey*, a full-length picture by the National Film Board on the recent Royal Tour, concerning which a leading Canadian newspaper has said that it "is not only a most impressive record of the recent visit of British royalty to these shores but also about the best film of Canada ever taken . . . Canada unconsciously presenting itself as a series of great canvasses."

In such a variety of circumstances, millions of people, in more than fifty countries, have been learning about Canada from Canadian films. This method of imparting information is comparatively new to Canada, for, although the Government was making films as early as 1917, the present programme is no older than the beginning of the Second World War.

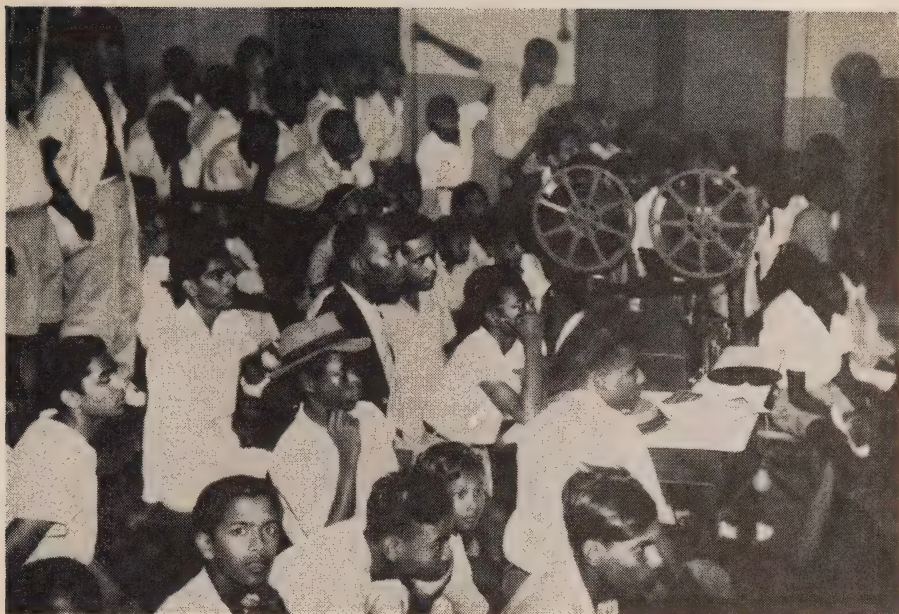
Until this year films sent abroad, including National Film Board and commercial productions, were, with few exceptions, produced primarily for Canadian audiences. Distribution to foreign audiences was made with the co-operation of the Departments of External Affairs and Trade and Commerce.

The main distribution channels are four: (1) Commercial — comprising theatrical distribution and the sale of prints for non-theatrical use; (2) non-commercial — consisting of distribution through Canadian diplomatic, consular and trade posts abroad, loans to educational and cultural agencies and a special tourist programme in the United States; (3) newsreel distribution; (4) television — a rapidly expanding medium for Canadian films, especially in the United States. In key areas, the Film Board is represented by its London, New York and Chicago offices.

Commercial Distribution

The National Film Board distributes its productions in competition with the best productions of commercial and government-controlled studios throughout the world. Its films can be obtained by foreign exhibitors either by leasing the rights in a specified region for a definite period or by relinquishing a portion of the box-office receipts as rent. It is impossible to make a close estimate of the sizes of the audiences for Canadian films shown abroad. Exhibitors' reports usually list bookings only. A booking may represent a screening to an audience of any size, from a "one-night stand" in a hall seating 200 to a month's run in a major metropolitan theatre. For instance, two stereoscopic animated films produced by Norman McLaren were shown, last Autumn, to a total of 105,000 people in three Brussels theatres. As entered in the records, this would be shown simply as three bookings. During the year ended March 31, 1951, NFB films received 10,572 theatrical bookings abroad.

The second channel for commercial distribution is the sale of NFB prints direct to non-theatrical users and to commercial distributors, who in their turn sell them for non-theatrical use. The sales of prints abroad during 1950-51 reached a total of 3,134.



—NFB

AN AUDIENCE IN THE BELGIAN CONGO

An audience in a village in the Belgian Congo waits for an outdoor screening of Canadian films to begin. This photograph was taken near Leopoldville.

Non-Commercial Distribution

During 1950-51, Canadian films were seen at non-theatrical screenings abroad by nearly 9,700,000 persons; this figure does not include attendance at showings of prints purchased from the Film Board. As we have already noted, the offices of the Department of External Affairs are the main non-commercial outlets abroad for Canadian films. Libraries of films are maintained in 56 posts, for screening on the spot or for loan to groups requesting Canadian films. New titles are added regularly to these collections.

Each Canadian mission has an officer responsible for films, who has generally been trained to operate a projector and to maintain films in good condition. It is now customary for officers proceeding to posts abroad to spend a day or two at the Film Board's headquarters in Ottawa receiving instruction on the handling and use of films. Detailed reports on the use of films abroad, frequently including descriptions of audience-response, are provided by the posts to the Film Board.

Further foreign distribution of its films is obtained by NFB by direct loan to educational and cultural organizations and, in co-operation with the Canadian Government Travel Bureau, through special showings in the United States designed to attract tourists to Canada.

Newsreels

News feature stories filmed by NFB camera-crews are made available to newsreel producers for distribution in many countries. It is reported that audiences for a widely-distributed story may total well over 100 million. Last year NFB features were used in nineteen United States newsreel issues, seventeen South American issues and 12 United Kingdom issues, many of which were also distributed in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Television

The use of NFB films on television in the United States has undergone a remarkable increase during the past few years. During 1950-51, 1,523 bookings were obtained on United States TV stations and networks — over three times the figure for the previous year. During the first nine months of 1951-52, the record of the previous year was passed. NFB films are now being sought by the French television network.

Prize-winning Films

Last year awards were made to 12 NFB productions at international film festivals. Among the winners were films on cancer, mental health, dental hygiene for children, family life and music for children. Awards were also taken by three animation films.

The Grand Prize at the Salerno Film Festival was won by *Family Tree*, an animated exposition of the racial diversity of Canada. *Milk Made*, a colour film on the dairy industry, produced for the Department of Agriculture, won the Grand Prize at the Brescia Festival. *Begone Dull Care*, an abstract animation by Norman McLaren interpreting the music of the pianist Oscar Peterson, took the Silver Award at the Berlin Film Festival. First prize in its class was won at Venice by the film *Canada's Awakening North*, an account of the development of the northern territories made for the Department of Resources and Development.

During the past three months, Canadian films have formed part of the regular English lessons of 150,000 Danish school children. At the University of Queensland, Australia, the French department uses French-language films produced by the Film Board for instruction purposes. It is reported that the Old Boys' Cricket Club of Copenhagen is "enthusiastic" about Canadian films on fishing, skiing, skating, horse-breaking and mountain-climbing — anything, in fact, but cricket.

There seems, indeed, to be keen interest abroad in almost every aspect of the Canadian scene. Films are rarely returned to Canada as unsuitable for distribution in a particular country. A film on Barbara Ann Scott, it is true, was returned from Ceylon with the explanation that the Singhalese, never having seen ice, were not interested in figure-skating. On the other hand, her films are said to attract large audiences in Pakistan. In a certain North Africa village interest in one film reached such a pitch that the print disappeared after the screening. The title was *Eskimo Arts and Crafts*.

Among the most successful NFB films shown abroad have been the Mental Health series produced for the Department of National Health and Welfare. Reporting on the distribution of the Mental Mechanism series in Europe, Mr. D. M. Griffin of the Canadian Mental Health Association stated: "The reception of these films has been nothing short of tremendous. For instance, (they) were instrumental in stimulating in Germany a vigorous mental health and child guidance movement". In Holland, Dr. Griffin added, these films were being used for parent education. "In Denmark, *The Feeling of Rejection* stimulated the organization of a National Mental Health Association. In Sweden, the Mental Health Association is so interested they are seeking official permission to dub in Swedish commentary and perhaps dialogue . . . As far as films in the mental health field are concerned, Canada is literally showing the world."

International! Programme

In spite of the success achieved so far, the Film Board is conscious that there is room for a great increase both in the appeal of Canadian films abroad and in the



—NFB

CANADIAN FILMS IN MEXICO

Part of a large audience for an outdoor screening of Canadian films in Mexico is shown above. The sound truck in the background carries a movie projector and often shows National Film Board films to such gatherings.

size of their audiences, theatrical and non-theatrical. The producer of films specifically designed for foreign audiences faces two main problems.

First, the NFB's productions have been aimed primarily at Canada's own audiences — regular patrons of commercial theatres and the more than 10,000,000 people who attend non-theatrical showings made possible through the Board's extensive domestic distribution system. The allusions and implications of such films cannot readily be understood by foreigners. On the other hand, had they been so made as to ensure the comprehension of foreign audiences, they might have proved boring to Canadians.

Secondly, the expense of "dubbing" has prohibited the production of all but a very few Canadian films in tongues other than French and English. Foreign distribution has thus been restricted and the impact of the great majority of films shown abroad reduced.

Recognizing the desirability of increasing the foreign distribution of Canadian films, particularly in Western Europe, and confident of the importance of the contribution they could make to the realization of the community of nations, Parliament last year authorized the Film Board to develop a programme specially designed to meet the needs of audiences abroad. The Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, stated that it would be "a positive and significant step in the direction of consolidating our relations with other freedom-loving countries and assisting in our joint security. . . The programme will aim at being realistic and honest . . . It is desirable that the people whose concerns are the same as ours should see us as we are." It was agreed that the programme should be concerned initially with Western Europe. Its activities fall under four main headings:

- (1) *Extension of newsreel distribution*: During the first nine months of the year, sixteen newsreel stories were provided to British and American companies for distribution in Western Europe. Arrangements were concluded with Belgium and Italy for the direct supply of newsreel stories.
- (2) *Development of channels of distribution, commercial and non-commercial*: Two NFB representatives spent five weeks in the United Kingdom and Europe, one investigating the possibility of increasing distribution early in the year and the other negotiating contracts based on the expected increase. Contracts already signed or pending will augment the supply of NFB films over a broad area, in almost every Western European country, through theatrical and non-commercial outlets and the sale of prints. During the first nine months of 1951-52, distribution through foreign theatrical outlets increased 46 per cent over the level for the same period of the previous year and non-theatrical distribution increased 44 per cent. About 450 new films were added to the libraries of Canadian posts abroad. A bilingual officer was posted to the London office of the Film Board to supervise European distribution.
- (3) *Revision of existing films for Western European distribution*: Ten existing films have been revised or are in process of revision to adapt them to the requirements of Western European audiences.
- (4) *Planning and production of new films suitable for Western European audiences*: The production of four new films for the Western European area is complete or in progress.

The success of this programme will perceptibly increase the value of films in making Canada better known abroad. Even with their present limitations, already indicated, Canadian films cannot be rivalled in the performance of this task by any other medium, even radio. Practically all films are at least partially comprehensible to any audience, since their basic language, the language of the eye, is universal. Films alone can carry a limited message across any barrier of language to the remotest corners of the world. Increased attention by Canadian film-makers to the special interests of foreign audiences will further breach the obstacles to communication between ourselves and the peoples of countries in every part of the globe.

CORRIGENDUM

Vol. 4, No. 2, February 1952, page 56, second paragraph, end of first and beginning of second sentences should read: "... in May 1943, a conference that was attended by representatives of forty-four nations. A second meeting, at Quebec City in October 1945, ..."

RESERVATIONS TO MULTILATERAL CONVENTIONS

Among the matters dealt with by the Legal (Sixth) Committee of the General Assembly at the Sixth Session was an important question relating to the law of treaties. Its importance can be illustrated by a brief summary of the historical and factual background.

Centuries ago, when written agreements first became the accepted mode of regulating affairs between states, travel was difficult and adequate means of communication were lacking. The responsibility of governments to parliaments had not yet been established. States were, therefore, generally represented at drafting conferences by plenipotentiaries authorized to bind their states by a single act of signature. Later, as most states underwent constitutional changes and the responsibility of governments to elected bodies became acknowledged, the practice developed of signing without binding effect. In other words, the signature of the representative of the participating state was regarded merely as evidence that he admitted the text to be that agreed upon in the course of the discussions. It was presumed that, as a document, it was satisfactory to the state which he represented, but, at the same time, it was recognized by the other participating states that it would become binding only upon deposit of a subsequent instrument of ratification. States were thus able to consider the proposed convention according to their separate constitutional procedures and prior to their becoming committed to other states.

There is no legal difference between a treaty and a convention. The term 'treaty' is now generally reserved for agreements which regulate the affairs of states in a broad way. It is also the appropriate title when the relative bargaining positions are unequal, for example, in treaties of peace. The term 'convention' is now more generally employed, particularly to designate agreements to which a large number of states are expected to become parties.

Such multilateral agreements are frequently opened for 'accession' by states which have not previously signed them. It is also frequently arranged that they shall not come into force until they have been ratified or acceded to by a specified number of states or until the expiration of a specified period of time. Occasionally the date of entry into force depends upon both of these factors.

Effect of Reservations

A state which has previously signed a convention may be unwilling to ratify it as it stands, and may accordingly make a reservation against the operation of one or more of its provisions. The practice of opening conventions for accession by states which have not participated at the drafting stage is conducive to the deposit by such states of instruments of accession which include reservations.

If other states object to such reservations, confusion results—particularly if many states are involved. If the date of entry into force depends on the number of states ratifying or acceding, the confusion is even worse. The problem was considered in the League of Nations, where it was generally agreed that a state could not become a party subject to a reservation unless all other contracting states accepted the reservation. This 'classical theory' was based on the view that no state could alter the text of a contract as applied to itself by its own unilateral act unless all other interested states agreed.

Conventions are an important source of international law, and those drafted by international organizations such as the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies

are particularly important in this regard. In the past, differences of opinion have arisen as to whether the integrity of the text of such law-making conventions was more or less important than participation of a large number of states.

Reservations to Genocide Convention

The problem came to a head in connection with the Genocide Convention. This Convention was of a law-making character. Certain states (the Soviet bloc and the Philippines) sought to become parties with reservations against specific provisions, the most important of which was an article under which they could have been brought before the International Court of Justice for a ruling on their failure to apprehend and try persons guilty of genocide. (The International Court of Justice can make a declaratory judgment concerning the carrying out of the convention. It has no criminal jurisdiction and it was never intended that it should actually try persons guilty of genocide.)

The General Assembly, at its Fifth Session, referred specific questions arising out of these reservations to the International Court of Justice and also asked the International Law Commission to make a general study of the question of reservations to multilateral conventions. The Legal (Sixth) Committee considered the advisory opinion of the Court and the report of the Commission together.

The Court, by a majority of 7 to 5, held that a state could become a party while maintaining a reservation, notwithstanding the objection of other states, if the reservation was "compatible with the objects and purposes of the convention". It was left for each state to apply its own subjective test as to whether a reservation was "compatible" or "incompatible". If they disagreed, there remained a situation described by some delegates in the Legal Committee as a state of "legal chaos".

Further Consideration in the United Nations

The International Law Commission recommended by a unanimous vote that states make provision during the drafting of a convention to govern the making of reservations and objections. This recommendation was generally acceptable. It also recommended a set of rules to govern the situation when no such provision had been made in the convention based on the classical theory of unanimous consent mentioned above. This recommendation produced a sharp conflict of opinion. Although it had been unanimously adopted by the participating members of the Commission, the Legal Committee refused to accept it. The Soviet block insisted on an alleged sovereign right of states to become parties and to make reservations at will. Most Latin-American countries favoured a system adopted several years previously by the Organization of American States, which facilitated the making of reservations, but which also prescribed that the convention would not come into force between a reserving and an objecting state, thus tending to split the multi-lateral convention into a series of bi-lateral agreements. Most European states and Commonwealth countries supported the recommendations of the Commission. The Canadian Delegation, toward the end of the debate, suggested an alternative set of rules which would have permitted acceptance of reservations by a three-fourths majority of contracting states, but a compromise proved impossible and the Committee did not make a recommendation on this matter in the resolution which was subsequently adopted by the General Assembly.

The problem of determining the precise legal position resulting from reservations and objections thereto is likely to arise again in the future whenever the states which participate in the drafting of a convention have failed to include in the text stipulations governing reservations.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

STATEMENTS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

The Speech from the Throne opening the 6th Session of the 21st Parliament on Thursday, February 28, began with the following tribute to the late King and to his successor, Queen Elizabeth II:

I meet you at a time when the people of Canada, in common with other peoples of the Commonwealth, mourn the loss of our late Sovereign, King George VI. His late Majesty was greatly loved by all his subjects in Canada who have vivid recollections of his visit to this country and of his many associations with his Canadian people. In no part of the Commonwealth has the sense of personal loss been more deeply felt than in our country. I join with you in extending deepest sympathy in their bereavement to Her Majesty the Queen, to Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, to Queen Mary, to Princess Margaret and all the members of the royal family.

The people of Canada have already had an opportunity of meeting their new sovereign. In the course of her visit to our country a few months ago Her Majesty made a deep and lasting impression on her Canadian subjects. As the Queen assumes her heavy responsibilities she is assured of the loyalty and devotion of the Canadian people in full measure.

The new Governor General's first address to Parliament next referred to his sense of "the great honour of having been appointed by His late Majesty as his personal representative in my native land", and went on to discuss the international situation in the following words:

The situation throughout the world continues to cause concern and to require my ministers to devote a great deal of attention to our external affairs. The Government remains convinced that the nations of the free world must continue to increase their combined strength, in order to ensure lasting peace and security by the effective discouragement of aggression.

In Korea it has not yet been possible to bring about an armistice, but negotiations with this end in view are still going on. Canadian forces together with their comrades from other of the United Nations are giving distinguished service in that unhappy land.

A formation from the Canadian Army now forms an effective part of the integrated force of the North Atlantic alliance in Europe and further elements of the Royal Canadian Air Force are progressively being despatched overseas. Amendments to legislation relating to our armed forces will be submitted for your approval.

Your approval will also be sought for a further Canadian contribution to the Colombo plan and for technical assistance to under-developed areas.

A Japanese peace treaty has been signed and will be submitted for your consideration . . .

A board of engineers has been established to prepare an application for submission to the International Joint Commission concerning the development of hydro-electric power in the International Section of the St. Lawrence River . . .

You will be asked to make provision for all essential services, and for national defence and the meeting of our obligations under the United Nations Charter and the North Atlantic Treaty, for the next fiscal year.

On Friday, February 29, the address in reply to the Speech from the Throne was moved by Mr. E. W. George, (L, Westmorland) and seconded by Mr. André Gauthier, (L, Lake St. John).

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Sixth Session of the General Assembly

The Sixth Session of the U.N. General Assembly ended on the afternoon of Tuesday, February 5, 1952. No date was fixed for the Seventh Regular Session. However, Rule 1 of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure provides that: "The General Assembly shall meet every year in regular session commencing on the third Tuesday in September". Regarding the location of the Seventh Session, Rule 3 of the Assembly's Rules of Procedure states that: "Sessions shall be held at the Headquarters of the United Nations unless convened elsewhere in pursuance of a decision of the General Assembly at a previous session or at the request of a majority of the Members of the United Nations". Unless, therefore, some contrary decision is taken by a majority of the Members of the United Nations between now and next September, the Seventh Regular Session of the General Assembly will open in New York on Tuesday, September 16, 1952.

Special Session of the General Assembly on Korea

Before its adjournment the Sixth Regular Session of the General Assembly decided to postpone discussion of the two items on its agenda which concerned Korea. These were Item 17 (Independence of Korea) and Item 27 (Relief and Rehabilitation of Korea).

On the initiative of the United Kingdom, United States and French Delegations, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on February 5, 1952, just prior to the adjournment of the Sixth Session, by which a special session of the Assembly would be held, at the appropriate time, to consider these two Korean items. This resolution provided that "upon notification by the Unified Command to the Security Council of the conclusion of an armistice in Korea", the Secretary-General would convene a special session of the Assembly in New York to consider the two Korean items. This resolution also provided for the convening of a special session or an "emergency" special session of the Assembly in the event that "other developments in Korea make desirable" consideration of these items. Canada voted in favour of this resolution which was adopted by a vote of 51 in favour, 5 against (the Soviet bloc) and 2 abstentions (Chile and Yemen).

Libya

Questions relating to Libya appeared on the agenda of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly in three different forms:

- (a) The Annual Reports of the United Nations Commissioner in Libya and of the Administering Powers;
- (b) Adjustments of Frontiers between Egypt and the Former Italian Colony of Libya;
- (c) The Problem of War Damages.

Annual Reports

At its Fourth Session, the General Assembly adopted a resolution recommending that Libya achieve independence not later than January 1, 1952. Since this date would fall during the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, it was necessary to decide whether a discussion of the Libyan problem should take place before or after independence had been achieved. Attempts were made by representatives of the Arab states to have a special priority assigned to discussion of the Libyan item on the grounds that the procedure being followed to give Libya independence was question-

able. This argument, however, did not prevail, the majority view being that it would be futile to embark on a discussion of this item prior to the publication of the Supplementary Report of the United Nations Commissioner which would not be available until early in 1952, and that there were no valid reasons for delaying, pending the examination of the Commissioner's Report, the proclamation of Libyan independence beyond the date set previously in the General Assembly.

On December 24, by royal proclamation, the United Kingdom of Libya came into being. Canada recognized the new state by an exchange of telegrams⁽¹⁾ When the Ad Hoc Political Committee met on January 23 to consider this subject it had before it a draft resolution sponsored by twelve states (Australia, Chile, Denmark, Greece, Iraq, Liberia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Peru, the Philippines, United States, and Uruguay). This resolution congratulated Libya on the attainment of independence, noted that national elections would soon be held in accordance with the provisions of the Libyan Constitution, asked the Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies to continue to extend technical assistance to Libya on its request, and expressed the view that Libya should be admitted to membership in the United Nations. One of the obstacles to the immediate acceptance of these proposals was the argument advanced by Egypt and the U.S.S.R. that the presence of foreign troops and military bases in Libya was incompatible with Libyan independence. In line with this contention both states proposed resolutions calling for withdrawal of foreign troops. Egypt proposed that the troops should be withdrawn in six months and that the military bases should be handed over to the Libyan military authorities, while the U.S.S.R. called for withdrawal of troops in three months and the liquidation of the bases. Both of these resolutions were defeated by substantial majorities.

Egypt and the Arab countries also voiced opposition to the extent to which the new state of Libya would be dependent for financial assistance on the United Kingdom, under agreements which had been concluded by the latter with the Provisional Libyan Government, and on other financial assistance offered by the United States and Italy. The Arab states were anxious to internationalize the assistance which would, from all indications, be necessary to preserve Libyan economic viability. Egypt, therefore, advanced proposals recommending that members of the United Nations should contribute to a special fund and that the Economic and Social Council should study the measures required for the administration and utilization of that fund. There seemed little likelihood that substantial contributions would be forthcoming, however, as the United Nations Commissioner had already endeavoured to secure for Libya financial assistance of an international character but had received positive guarantees of immediate aid from the United Kingdom, the United States and Italy only. The Arab delegations were therefore obliged to withdraw their proposal. A Chilean suggestion was then put forward in the form of an amendment to the twelve-power draft resolution calling on the Economic and Social Council to study ways and means of providing additional assistance to Libya, and calling on the Secretary-General to give the Economic and Social Council any help it might need in carrying out the tasks allotted to it under the proposed amendment. After a good deal of debate these amendments were adopted by a narrow margin. The revised draft resolution was subsequently adopted in the Ad Hoc Political Committee by a vote of 48 (including Canada) to 0 with no abstentions, and by the General Assembly by 50 (including Canada) to 0 with no abstentions.

Adjustment of Frontiers between Egypt and Libya

The adjustment of the Libyan frontiers had been referred to the Sixth Session of the General Assembly by the Fifth Session. When the Ad Hoc Political Committee discussed this matter, the representative of Egypt signified the intention of

⁽¹⁾ See *External Affairs*, February 1952, pp. 72-73.

his government to enter into direct negotiations with the independent Government of Libya with a view to settling the boundary issue "in the spirit of friendship and neighbourliness". The Ad Hoc Political Committee unanimously adopted a resolution noting the intention of the Government of Egypt to settle the matter in this way. The General Assembly adopted the same resolution unanimously.

The Problem of War Damages

During the Sixth Session the Secretary-General was called on to prepare a report on war damages in Libya with particular reference to the effect of such damage on the Libyan economy. This document was circulated in the Economic Committee and a draft resolution was submitted by France and the United Kingdom inviting the Secretary-General and the Agencies participating in the Technical Assistance Board to give sympathetic consideration to requests of the Libyan Government for assistance with economic development programmes including the repair or reconstruction of property and installations damaged during the war. The Secretary-General was also asked to complete the survey on war damages which had already been undertaken. This resolution was adopted in committee and by the General Assembly with only minor amendments.

Eritrea

In accordance with the General Assembly resolution adopted at the Fifth Session, the former Italian colony of Eritrea was to be constituted "an autonomous unit federated with Ethiopia under the sovereignty of the Ethiopian crown not later than September 5, 1952". It was the view of the United Kingdom, which has been acting since the war as the Administering Power, that certain financial and economic matters which remained after the liquidation of the Italian colonial regime should be satisfactorily disposed of before federation took place. Accordingly, the United Kingdom Delegation to the Sixth Session submitted a report on the situation and a draft resolution designed to meet the needs of the case. The resolution, drawn up in accordance with principles accepted by the General Assembly at its Fifth Session for the solution of similar problems in respect of Libya, called for the return to its original owners of public and private property and for the establishment of a tribunal, composed of international jurists, to settle any disputes which might arise in connection with the transfer.

The only opposition to these suggestions was advanced by the Soviet and Arab blocs, both maintaining that the local population had not been fully consulted on this matter. The Delegate of the U.S.S.R. suggested also that the United Kingdom was being granted certain extraterritorial concessions which would infringe upon Eritrean autonomy. When the United Kingdom draft resolution was put to the vote, therefore, the Soviet bloc opposed it while most of the Arab states abstained. The resolution was adopted in committee, however, by a vote of 33 (including Canada) to 5 with 9 abstentions and by the General Assembly by 39 (including Canada) to 5 with 5 abstentions.

Trusteeship Questions

The Trusteeship Committee adopted several important resolutions on the work of the Trusteeship Council, all but one of which were approved in the plenary session of the Assembly.

In two resolutions, the Assembly recommended changes in the procedure of the Trusteeship Council. One of these asked the Council to establish a standing committee for the examination of petitions from the inhabitants of trust territories, and requested the administering powers to submit to the Trusteeship Council special information on the action taken by them in implementing Trusteeship Council recom-



—Wide World

CANADA SPEAKS AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Minister of Justice and Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Stuart S. Garson (centre), addresses the First (Political) Committee in Paris during the disarmament debate. On Mr. Garson's right is Mr. Manuel Trucco of Chile, and at his left is Mr. K. V. Kisselev of Byelorussia.

mendations dealing with petitions. Canada supported this resolution. In the second resolution, the Assembly recommended that the Trusteeship Council review the organization and functioning of its visiting missions to trust territories with a view to increasing the duration of the visits and reducing the number of trust territories visited, without reducing the frequency of visits.

The General Assembly invited the Trusteeship Council to examine the possibility of associating the inhabitants of the trust territories more closely in its work. The Assembly did not, however, approve a draft resolution which recommended the participation of non-members of the Trusteeship Council in the subsidiary bodies of that organ.

The problem of the Ewe people in Togoland was again raised in the Fourth Committee and debated at length. Representatives from the area were heard, and a resolution was subsequently approved by the Assembly urging the administering powers to reach a "prompt, constructive and equitable settlement", and making recommendations on a Joint Council for Togoland Affairs which is being set up by the administering powers.

The Assembly also recommended unanimously that the authorities administering territories should take steps to disseminate therein information on the United Nations and on the trusteeship system. Another resolution invited member states to make fellowships, scholarships and internships available to qualified students from the trust territories. Canada abstained on this resolution because, as the Canadian Representative explained, the resolution duplicated work already being done under the United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, of which the administering powers were taking full advantage.

In a resolution which met resistance from some administering powers, the Assembly recommended that these powers include, in their annual reports, informa-

tion on the measures being taken to lead the trust territories to self-government and an estimate of the time needed to reach that goal. Canada voted against this resolution. The Canadian Representative explained that he thought that the political progress of the trust territories might be hampered rather than helped by the results of the resolution since from Canada's experience he knew that constitutional evolution was not susceptible to rigid planning and exact formulas.

Other resolutions adopted included:

a request that the Trusteeship Council include in its reports its conclusions on the action taken by the administering authorities to implement Trusteeship Council and General Assembly resolutions;

a recommendation on rural economic development; and

a request for a special report of the Trusteeship Council administrative unions affecting trust territories, to be submitted to a new committee of the General Assembly set up to study the question of these unions.

Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

The General Assembly approved all the resolutions adopted by the Trusteeship Committee on this item. One of the most important of these resolutions (supported by Canada) appointed an ad hoc committee to study further the factors which should be taken into account in deciding whether a territory was, or was not, one whose people had not yet attained a full measure of self-government. These factors were debated in the Fourth Committee and a draft list of them, formulated by a sub-committee, was included, as a guide, in the adopted resolution. All members of the United Nations were invited to provide the Secretary-General with their views on this question before May 1, 1952. Another resolution invited the renamed "Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories" to examine the possibility of associating these territories in its work. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 47 in favour (including Canada), 2 against, and 7 abstentions.

The Trusteeship Committee also elected Ecuador and Indonesia to the Committee on Information to replace Mexico and the Philippines, whose terms had expired.

Human Rights

At its Thirteenth Session last summer, the Economic and Social Council invited the General Assembly to reconsider the decision which it had taken at its Fifth Session in 1950 to include in one covenant articles on economic, social and cultural rights together with articles on civil and political rights. During the discussion of this subject in the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the Assembly, Chile, Egypt, Pakistan and Yugoslavia introduced a resolution re-affirming the previous decision of the Assembly in favour of a single covenant.

An amendment to this resolution, sponsored by Belgium, India, Lebanon, and the United States, requested the Commission on Human Rights to draft two separate covenants, one on civil and political rights and the other on economic, social and cultural rights, to be submitted simultaneously for the consideration of the General Assembly at its Seventh Session. This amendment was adopted, by the Assembly at its last meeting on February 5, 1952, by a vote of 27 in favour (including Canada), 20 against, with 3 abstentions.

A number of other resolutions were also approved under which the Commission on Human Rights was to study various proposals including an article on self-determination, provisions in the two covenants for reservations, and the formulation of recommendations on communications alleging non-observance of human rights.

On March 24 the Economic and Social Council will hold a special session in New York for the purpose of transmitting to the Commission on Human Rights the documents necessary to enable the Commission to prepare the drafts of the two covenants and to complete other work assigned to it. These drafts will be submitted to the Economic and Social Council in its summer session in 1952.

Korean Relief

The Advisory Committee of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, of which Canada is a member, met in Paris on January 10-14. The principal function of this Committee is to advise the Agent General of UNKRA with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution and other economic problems pertaining to the Agency's plans and operations. The members of this Committee in addition to Canada are India, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uruguay.

Because of the prolongation of the cease-fire talks, UNKRA has not yet been able to commence large-scale operations. Present relief work is being undertaken by the Unified Command through its Civil Assistance Command. The Advisory Committee agreed, however, that, pending UNKRA's assumption of full responsibility for all relief work following the conclusion of hostilities, the Agent General might undertake a limited programme, the estimated cost of which is expected to amount to \$8 million. Some of the projects envisaged for this programme are the provision of fishing nets urgently needed for augmenting the food supply, the reestablishment of a marine school, the importation of poultry and farm animals, a number of rehabilitation projects in the field of education, vocational training and public health, the inauguration of specific engineering services and the development of detailed blueprints for power mining and other industrial installations essential to the rehabilitation of the Korean economy.

At the conclusion of the meeting Canada was elected to the Chairmanship of the Advisory Committee.

The United Nations Technical Assistance Conference

The second United Nations Technical Assistance Conference was held in Paris immediately following the conclusion of the Sixth Regular Session of the General Assembly. The purpose of the Conference was to ascertain approximately the total amount of contributions which governments were willing to make available during the year 1952 for the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance to under-developed countries.

Mr. Jean Lesage, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, was elected President of the two-day meeting. Attendance was not confined to the sixty members of the United Nations, since any country which is a member of a Specialized Agency participating in the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance was included in the invitation. The five members of the Soviet bloc did not accept the Secretary-General's invitation to attend the Conference and have for the second time refused to participate in this important programme of assistance to the people of the under-developed countries.

The Secretary-General had asked that countries participating in the programme might for the year 1952, the second financial period, give an amount equal to their contributions for the previous eighteen months' operation of the programme. The response was gratifying both because of the appreciation expressed by the under-developed countries of the accomplishments of the programme so far and the amount pledged for its future activities. The total contributions pledged to the programme by fifty-one countries by March 1, 1952, are equivalent to \$18,839,618. (U.S.). Ten additional countries have indicated they will contribute but have not yet pledged specific amounts. Further efforts are being made to reach the goal of \$20 million.

The Canadian contribution for the first financial period was \$850,000. The Canadian Representative announced that his Government was prepared to pledge the same amount for the year 1952 if the total target of \$20 million was reached. He said that the Canadian Government felt that the very life and success of a programme of this kind depended on the widest participation by all member states. It was to underline the Canadian interest in a universal response to this programme that the Government had decided that the extent of its financial participation would be directly related to that of others. Nevertheless, the Canadian Representative made a firm pledge of \$750,000, subject to the approval of Parliament, and announced that a further \$100,000 would remain available until the final act of the Conference was closed for signature.

The contributions of the United States, Australia and Switzerland were also directly related to the total of the pledges. The United States delegate announced a firm pledge of \$11.4 million which may be increased to \$12 million if the total target of twenty million dollars is reached.

For the first time Western Germany and Japan announced contributions to the programme. Other new contributors were the Indo-Chinese States of Laos, Viet Nam and Cambodia. Increased donations came from Sweden which announced that it would give four times its contribution for the first financial period, and from Columbia, Norway, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan and Haiti.

In his remarks at the close of the Conference, Mr. Lesage congratulated the participants on the "marvellous example of international co-operation" they had shown. He said that by their generous contributions "they had forged an important tool of peace."



—United Nations

WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Women represented a number of countries at the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which adjourned in Paris on February 6. Mrs. R. J. Marshall, (second from right), a past president of the National Council of Women, was a member of the Canadian Delegation. Talking to Mrs. Marshall (left to right) are: Mrs. Irena Domanska, Poland; Mlle Minerva Bernardino, Dominican Republic; Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, U.S.A.; Mrs. Ana Figueroa, Chile; Mrs. Zena Harman, Israel; and Mrs. Aase Lionaes, Norway.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. G. C. McInnes was posted from Ottawa, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in India, effective February 12, 1952.

Mr. M. Blais was posted from Home Leave (Athens), to Ottawa, effective February 4, 1952.

Mr. J. G. H. Halstead was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, to Ottawa, effective February 26, 1952.

Mr. D. Stansfield was posted from the Canadian Embassy in the U.S.S.R., to Ottawa, effective February 25, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

Commodore Knut Mauritz Ostberg, Naval Attaché, Legation of Sweden, February 1.

Mr. Nicolai Chiriaev, Attaché, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, February 4.

Mr. J. S. Gandee, Senior Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, February 8.

Mr. Luis Correia, Assistant Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, February 11.

Mr. Murillo Gurgel Valente, Third Secretary, Embassy of Brazil, February 13.

Mr. Fayaz Alum, Commercial Attaché, Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, February 14.

Mr. Anker Svart, Secretary, Legation of Denmark, February 19.

Mr. Walenty Gratkowski, Attaché, Legation of Poland, February 19.

Colonel Gueorgui Golovechkine, Assistant Military Attaché, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, February 28.

Major Anatoli Kolossov, Assistant Military Attaché for Air, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, February 28.

Departures

His Excellency Mohammed Ali, High Commissioner for Pakistan, February 11. Until Mr. Ali's successor has assumed his duties, Mr. E. H. Enver, Third Secretary, is Acting

High Commissioner.

His Excellency Mario de Stefano, Ambassador of Italy, February 14. Pending the presentation of the Letter of Credence of Mr. Di Stefano's successor, Mr. Ruggero Farace, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Luis Cuneo-Harrison, Ambassador of Peru, February 26. Pending the presentation of the Letter of Credence of Dr. Cuneo-Harrison's successor, Mr. César A. de la Fuente, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Urho Toivola, Minister of Finland, February 29. Until Mr. Toivola's successor has assumed his duties, Mr. Olavi Lahonen, Second Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Mr. Robert J. Francis, Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, January 30.

Mr. G. W. St. J. Chadwick, Senior Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, February 8.

Mr. Francis A. Flood, First Secretary and Agricultural Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, February 27.

Mr. Emir Boysan, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Turkey, February 29.

His Excellency Liu Chieh, Ambassador of China, resumed charge of the Embassy on February 26 on his return from Paris, France, where he attended the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

CONSULAR

Provisional Recognition was granted to:

Miss Lillian Finnilla as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Vancouver, February 12.

Miss Esperanza Zetina as Vice-Consul of Mexico at Ottawa, February 12.

Mr. George M. Graves as Consul of the United States of America at Saint John, Feb-

ruary 12. He was previously Consul at Toronto.

Mr. Ralph W. McMahon as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Calgary, February 26.

Departures

Mr. Milton Faria, Consul of Brazil at Mont-

real, January 30.

Mr. Paulo Valladares, Vice-Consul of Brazil at Toronto, January 30.

Mr. John M. Kavanaugh, Consul of the United States of America at Saint John, February 6.

TRADE

New Appointments

Mr. J. P. Costello, Assistant Trade Commissioner of New Zealand, at Montreal, February 3.

Mr. J. Payne, Trade Commissioner of Aus-

tralia at Vancouver, February 4.

Departure

Mr. Ronald B. Hines, Assistant Trade Commissioner of Australia at Vancouver, February 4.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of February 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs").

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned).

Continuing Boards and Commissions

(Now published annually. Only new continuing boards and commissions will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for a complete list of continuing boards and commissions).

Conferences Attended in February

1. *6th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly.* Paris, November 6, 1951 - February 5, 1952. Representatives: Chairman: S. S. Garson, Minister of Justice; Deputy Chairman: J. Lesage, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Mrs. R. J. Marshall, Past President of the National Council of Women; Alternates: T. A. Stone, Canadian Minister to Sweden; D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York; R. M. Macdonnell, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to the OEEC, Paris; Parliamentary Advisers: T. C. W. Ashbourne, M.P.; L. Balcer, M.P.; E. G. Hansell, M.P.; P. E. Wright, M.P.; Advisers: S. D. Pollock, Department of Finance; G. G. Crean, Canadian Embassy, Belgrade; L. A. D. Stephens, Canadian Embassy, The Hague; N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Miss E. P. MacCallum, Department of External Affairs; J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the

United Nations, New York; D. Stansfield, Canadian Embassy, Moscow; H. B. O. Robinson, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; O. G. Stoner, Canadian Embassy, Paris; J. J. McCardle, Department of External Affairs; Information Officers: F. Charpentier, Canadian Embassy, Paris; Miss M. Gordon, Canadian Consulate General, New York; Secretary-General: A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

2. *Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices.* (ECOSOC). New York, January 29 - February 6. Delegate: T. D. MacDonald, Combines Investigation Commissioner, Department of Justice; Alternate: A. S. Whiteley, Department of Justice.
3. *8th Session of the Economic and Social Council's Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.* Rangoon, Burma, January 29 - February 9. Observer: R. G. Nik Cavell, Department of Trade and Commerce.

4. *United Nations Technical Assistance Conference*. Paris, February 6. Representative: J. Lesage, Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternate: D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York.
5. *11th Session of the Executive Committee of IRO*. Geneva, February 7-9. Head of Delegation: Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland; Delegates: P. W. Bird, Canadian Immigration Officer, Germany; K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
6. *9th Session of the General Council of IRO*. Geneva, February 11-15. Head of Delegation; Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland; Delegates: P. W. Bird, Canadian Immigration Officer, Germany; K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
7. *Caribbean Commission Conference on Industrial Development*. Puerto Rico, February 11-20. Observer: T. G. Major, Canadian Trade Commissioner, Port-of-Spain.
8. *North Atlantic Military Committee*. Lisbon, February 11-12. Chairman: Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chief of Staff; Advisers: A/V/M H. L. Campbell; Maj. Gen. J. D. Smith; Lt. Col. R. L. Rayment, Department of National Defence; H. F. Davis, Department of External Affairs.
9. *2nd Session of Provisional Inter-Governmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME)*. Geneva, February 18-23. Head of Delegation: C. E. S. Smith, Director of Immigration; Delegates: N. F. H. Berlis, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; S. D. Pollock, Department of Finance; Adviser: P. W. Bird, Canadian Immigration Officer, Germany.
10. *Committee on Commodity Problems of FAO*. Rome, February 18. Representative: Dr. S. C. Hudson, Department of Agriculture.
11. *British Commonwealth Scientific (Official) Conference*. Canberra and Melbourne, February 18 - March 7. Chairman: Dr. E. W. R. Steacie, President, National Research Council; Delegates: Dr. K. W. Neatby, Department of Agriculture; Dr. G. S. Hume, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys; Dr. G. B. Reed, Fisheries Research Board; Dr. G. H. Ettinger, Queen's University, Kingston; Dr. P. Gagnon, Laval University, Quebec.
12. *North Atlantic Council*. Lisbon, February 20. Delegates: L. B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs; Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; Advisers: Department of External Affairs:—A. D. P. Heeney, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs; L. D. Wilgress, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; W. F. A. Turgeon, Canadian Ambassador to Ireland and Minister to Portugal; C. S. A. Ritchie, Assistant Under-Secretary of State; A. F. W. Plumptre; S. F. Rae, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Department of National Defence:—Lt. Gen. C. Foulkes, Chairman, Chiefs of Staff; Department of Finance:—J. F. Parkinson, Canadian Representative to the OEEC, Paris; Aides: Department of External Affairs:—P. T. Molson; Department of National Defence:—W/C J. F. M. Bell; Secretary: H. F. Davis, Department of External Affairs.
13. *3rd Meeting of American Central Bank Technical Experts*. Cuba, February 25 - March 8. Representative: W. E. Scott, Bank of Canada.
14. *Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Inter-Sessional Business of GATT*. Geneva, February 25. Representative: L. Couillard, Deputy Representative to OEEC, Paris.
15. *3rd European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation Meeting of ICAO*. Paris, February 26. Delegate: J. H. Tudhope, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
16. *Meeting of the Sub-Group of the Inter-Sessional Working Party on the Reduction of Tariff Levels of GATT*. Geneva, February 26. L. Couillard, Deputy Representative to OEEC, Paris.
17. *Conference on Settlement of German External Debts*. London, February 28. Head of Delegation: E. A. Côté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Delegates: A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; H. D. Clark, Department of Finance.

Conferences to held in March and February

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or Congress in the following list means only that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate; the dates are tentative. It does not follow that the invitation has been or will be accepted).

1. *International Sugar Council*. London, March 3.
2. *118th Session of the Governing Body of ILO (and its Committees)*. Geneva, March 3-15.
3. *Preliminary Meeting of Officials of the Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia*. Karachi, March 10.
4. *Committee on Non-Government Organizations (ECOSOC)*. New York, March 18-21.
5. *Special Session of ECOSOC*. New York, March 24.
6. *4th Session of Inter-American Conference on Social Security*. Mexico, March 24-April 8.
7. *Consultative Committee on Co-operative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia*. Karachi, March 24.
8. *Meeting of WMO*. Geneva, March.
9. *7th Session of the Narcotic Drugs Commission (ECOSOC)*. New York, April 15.
10. *5th Conference of American States Members of the Organization (ILO)*. Rio de Janeiro, April 17-30.
11. *4th Session of the Metal and Trades Committee (ILO)*. Geneva, April 21 - May 3.
12. *6th International Conference of the International Hydrographic Bureau*. Monaco, April 29.
13. *International Wheat Council*. April.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY CANADA

Multilateral

Declaration on the continued application of the schedules to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Signed at Torquay, April 21, 1951.

Fifth Protocol of Rectifications to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Signed at New York, May 7, 1951.

Torquay Protocol to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Signed at New York, May 7, 1951.

Decisions agreeing to the accession of Austria, Federal Republic of Germany, Korea, Peru, Philippines and Turkey to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. Signed at New York, May 7, 1951.

Treaty of Peace with Japan. Signed at San Francisco, September 8, 1951.

Agreement on the status of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, national representatives and international staff. Signed at London, September 20, 1951.

Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the accession of Greece and Turkey. Signed at London, October 17, 1951.

Agreement for the preparation and adoption of the new international frequency list for the various services in the bands between 14 kc/s and 27,500 kc/s with a view to bringing into force the Atlantic City Table of Frequency Allocations. Signed at Geneva, December 3, 1951.

International Plant Protection Convention. Signed at Rome, December 6, 1951.

Australia

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement amending paragraph 4 of the annex to the Australia-Canada Air Transport Agreement of June 11, 1946. Signed at Canberra, March 16, 1951.

Ceylon

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement regarding the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of Ceylon. Signed at London, January 26 and April 24, 1951.

France

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement for the settlement of Canada's claim in respect of military relief and the claim of France in respect of French vessels requisitioned by Canada during the War. Signed at Ottawa, June 26, and July 4, 1951.

Agreement concerning war graves between the Commonwealth and France. Signed at Paris, October 31, 1951.

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement abrogating the agreement of March 22, 1946, concerning the release of certain private property from Government control. Signed at Ottawa, November 13, and December 8, 1951.

India

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement giving formal effect to the statement of principles agreed between the two countries for co-operative economic development of India. Signed at New Delhi, September 10, 1951.

Italy

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement for the settlement of certain Canadian war claims and the release of Italian assets in Canada. Signed at Ottawa, September 20, 1951.

Pakistan

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement giving formal effect to the statement of principles agreed between the two countries for co-operative economic development of Pakistan. Signed at Karachi, September 10, 1951.

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement regarding the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of Pakistan. Signed at Karachi, October 23, 1951.

Union of South Africa

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement regarding the temporary suspension of the margin of preference on unmanufactured logs. Signed at Ottawa, January 3 and 16, 1951.

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement concerning the avoidance of double taxation on income derived from the operation of ships and aircraft. Signed at Pretoria, November 26, 1951.

United Kingdom

Financial agreement. Signed at Ottawa, June 29, 1951.

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement extending to certain colonial territories the double taxation agreement of June 5, 1946. Signed at Ottawa, July 27 and August 14, 1951.

United States of America

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement modifying temporarily the Pacific Ocean weather station programme established by the agreement of June 22, 1950. Signed at Washington, September 25, 1950 and February 16, 1951.

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement amending the agreement of March 12, 1942, respecting unemployment insurance. Signed at Ottawa, July 31 and September 11, 1951.

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement concerning the disposal of United States excess property in Canada. Signed at Ottawa, April 11 and 18, 1951.

Supplementary convention to the supplementary convention between Her Majesty and the United States of America for the mutual extradition of fugitive criminals, signed at Washington, December 13, 1900. Signed at Ottawa, October 26, 1951.

Agreement for the promotion of safety on the Great Lakes by means of radio. Signed at Ottawa, February 21, 1952.

Venezuela

Exchange of notes constituting an agreement renewing the terms of the "modus vivendi" of October 11, 1950 for a period of one year. Signed at Caracas, October 10 and 11, 1951.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
7	13/2	Decrees re withdrawal of properties from Poland
8	19/2	Gift of 500,000 bushels of wheat to Greece (for famine relief)
9	23/2	Posting of a resident officer to Helsinki, Finland.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS[†]

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

Second Report by Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, to the Security Council; 19 December 1951; document S/2448; p. 49.

(b) Printed Documents:

* *Supplementary Report to the Second Annual Report of the United Nations Commissioner in Libya* — Prepared in consultation with the Council for Libya; Paris, 1952; document A/1949/Add.1; p. 52; 50

cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 17A.

* *Refugees and Stateless Persons and Problems of Assistance to Refugees* — Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; Paris 1952; document A/2011; p. 9; 15 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 19. *Final Act and Convention relating to the Status of Refugees*; August 1951; document A/CONF.2/108; p. 59; 50 cents; Geneva, 1951; U.N. Publications, Sales No.: 1951.IV.4 (bilingual).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 52/3—*Our Changing World*, text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at annual dinner meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, at North Bay, on January 21, 1952.

No. 52/6—*The North Atlantic Community*, text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B.

Pearson, delivered at a meeting of the Commercial Club at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on January 26, 1952.

No. 52/7—*The Old and the New Diplomacy*, text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at the 130th Annual Meeting of the Board of Trade, Saint John, New Brunswick, on January 28, 1952.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 52/4—*Canada's Mineral Industry in National Defence*, text of an address by the Deputy Minister of Defence Production, Mr. M. W. Mackenzie, to the general meeting of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, made in Ottawa on January 23, 1952.

No. 52/5—*Canada's Economic Preparedness*, text of an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce and Minister of Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, to the 65th Annual Meeting of the Vancouver Board of Trade, made on January 29, 1952.

[†] Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English), and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

[‡] French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Melbourne (83 William Street)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Casier Postal 373)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (46, rue Montoyer)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (Galle Face Hotel)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.)
China.....	Consul General.....	Shanghai (27 The Bund)
Colombia.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bogota (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida de las Misiones No. 17)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmansstrasse, 14)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbellimer Platz)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City No. 28, 5th Avenue South)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong Bank Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
“.....	Trade Commissioner (Fisheries).....	Naples (via Cimarosa 65, Int. 12, Vomero)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers)
Japan.....	Head of Mission.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	“ (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa)
Portugal.....	Minister.....	Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103)
Puerto Rico.....	Trade Commissioner (Fisheries).....	San Juan (P.O. Box 3981)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)

Switzerland.....	Minister.....	Berne (Thunstrasse 95)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (43 St. Vincent St.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (211, Ayrançi Baglari, Kavaklıdere)
"	Commercial Secretary.....	Istanbul (İstiklal Caddesi, Kismet Han 3/4, Beyoğlu)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24, Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Chargé d'Affairs, a.i. Pereulok)
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
"	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
"	Consul.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Los Angeles (Associated Realty Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
"	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (503, 120 Exchange Street)
"	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (8° Peso Edificio America)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Sv. Markovica, 20)
*OEEC.....	Representative.....	Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Delegate.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
"	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY RE-ORGANIZATION

The following is the text of the press release issued in London on April 4, 1952 on the occasion of the third anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty:

Lord Ismay formally took office as Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization today, on the third anniversary of the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty. At its final meeting this afternoon, the North Atlantic Council Deputies, acting for and on behalf of their governments, adopted resolutions providing for the re-organization of NATO along the lines laid down at the North Atlantic Council meeting in Lisbon. Charles M. Spofford, Chairman of the Council Deputies, which ceased to exist after today's action, turned over to the new Secretary-General the various financial, legal, and administrative powers which hitherto had been vested by the Council Deputies in the Chairman.

At the same time, the Defence Production Board, in London, and the Financial and Economic Board, located in Paris, also go out of existence. Their staffs and experts, however, will to a large extent be incorporated into the new international staff being organized to function with enlarged responsibilities under the new Secretary-General.

Also in accordance with the decision taken at the Lisbon Council meeting, the headquarters of NATO in Belgrave Square will begin tomorrow the move to Paris. It is expected that the organization will be established and ready to operate on a temporary basis, in the United Nations annex to the Palais de Chaillot in Paris within the next two weeks. Eventually, permanent headquarters will be provided in the Paris area. The first meeting of the newly-constituted permanent representatives to the North Atlantic Council is expected to be held in the new Paris headquarters of NATO before the end of the month.

General Principles of Re-Organization

The Council Deputies set down the general principles for the re-organization of NATO and these were adopted by the Council at Lisbon.

The experience of the last two years in developing collective strength for the maintenance of peace and the increasingly broad scope of the activities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have demonstrated the need for improved means of obtaining prompt co-ordination of governmental decisions and for strengthened and unified international machinery to lay the basis for such decisions and to follow up and assist in carrying them into effect. The activities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have been progressively changing from planning to implementation; thus the Organization must become more operational in character. The report of the Temporary Council Committee pointed up the urgent need for staff action, on a continuing basis, in the direction of current capabilities and called for measures to ensure effective action along these lines.

Accordingly, two basic organizational steps were recommended. The first was that the North Atlantic Council, while continuing to hold periodic ministerial meetings, should hereafter function in permanent session through the appointment of permanent representatives and that it should assume responsibility for the tasks hitherto performed by the Council Deputies, the Defence Production Board and the Financial and Economic Board, as well as for these initiated by the Temporary Council Committee. The second step recommended was for the appointment of a Secretary-General and for the establishment of a single integrated and strengthened international secretariat to assume responsibility for the functions hitherto performed by the international staffs of the various civilian agencies of the Treaty, as well as to provide the Council with the necessary assistance in its broadening fields of activity.

The Council Deputies declared that they were aware that organizational changes by themselves could not be relied upon to provide solutions for the many pressing problems confronting the North Atlantic Treaty Governments. Nor did they feel that the changes they recommended should necessarily be final. They believed however, that the measures recommended represented an essential and timely step in the development of North Atlantic Treaty Organization machinery more nearly adequate to provide effective collective action for the attainment of the objectives of the Treaty.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization Governments have agreed to the following specific re-organization recommendations put forward by the Council Deputies:

Composition and Functions of the North Atlantic Council

The terms of reference of the North Atlantic Council continue to be the North Atlantic Treaty. As at present, the Council is a council of governments who are represented by ministers for foreign affairs and/or ministers of defence or by other competent ministers, especially by ministers responsible for financial and economic affairs, as required by the agenda of each meeting. When they consider it appropriate, governments may be represented by heads of government. Ministerial meetings should be held at least three times a year. In order to enable the Council to function in permanent session with effective powers of decision, each member government will appoint a permanent representative to represent his government on the Council when its ministerial representatives are not present.

Meetings of the Council

Only in special circumstances will Council meetings be held at a place other than the permanent headquarters, which will be in the Paris area.

Chairmanship

The Chairmanship of the Council will continue to be held in turn, for a period of one year, by the parties to the Treaty according to the alphabetical order in the English language. If any party does not wish to accept the Chairmanship, it passes to the next party in alphabetical order.

The present Secretary-General will serve as Vice-Chairman. The procedure for selecting future Vice-Chairmen is left for later decision.

Permanent Representatives

The permanent representative of each country represents his government as a whole. He may be of ministerial rank or a senior official, according to the practice of the State concerned. In any case, he should be sufficiently close to his government and entrusted with adequate authority to enable the Council to discharge its collective tasks as a body and to reach prompt decisions.

Each permanent representative will head a national delegation comprising such advisers and experts as may be necessary to assist him in all phases of the work of the Council.

Committees

The Council will retain maximum flexibility in regard to the organization of its work. It should, whenever necessary and in order to relieve itself of matters of detail, set up on a permanent or temporary basis committees to assist it in arriving at necessary governmental agreements.

Specialized functions, such as those now assigned to the Planning Board for Ocean Shipping and the newly established Petroleum Planning Committee, will continue to be directed by the Council under such organizational arrangements as may be deemed most appropriate in the light of experience.

The Secretary-General

The Secretary-General is appointed by and is responsible to the Council. He is not a member of any national delegation. He is responsible for organizing the work of the Council and directing the work of the International Secretariat.

The Secretary-General will initiate and prepare matters for Council action and ensure that appropriate steps are taken to follow up Council decisions and to co-ordinate the actions of member governments in the implementation of such decisions. He should submit to the Council every six months a report on progress in carrying programmes into effect. He may submit recommendations to the Council and will have direct access to all NATO agencies and to governments. Relations between the members of the international staff and the national agencies will be organized in consultation with each permanent representative concerned. His contacts with major NATO commands should not interfere with the existing chain of authority, and the Military Committee and the Standing Group are to be kept fully informed.

International Secretariat

The International Secretariat, under the direction of the Secretary-General and composed of nationals of North Atlantic Treaty countries, will be unified and strengthened so as to play an effective role in the initial preparation and follow-up of action in all matters for which the Council is responsible. It will perform analytical and planning functions at the request of the Council, including preparatory work for the annual TCC-type review. It will be so organized as to support the Council in its various fields of activity. The criterion to be used in appointing the staff will be one of quality rather than quantity. Close liaison and co-ordination with the military agencies should be ensured.

Measures Necessary for Continuing Reconciliation of Requirements with Politico-Economic Capabilities

The Council and the International Secretariat should in particular be so organized as to perform the functions of reconciling the NATO programmes with politico-economic capabilities. The precise method by which the Council and the International Secretariat should be organized to carry forward this task on a continuing basis will be determined by the Council in the light of the TCC recommendations and with the advice of the Secretary-General. However, the following steps appear to be required:

(a) Continuing screening and costing of military plans. This may require a section of the International Secretariat organized and technically equipped for the purpose. This section should work closely with the military agencies of NATO;

(b) Annual review of economic capabilities. For their work in connection with this review the International Secretariat may require to be temporarily augmented by analysts and experts in the economic, military and other fields, as appropriate;

(c) Final determination by the Council of annual programmes, including force targets and programmes required for the supporting build-up of forces.

Relationship Between North Atlantic Civilian and Military Agencies

The position of the North Atlantic Council in relation to the military agencies of NATO will continue unchanged.

Liaison arrangements between the appropriate military agencies and the Council should be strengthened. These and other arrangements designed to ensure closer co-operation between the civil and military sides of NATO will be worked out by the Council with the advice of the military committees and the Standing Group.

BROADCAST BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, MR. L. B. PEARSON, ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF NATO, APRIL 4, 1952

Three years ago today, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created by the signing of the Treaty in Washington.

I need not, I think, remind you of the unhappy circumstances which, it seemed to us, made this new organization of peace-loving states necessary. We had thought in 1945 when the fighting stopped that a new era of peace based upon justice was an imminent reality; but in this we came to be bitterly disappointed. There were threats of aggression against Iran in 1946, and some of those who had been our friends and allies wished our friendship no longer. There was continued occupation of and establishment of Soviet satellite regimes in Eastern Europe, culminating in the enslavement of Czechoslovakia in 1948. Desperate efforts were made to nullify the wise generosity of the Marshall Plan. International agreements which we took seriously were disregarded; and the exercise of the veto power in the United Nations was abused.

Three years ago, then, we anxiously faced a world in which bad faith and the threat or the reality of violence seemed likely to take advantage of what was then our weakness. Now, after three years, although we are not free from anxiety, and although our strength must still be increased, we know that while we and the free peoples with whom we are allied are still anxious for the future, we are however no longer dismayed. Honest men will agree that we can be resolute and strong while offering no menace to those who respect the peace and the dignity of the world we live in. Indeed, it should be clear to all that the forces of NATO will never be used for any aggressive action and are being built up solely for defensive purposes. We sincerely hope that these forces will never have to be employed and that from our growing strength we may be able to negotiate political settlements which will relieve the world tension and lead eventually to agreement for the general reduction of armaments.

Our resolution and our growing strength have entailed some sacrifices for us in Canada; and we are still far from enjoying that peace which we thought we had attained seven years ago. In 1949 this Treaty of North Atlantic states marked our joint determination to make peace a reality and to defend the traditional principles of human dignity and of justice. Our determination today has not lessened; and our strength has increased. This strength consists not only of arms but also of the spiritual values and social and economic ideals of the peoples of the Atlantic area.

No peaceful and law-abiding state can honestly regard NATO with jealousy or fear. Resolved to live in freedom and tranquillity in a world based upon the rules of law and of justice, we are only doing what must be done to ensure that we achieve that purpose. Beyond this, we desire to promote a closer community of the Atlantic countries to further their economic, social and cultural interests. These are NATO'S objectives and these are its only aims.

THE UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

On Wednesday, May 14, 1952, there will be convened in Brussels the 13th Congress of the Universal Postal Union. With a few minor exceptions, all countries of the world will be represented.

Nevertheless it can be expected that the event will produce nothing in the way of fanfare in the press. The same might be said about the subsequent sessions, which will continue for about six weeks. The congresses in the past have never attracted a very large measure of public attention. This seems strange enough when it is realized that almost everyone in the world who makes use of the mails can be affected in some degree or other by the decisions (or in more formal language, the Conventions) which the congresses produce.

There is, of course, a very good reason for this lack of interest by the press, despite the world-wide scope of the deliberations. The delegates for the most part are specialists and the technical and complex nature of the discussions are, for the most part, quite beyond the comprehension of laymen.

Nevertheless, while the average newspaper reader will find little to interest him in the Congress or its doings, his normal day-to-day living will be greatly influenced by its work. The smooth and secure flow of international mails and the low rates which encourage popular use of all the established forms of service are ample testimony of the important part played by the Union in fostering amity and understanding among the peoples of the world.

The Canadian Delegation to the Congress will be headed by the Deputy Postmaster General, W. J. Turnbull, and will consist, in addition, of other department officials whose duties come within this particular sphere.

Founded in 1874

Today, when international conferences of one kind or another are commonplace, it is an arresting fact that the Universal Postal Union has been in successful operation for some eighty years. Founded at Berne in 1874, the Union emerged from the chaotic conditions which had prevailed in world postal affairs up to that time. All countries had been operating their postal services strictly on their own. As a result, the routing and taxing of a letter or parcel addressed to a foreign destination was an exercise in involved calculation, more within the capacity of a modern thinking machine than the overtaxed brains of the humble postal clerks who had to contend with the multiplicity of detail the task then required. Similarly, the task of arriving at appropriate international settlements was a complex, difficult and often vexatious one. In short, the situation offered little encouragement to the ready and convenient exchange of international mails.

Of course, such a situation could not exist without someone trying to do something about it, and among those credited with trying the hardest, the names of Heinrich von Stepan, first Director of Posts of the North German Federation, and Postmaster General Blair of the United States, stand out. The actual suggestion for a world postal union originated with Blair, but the organizational stimulus was provided by von Stepan.

Von Stepan's efforts resulted in the calling of the First Congress at Berne in 1874; one of the most noteworthy results of this Congress was the establishment of a permanent headquarters and secretariat at Berne, which has remained there ever since. Canada, which was not represented at the First Congress, joined the Union at the Second Congress held in Paris in 1878 and has been an active member ever since.



UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

In this old Swiss Diet building in Berne, the Congress was held at which was established the Universal Postal Union in 1874.

The Union is, and always has been, strictly non-political, confining its interests and activities solely to postal matters. Its object was to make the world "one single postal territory for the reciprocal exchange of correspondence".

Reference has already been made to the difficulties experienced before 1874 in the routing and taxing of mail to foreign destinations. An article of correspondence nearly always had to pass through several intermediary countries in transit to the addressee. This meant that it was held up at every frontier and marked with an additional rate fixed by the country that undertook to send it on. Some countries, because of their geographical location, enjoyed a veritable monopoly on this type of mail-handling and did not hesitate to take advantage of it. A letter reaching the addressee in those days often called for payment of a large sum before delivery could be made. Some countries, such as Switzerland, were, also because of their geographical location, in a particularly difficult position. Hedged round completely by other countries, Switzerland had to negotiate dozens of postal conventions with other governments, to enable her population to correspond with other lands. This meant, in all countries, a multiplicity of postal tariffs, through which none but persons specializing in such work could find their way.

Single Postal Area

The advent of the Universal Postal Union changed all this. Its Conventions bound the territories of all the contracting countries into a single postal area. With the adoption of uniform rates, distance or the number of intermediary countries ceased to have any great significance. Letters moved quickly by the shortest route, unhindered by the former vexatious delays and rating up at border points. Not only were rates made uniform, but they were fixed at moderate levels, thus encouraging wider use of the mails. With the adoption of uniform rates, it became possible also to disseminate information regarding them widely, so that prospective mailers would know in advance exactly what would be the cost of their letters.

More important, perhaps, than the achievement of simplicity in rates and the accounting processes was the fact that the Union stood firmly by the principle that the paramount thing to be aimed at was not the fiscal interests of the various postal administrations, but the economic and spiritual welfare of each country as far as it could be furthered by the ready exchange of international ideas and information. These interests were regarded as possessing far greater value than piles of tariff receipts.

In consequence, the settlement of accounts for postage on letters became a matter of secondary importance. The despatching country simply kept the postage rates it charged. The country of destination, on the other hand, retained the revenue from the letter of reply, the assumption being that most letters called for a reply, and that over a long period of time there would be a more or less rough balancing-off. There was therefore, nothing to worry either country from an accounting standpoint.

The only question remaining was payment for transit through intermediary countries. This was in principle solved by the payment of an annual lump sum by the despatching country to every transit country whose services it used, fixed anew every three years according to a scale of rates set by the Union, on the basis of statistical data.

Little Affected By Wars

Wars, even the great world-wide conflicts of the present century, have had little permanent effect on the Postal Union as such. It is true that postal communications between belligerent countries in these world cataclysms were interrupted while hostilities lasted, but they were still maintained between neutral countries, and between the latter and the belligerents as well as between belligerents on the same side. Consequently, the Universal Postal Union has had a wide field of action, even in time of war. In particular, it acts as a medium of postal contact between the belligerents themselves, since it regulates the exchange of the correspondence of prisoners of war and of the interned. As soon as hostilities cease and postal relations are revived, the application of the provisions of the Universal Postal Convention is resumed to the fullest extent.

It is significant also that in the present "cold war", the Universal Postal Union continues to function without noticeable difficulty. There is no doubt that all the customary international requirements are being met and that the movement of mail between "East" and "West" can generally be regarded as normal.

Congresses of the Union are held on an average of every five years under ordinary circumstances. The Second was held in Paris in 1878 and the Third in Lisbon in 1885. Then followed Vienna in 1891, Washington in 1897, Rome in 1906, Madrid in 1920 (this gap was due to the First World War), Stockholm in 1924, London in 1929, Cairo in 1934, Buenos Aires in 1939 and Paris in 1947.

While its Conventions in general are binding on all member countries, the Union recognizes that certain conditions may exist affecting two or more countries which may justify separate independent agreements on certain aspects of postal service, or of postal service in toto. Canada's postal arrangements with the United States for the past 150 years, for instance, have been covered by agreements reached between the two countries. The first United States-Canadian postal convention was signed in 1792; since then there have been six others, the latest being signed in 1922. The reason for this relationship outside the Union lies in the unusual intimacy of the business and social connections between the two countries.

Canada also acts independently in its parcel-post relationship with the other countries of the world. It makes separate direct agreements in all cases. The reason for this too has a very practical basis. As a transit country under the Universal Postal Union Convention, Canada would be expected to carry parcel post from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or vice versa, at rates which would be far from economical. There are also other aspects of the Universal Parcel Post Convention which at present are not acceptable to Canada.

Regional Organization

The Union's recognition of the principle of regional or group organization among postal administrations resulted, in 1921, in the formation of the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain. Canada joined in 1931. This union comprises the postal administrations of the Latin American countries of North, Central and South America, Canada, the United States and Spain. It operates as a postal union of the countries named within the framework of the Universal Postal Union to which its members also adhere, and it makes provision for arrangements advantageous to its own territory—such as lower postal rates on certain classes of mail matter. A distinctive feature is the gratuity of transit both by land and sea which applies within the territory of the Union. Member countries agree to transport across their territory, and to convey by ships of their own registration and flag, which they use in the transportation of their own mails, without any charge whatever to the contracting countries, all the mails which other member countries send to them for onward transmission to other countries.

Congresses of this Union are also held, on the average, every five years, the first being held in Buenos Aires in 1921, and the succeeding ones in Mexico in 1926, in Madrid in 1931, in Panama in 1936, in Rio de Janeiro in 1946 (this gap was due to the Second World War) and in Madrid in 1950.

The Postal Union of the Americas and Spain maintains a Bureau at Montevideo, conducted on similar lines to that maintained by the Universal Postal Union at Berne. This Bureau serves as a liaison agency for the member countries, as a clearing house for information of general interest, and as an agency for the settlement of accounts. It is especially charged with the duty of obtaining opinions of member countries on disputed questions and compiling statistics.

Canada's postal relations with the other countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations also fall outside the strict provisions of the Universal Postal Union Conventions, although they are greatly influenced by them. Letters pass from Canada to any place in the Commonwealth at the same rate as if addressed to a point within Canada. This domestic postal rate is also in effect to the United States and the other countries of the Postal Union of the Americas and Spain, and, under a special arrangement, to France.

International Office at Berne

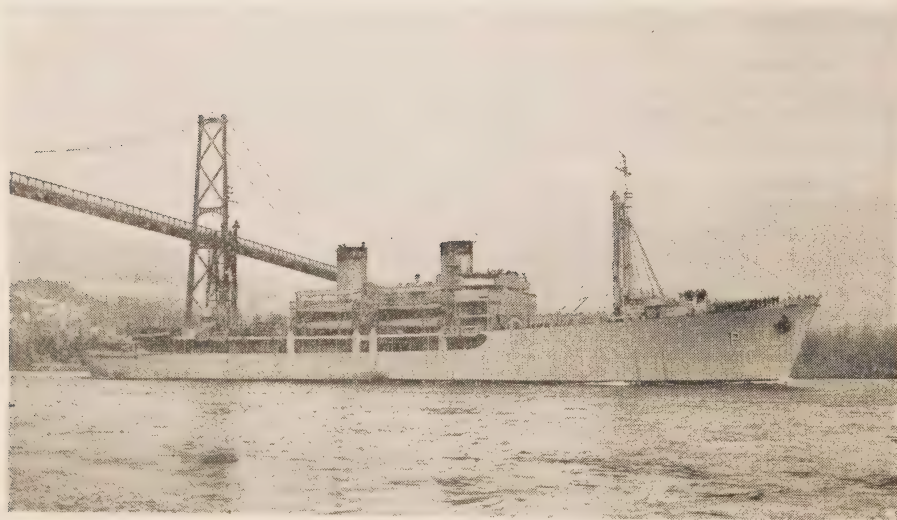
The International Office of the Universal Postal Union at Berne, operating under the supervision of the Swiss Postal Administration, serves as a medium of liaison, in-

formation and consultation for the countries of the Union. This office is entrusted specially with the duty of collecting, collating, publishing and distributing information of every kind about the international postal services; of giving, at the request of the parties concerned, an opinion upon questions in dispute; of making known proposals for modifying the Acts of the Congress; of publicizing alterations adopted, and in general, of taking up such enquiries and work in connection with editing and arranging material as the Convention, the Agreements and their detailed regulations assigned to it, or as may be entrusted to it in the interests of the Union. It acts as a clearing house for the settlement of accounts of every description, relative to the international postal service, between administrations claiming its assistance. The International Office also arranges special congresses between regular sessions.

In addition, the International Office issues, from time to time, publications of general interest to the countries of the Union, concerning the carrying out of the Convention and regulations in each country. It also undertakes the publication of an alphabetical directory of all the post offices in the world, with special indication of such as undertake services that have not as yet become general.

The expenses of the International Office are met by the member countries according to status of membership. Canada is a member of the First Class, in which are also most of the larger countries of the world.

The Universal Postal Union, little known though it may be outside of those who have reason to be connected with its work, is the chief instrument by which smooth flowing postal communication is possible throughout the world. It works for understanding, friendship and co-operation, regardless of the disruptive influences that may be at work in other directions. It is an important, but little-known factor, in the happiness and welfare of mankind.



CHILEAN VESSEL VISITS VANCOUVER

The Chilean Naval Transport "Presidente Pinto" visited Vancouver early in March during a training cruise. In this picture the vessel is shown passing under the Lion's Gate Bridge.

SOME ASPECTS OF CANADA-UNITED STATES RELATIONS

Text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Society, New York, March 7, 1952.

. . . When I was here last, I talked about the close and friendly relations between the two great North American democracies. They remain close and friendly and we must keep them that way. This will require, on our part in Canada, an appreciation of the enormous responsibilities, the Atlantean burden, which this country is shouldering in the struggle to keep men free from the aggressive menace of Soviet Communist imperialism. It will require on the part of the United States, knowledge and understanding of Canada, its present position and its potential greatness.

. . . Canadian-American relations are, of course, good. Indeed, they have been rightly lauded as a model of international co-operation. But we should not assume that without any effort on our part they will always and automatically remain good. They are, moreover, becoming more important for both countries and that is bound to create new problems. Canada looms larger now in the international, and especially the North American, scheme of things. Her position, strategically and economically, is of greater significance to Washington than before. Similarly, the greater the power of the United States on the world stage (and she dominates that stage now) the more concerned we become in Canada over our relations with her, the more pre-occupied we become over the purposes and policies which govern the exercise of this colossal power.

Our mutual relations then should be carefully and continuously watched and we should do everything possible to prevent differences, irritations, or uneasiness developing between us. Let's take nothing for granted, even Canadian-American friendship.

The present international emergency with its threat to us both has brought us even closer together. Canadian troops are in Korea and in Germany along with American. In defence production (whether of strategic materials, where we are of vital importance, or finished war equipment) the ideal we seek is continental integration — though it is not always easy to achieve.

Recent arrangements for the production of military aircraft in Canada by which the manufacturing of the F-86E Sabre jet fighter will be greatly increased, are a good example of what I mean. Under a triangular scheme, the United States is supplying the engines and certain other parts for aircraft which we will then make in Canada and deliver to the R.C.A.F. and, under mutual aid, to the R.A.F. Under another arrangement, the United States Air Force will itself purchase some of these aircraft to be made in Canada. This is the kind of joint effort which is to our common advantage. By placing orders in Canada for military equipment the United States helps to increase the industrial capacity and production of its neighbour and also to reduce our adverse balance of payments with the United States so that Canada itself will not be restricted by lack of U.S. dollars in purchasing necessary weapons and other essential supplies which she cannot produce economically herself.

Of course, everything does not always run smoothly between us. We have old and unsolved problems and also some new ones. Among the former is the delay in the United States in carrying out international agreements regarding the simplification of the administration of customs laws and procedures, a matter of great importance to Canada as a major exporter to the United States. Likewise, at present

we are unhappy about quota restrictions, including embargoes, imposed by Congressional action on the import of dairy products, restrictions which violate the provisions of an international agreement entered into by the United States with the Canadian and other governments, as a result of which we gave in our turn tariff concessions to certain United States imports which they still enjoy.

Above all, there is the St. Lawrence Seaway. We have decided in Canada that if this great venture cannot be carried out co-operatively with the United States — and we think it should — then we will go ahead and do it ourselves as an all-Canadian Seaway. We are not, I assure you, bluffing in this. Nor do we get any pleasure out of reading in one of your great national weeklies, the following: “as to Canada’s threat [it’s not a threat, it’s a promise!] to build the Seaway alone, there are commentators who say that any time a country wants to spend its own money with no contribution from the United States — that we must see, if strictly from amazement”.

The amazement on our side is that an editor could make such a mistake about Canada. He should know that we are developing our own country without financial aid from any other government. The American money which has poured in to assist us, and has played such a great part in this development, is, I need hardly add, commercial money, invested for purposes of honest profit.

So we shall go ahead with the St. Lawrence Seaway, if necessary, on our own. But even for a Canadian waterway, because it affects boundary waters, we have to secure United States co-operation under a treaty between the two countries before we can proceed. So we are grateful to the Administration in Washington for assuring us that this co-operation will not be withheld.

As a matter of fact when we talk these days about “doing something ourselves”, “going it alone”, we are aware that no country, certainly not Canada, can or should want to go it alone. Take our commercial relationships. No two countries in the world are tied together so closely by trade as your country and mine. You are our best customer and we are yours. This trade is made up of all sorts of goods — we send you raw materials, you send us manufactured goods; we send you apples, you send us oranges. Sometimes the trade figures look queer because we seem to send each other the same thing. For instance lumber moves in both directions, but of course this is because the frontier is so long; at the eastern and western ends of the continent lumber moves south and in the centre section lumber moves north.

Probably we only realize how much we depend upon each other when things go wrong. Very recently we have had an instance of this. Two or three weeks ago in a small section of one of our Prairie Provinces there was an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in a few herds of cattle. We have never in the history of Canada had an outbreak of this very dangerous and very infectious disease and we have not yet definitely traced its origin in this case. American law provides that you can take no imports of cattle or meat or related products from any country where this disease exists and so your authorities were forced to impose a complete embargo against all these products from Canada. Unfortunately, according to your law, this embargo had to apply right across the full length of the international boundary. It shut off Canadian exports from herds in Provinces like Ontario which are more than a thousand miles away from the small centre of infection. This, of course, caused confusion in our meat and cattle market all over the country.

The Canadian Government was then forced to take drastic steps to deal with this situation. Among those steps are controls which we have had to put on imports. As a result of the United States restrictions and the consequential Canadian controls, a large amount of trade which previously went north and south across the border is now being channelled east and west within Canada. I trust, however, that after the

necessary precautionary period prescribed by your law, it will be possible to remove the emergency restrictions in both directions so that our normal free and friendly trade can be resumed.

Our two countries co-operate closely, not only in trying to solve these specific problems that arise between us, but as members (one, indeed, the great and powerful leader) of a coalition of free states determined to prevent war and remove the menacing threat to freedom and peace provided by the spectre of Soviet Russian imperialism. Czarist Russia used to be referred to as "the Bear that walks like a Man." Communist Russia is the conspiracy that walks like an empire. We live under the shadow of that conspiracy.

Our co-operation with you in the defence of peace is especially close in NATO which has just concluded its most successful and constructive Council session at Lisbon. At this session, thanks largely to the effective and intelligent leadership and effort of the United States Delegation, we made real progress in consolidating our defensive strength and, above all, in ensuring that the European Defence Community — which includes Germany — would be closely and integrally associated with NATO.

In this NATO effort Canada is carrying, I think, its fair share of the burden, both in respect of our contribution to the NATO armed forces, the proportions of our national product going into defence and our contributions to mutual aid. Our part in this great collective enterprise has been supported up to the present — with acclaim and indeed with unanimity — by all parties in our Parliament. We are behind this effort because we think it represents our best chance for peace; because we believe its policies are purely defensive and that its developing strength will never be used for any aggressive or threatening purpose. We also believe that on the foundation of this defensive alliance we can build, slowly but steadily, that deeper and more enduring association which we call the North Atlantic community, and which it is one of NATO's chief purposes to promote; an association which will survive the emergency which brought us together in the first place.

We have many international worries these days but, in Canada, we do not include among them the kind of collective security and collective development arrangements we are building up in NATO under the leadership of the United States. While the menacing danger of an attack on Western Europe still exists, we can nevertheless take some comfort from the growth and the strengthening of the coalition we are building up under the NATO pact to deal with that attack if it should occur. We have in these matters a basic unity of purpose and a deep measure of agreement on fundamental principles.

In the Far East it is not quite the same. Here there is a real danger of divergence of policy among the free states.

In mentioning the Far East, I should acknowledge at once the tremendous burden which the United States is bearing in Korea; the courage and determination being shown there by its men. There is, I think, no difference in viewpoint between the governments with forces in Korea as to the desirability of bringing that war to an end — as soon as possible — but on honourable terms which do not betray the purpose that we had in intervening in the first place. That purpose was—and remains—to defeat aggression, nothing more.

The Canadian Government supports as a possible step to peace the armistice negotiations now being carried on with such patient determination by United States representatives on behalf of the United Nations. We realize that if these negotiations fail, or if an armistice is successfully concluded and then a further aggression is committed by the Communists, a new and dangerous situation will arise. I said publicly

in our House of Commons on April 26 last that if there were massive air attacks from Manchurian bases, retaliatory action might be required against those bases, in order to safeguard the United Nations forces in Korea. I then went on to say that the decision to authorize such action would, as we see it, have to balance very carefully local military considerations against the risk of precipitating a further extension of the war, with all its incalculable consequences. We are not convinced, for instance, that general retaliatory measures such as the blockading of the Chinese coast would be as effective in ending the war in Korea as they would be likely to extend it to China. We feel this way because the best advice we can get leads us to believe that such measures might bring us to the position where, as General Bradley has put it, we would find ourselves fighting the wrong war at the wrong place at the wrong time, and with the wrong enemy.

We also think that United Nations policies should be designed to end an aggression in North Korea and not to overthrow by force a Communist régime in Peking. Like other democratic governments, the Canadian Government, and the Canadian people, detest Communism in Asia or anywhere else. We will do what we can, and should, to eliminate it from our own country and to protect ourselves from its aggressive and subversive designs from abroad. When it shows itself in other countries in the form of military aggression, as it did in Korea, we must oppose it. As a doctrine we should expose it as reactionary and as the instrument of Russian imperialism. But we should not forget that in Asia it has managed to attach itself to forces of nationalism and social reform. As John Foster Dulles said in Princeton a fortnight ago, "a revolutionary spirit has gripped over half the human race, passions are abroad which can not be suppressed by foreign guns."

As a doctrine, Communism in Asia will not be destroyed by guns, though guns have to be used when Communist violence and banditry occurs. It will be destroyed by Asians themselves when its true character is unmasked. Western countries, however, can help in this destruction by encouraging and assisting genuinely democratic national governments in Asia, by economic and technical assistance to such governments and by showing, through their own experience and their own achievements that free parliamentary government can do more for the people than reactionary Russian Communism can ever hope to do.

As for China, we should let the Peking Government know that they must expect Communist aggression to be met by collective resistance; that no government in Peking committing such aggression can hope to be accepted into the community of nations; that, on the other hand, we ourselves did not intervene in Korea, or, indeed, in Formosa, in order to overthrow by force the government in Peking. I think also that we should make it clear that while Formosa cannot be allowed to fall into Chinese Communist hands while aggressive war is going on in Korea, we do not intend to use our own forces to restore to China the régime which is now in Formosa after being driven off the mainland.

It would be a great tragedy if the policies, particularly those of the United States and the nations of the Commonwealth should diverge on these Asian questions. It is as important to work together in the Pacific as in the Atlantic, and, with understanding of each others problems and by complete and frank exchanges of views and information, this can be done. But let us not deceive ourselves. The problems of Asia will subject our coalition of peace-loving free states to difficult tests in the days ahead. In meeting these tests, Canadian-American co-operation will be important and must be close and strong.

We in Canada know this country and its people better than others do. We know they will succeed, if I may put it this way, in giving good leadership to a strong and

free partnership. We know that the power which they now have will not be used for any aggressive purposes and that the only glory they seek is that of the peace-maker.

It is because of this knowledge and conviction that I have some right to look ahead to the day — when I can once again appear before this historic old Canadian society with a story to tell about my country which will have in it no shadow of the anxiety and menace which surrounds us all today.

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CANADIAN EXHIBITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The High Commissioner for Canada in South Africa, Mr. T. W. L. MacDermot, right, accompanies the Governor General of South Africa, Dr. E. G. Jansen, on a visit to the Canadian Pavilion in the Great Hall of the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival Fair in Capetown. In this picture Dr. Jansen and Mr.

MacDermot examine exhibits depicting how Canadians work and spend their leisure time.

THE UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION IN CANADA

By Miss Kathleen E. Bowlby, National Secretary, The United Nations Association in Canada.

In a democracy, no Government can for very long follow any course of policy unless it is acceptable to a majority of the population. It is comparatively easy for the public to obtain information and to form opinions on domestic matters. When it comes to foreign policy, however, the issues are involved and frequently seem very remote from everyday experience.

In Canada, foreign affairs used to be of little immediate importance to most of us. What happened on the other side of the world was no concern of the man in the street and was not likely to affect his life. Those days are past. We realize now that events in any part of the world may affect us directly and immediately. The future of every person in this country is closely related to decisions that are taken in the international field. Assuming that the Government, with the help of its advisers, is able to formulate a wise policy, that policy can only be maintained and be supported by the majority in Parliament if public opinion is informed and is convinced of its wisdom.

It is to help meet this particular need that the United Nations Association in Canada exists. Its purpose is to work toward the development in Canada of an informed public opinion in support of the United Nations and other forms of international co-operation, to help in all possible ways to promote a better understanding of international affairs and the part that Canada should play in the world.

Various techniques are used toward this end. Some activities are carried out by the National Office in Ottawa, others by the branches which are found in most of the principal centres from Halifax to Victoria. The national office, in addition to co-ordinating the work of the branches, acts as an information centre, distributes material about the United Nations, and carries out numerous special projects.

Every day letters are received from schools and from a great variety of voluntary organizations asking for information about the UN. Women's Institutes, church groups, young people's organizations — to mention only a few — all across Canada have been supplied with free material on the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. Single programmes have been planned and study groups organized on the basis of this material.

Another, more specialized, kind of request is also received. An individual will write saying that he has promised to give a talk on some particular aspect of the work of the United Nations, such as that of the World Health Organization, and is in need of adequate information. Many items of material sent on loan in response to such requests have made frequent trips to widely scattered points throughout the country.

Branch Activities

It is, however, through the activities of the branches that the Association comes most closely in touch with the public and carries on the greatest variety of educational projects. In all the centres where branches are located, public meetings are held, sometimes to hear a well informed speaker discuss some aspect of the United Nations or another topic of current interest in international affairs, sometimes to hear a panel discussion in which various points of view regarding some world problem are expressed by different members of a group. Still more people are reached by another technique — by going where people are — to their service clubs, church associations, labour groups, etc. — instead of expecting them to attend special meetings.

The branches, therefore, supply speakers so that information on international affairs can become an integral part of the programmes of organization that exist for a great variety of purposes. Radio broadcasts are also arranged by some of the branches, usually local programmes supplementing the excellent CBC coverage of the United Nations.

During the past two years, the Association has greatly increased its usefulness to schools by the publication of a monthly leaflet entitled *World Review for Canadian Schools*. This project is made possible by the financial support of the departments of education of a majority of the provinces, which undertake its provincial distribution. Although planned with high school students particularly in mind, this publication has proved so popular with adults that it is now being sent to all members of the Association and is supplied in quantity to other groups on a subscription basis. One recent extension of its circulation has been in a number of military training-centres across Canada; the latest such request comes from an officer with the Canadian forces in Germany. Each issue deals with a topic of current interest and provides sufficient background information to serve as a basis for discussion. The titles of the issues published since last September give an idea of the scope of this publication: Epilogue of the Korean War; Iran and Its Oil; WHO—Doctor to a Sick World; Egypt, Suez and the Sudan; Canada and the Colombo Plan; What Are They Talking About in Paris? (issues confronting the Sixth General Assembly); Scandinavia; and The Dilemma of France. Distribution of this publication has greatly increased requests from schools for material about the UN, and large numbers of posters, charts and pamphlets are sent to schools in all parts of Canada.

Many special projects are undertaken from time to time by the national office and by various branches. For instance, last July a national seminar for teachers was held in Ottawa. All but one of the provinces were represented and there were four teachers from widely separated points in the United States. "Education and World Affairs" was the topic, and its purpose was to help teachers become more effective



—Richard Mathews

A UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION WORLD YOUTH FORUM

A graduate student from India addresses 1,400 students, parents, teachers and educationists at a World Youth Forum, held recently in Toronto, under the auspices of the United Nations Association.

in their presentation of international affairs in secondary school classes. Consideration is now being given to the possibility of organizing another such seminar for 1953.

Another service that is being provided by the national office of the Association is the handling of contributions for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). When the National Council for the United Nations Appeal for Children ceased operations in the spring of 1951, the United Nations Association agreed to serve as a channel through which voluntary contributions could be made to UNICEF. Three thousand dollars has just been handed over by the Association to be used for the purchase of Canadian supplies for UNICEF operations that are being carried out with its well established efficiency in many parts of the world where the need is acute.

Earlier this year the Toronto branch of the UN Association carried out a project that aroused a great deal of interest. The members of the New York Herald Tribune World Youth Forum were brought to Toronto for a nine-day visit. Twenty-five students, from seventeen countries in Asia and the Middle East, lived with Canadian students, participated in their regular activities, visited schools, took part in forums, and in many ways learned something of Canadian life. At the same time they were busy interpreting their own countries to the young Canadians with whom they were living. This visit was arranged in co-operation with the Massey-Harris Company, which provided the necessary financial backing.

Association Publications

A monthly mailing of literature goes to all members of the United Nations Association. At present this includes *External Affairs*; the Association's *Newsletter*, which contains news of activities, both national and local, statements of policy, etc.; and *World Review for Canadian Schools*, which has proved to be of interest to adults as well as highschool students.

The policy of the Association is directed by a national executive committee made up of fifty members from all parts of Canada. The work of this committee is supplemented by that of an administrative committee of seven members, all from Ottawa. The chairmen of these two committees are Mr. Marvin Gelber of Toronto and Maj.-Gen. E. L. M. Burns, respectively, while the President of the Association is Mr. Vincent Price, Q.C., of Toronto.

Many other countries that are members of the United Nations, and some that are not, have similar national organizations and these are linked together in the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) with headquarters in Geneva. The World Federation has consultative status, category A, with the Economic and Social Council and thus provides a channel for direct communication with this organ of the United Nations. WFUNA holds annual plenary assemblies that bring together representatives of the various national associations and provide an opportunity for the formulation of international policy and for consideration of the most effective techniques to use within the various countries.

Wherever these national UN Associations exist, they are regarded as a part of what has been called a "people's movement for the United Nations". While the Canadian Association regards its job as the promotion of intelligent interest in all aspects of international affairs, it also recognizes the fact that it has a particular responsibility in connection with building up public opinion in this country in support of the United Nations. Its policy is directed by men and women who profoundly believe that the peoples of the world must learn to co-operate or perish. To strengthen that conviction among Canadians is the task and purpose of the United Nations Association in Canada.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

Recent International Developments

On March 21, the Minister of Finance having moved that the House go into Committee of Supply, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, rose to make the following statement on international developments:

. . . I shall omit from consideration this afternoon any questions arising out of the Japanese peace treaty, because we shall have a separate discussion on that measure shortly. I shall leave to my Parliamentary Assistant on External Affairs the responsibility of discussing the work of the United Nations Assembly, though I may be able to touch on it briefly. He will deal also with questions of international economic assistance; such as the Colombo Plan, which looms so large in our international relations these days.

Certainly, all governments, and that includes the Canadian Government, with forces in Korea, agree as to the desirability of bringing that war to an end as quickly as possible; but, as I have said before, on honourable terms which do not betray the purpose we had in intervening there in the first place. That purpose was—and remains—to defeat aggression there, nothing more. And we have not done that yet.

It is for that reason that the Government supports as a possible first step to peace and the defeat of aggression, the armistice negotiations now being carried on. But also, we must realize that if these negotiations fail, or if the armistice is successfully concluded and then a further aggression is committed by the Communists, a new and possibly a very dangerous situation will arise.

I said in this House last April that if there were massive air attacks from Manchurian bases, retaliatory action might be required against those bases in order to safeguard our forces in Korea. But I then went on to say—and this remains our position—that the decision to authorize such action would have to balance very carefully local military considerations against the risk of precipitating a further extension of the war, with all its grim and incalculable consequences. We are not convinced in this Government that general retaliatory measures such as blockading of the Chinese coast or helping Chiang Kai-shek back on the continent, would be as effective in ending the war in Korea as they would likely be of extending it to China. We feel this way because the best advice that we can get leads us to the conclusion that such measures as that might bring us to the position where, in the words of General Bradley, we find ourselves fighting the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time and with the wrong enemy.

War of course may be forced on us by the Chinese Communists. That is another question. We shall have to take cognizance of that situation if and when it arises. Meanwhile, we should do nothing to extend the war that we can avoid doing. Meanwhile also, discussions are going on between the governments most concerned—that is, the governments with forces in Korea—as to the best course which could be followed in preventing or in meeting a new aggression in Korea if that should occur, and also how to organize and carry on political talks through the United Nations if the fighting can be ended there.

I think, however, it is worth while emphasizing once again that United Nations policies are designed to end this aggression in Korea, not to extend it, and not primarily to overthrow by force the Communist regime in Peking. Like other democratic governments, the Canadian Government and the Canadian people detest Communism in Asia or in any place else. We will do what we can and what we should, not only to eliminate it from our own country, but also to protect ourselves and to protect others from this aggressive and subversive poison from abroad.

But as a doctrine, Communism in Asia—especially in Asia—will not be destroyed by guns, though guns have to be used when Communist violence and banditry occur.

It would, I think, be a great tragedy if the policies of the free world, especially those of the United States and the nations of the Commonwealth, should diverge on this Asian question. It is as important to work together in the Pacific as it is in the Atlantic, and with understanding of each other's problems. By complete and frank exchanges of views, we can do so. But let us not deceive ourselves; the problem of Asia may subject our coalition of peace-loving free states to difficult tests in the days ahead. . . .

NATO Council Meeting at Lisbon

The Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has recently met at Lisbon, and I should like to give, in as great detail as possible, the results of that meeting. . . .

Let us have a sober look at what NATO has been doing. It is of course possible, indeed it is easy, to exaggerate the results of the Council meeting at Lisbon. It was the most effective and successful meeting we have had, in the sense that we reached unanimous decisions on matters which had been before us at previous meetings, but which were not able to settle then.

At the same time we should not, I think, exaggerate the importance of what, after all, are only decisions which are yet to be converted into action. The prestige of NATO must not be based upon illusions. One easy and tempting illusion these days is that a resolution at an international conference is always the same as the result. A resolution is a decision to act; but it is action which produces results. Yet it remains true that if we had not taken these decisions at Lisbon—the ones we did take—the parliamentary and popular decisions which we now expect, and which will lead to action, would not have been possible.

Now, what were these decisions? The first, and the one that has commanded the most attention, deals with the military or defence programme which we accepted there. The collective military goal for NATO, in the sense of total figures, had never been announced by NATO in any concrete form prior to Lisbon, although our own Canadian contribution to NATO had been put very definitely before the House last October, and accepted by the house; and the general NATO policy has, I think, been pretty fully explained in the house—certainly explained as fully as in the legislatures of any of the other members of the Organization.

. . . . When we went to Lisbon we were confronted with new figures for military programmes. Those figures, those programmes, resulted from a very exhaustive examination of previous military programmes by the Temporary Council Committee which had been set up in Ottawa, the executive committee of which was known as the "Three Wise Men." The very procedure of that Committee, and its executive committee, shows how closely we co-operate in NATO. Such an inquisition, and I do not think it is an exaggeration to call it that, of the military budgets of one state by three representatives of other states, under which the ministers of a state were asked to explain their defence budgets, was a procedure which would have been quite impossible before the war.

Following that procedure the Temporary Council Committee approved its final report and submitted that report to us in Lisbon. The resolution adopting that report was put before us and agreed to by us there. That resolution had in it—it is a secret document still—much beside the military goals and the military programmes. I can assure you that in it economic matters were not overlooked, nor were they overlooked in the report. As a matter of fact the press statement, to which so much attention has been devoted, itself spent most of its time dealing with economic apart from military matters. . . .

I was Chairman of the Council and, naturally, as chairman I took full responsibility for any document or statement issued officially in the name of the Council. I may say that that statement was cleared with the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom and France by special individual clearances. One paragraph of the resolution adopting the TCC report stated in very clear terms that the realization of

adequate defensive strength and its continued support by the government and peoples of the North Atlantic Treaty countries required sound economic and social foundations which could be developed only by a satisfactory rate or general economic expansion.

As I have said already in this House, these military goals, which we adopted at Lisbon were goals adjusted downward from those to which we had been previously working in so far as 1952 was concerned, and indeed in so far as the three-year programme was concerned. That adjustment downward was the result of this civilian examination and designed to take into account the economic, financial and social situations of the member states, especially the European member states.

May I put the position in the terms of a simple illustration. You are building a house and you are presented, as is often the case, with architect's plans which turn out to be too elaborate and expensive. You ask your architect in the interests of economy to modify his more ambitious plans. At the same time it may be possible by ingenuity and by rearrangement of space and facilities to have a house which incorporates all the essential features. In the meanwhile the builders are going on with the construction of the house and you hope soon to have a roof over your head. That is what happened at Lisbon. We modified our plans but we got on with the building.

What actually did we decide in getting on with that building? I should like to quote a paragraph from this well-known press statement which has been quoted already in this house and which deals with our programme for 1952. It reads:

"The NATO nations agreed to provide approximately fifty divisions in appropriate conditions of combat readiness and 4,000 operational aircraft in Western Europe, as well as strong naval forces."

Those are the only figures that have been authorized. The programme authorized in those figures represented, as stated in our resolution at Lisbon accepting it, the targets to be adopted as forming the goals for 1952, whereas we adopted only provisional goals for 1953 and goals to be used for planning purposes in 1954. Each country represented at Lisbon is pledged to do its utmost to implement these recommendations. . . .

. . . . Last week, in Washington, Mr. Lovett referred to the earlier statements and I should like to read a couple of paragraphs from his presentation to Congress in connection with the mutual aid programme which was before Congress at that time Mr. Lovett spoke as follows:

"I have previously stated that somewhat more than half of these divisions will be combat ready, while the remainder will be reserve divisions. A reserve division on the continental pattern differs from our American concept of the nature of a reserve division. The continental reserve division has its organization complete, although most of its personnel continue in normal civilian jobs. The reservists live in the vicinity of their unit assembly points. Each man has his mobilization assignment. He knows exactly where to go to draw his individual equipment and just where to take his place in a gun squad, tank crew, or rifle platoon. It is the place he has already been trained to fill. Long-term officers and technicians maintain the equipment and the units have periodic training exercises.

"A division of this type, which can be mobilized in twenty-four to seventy-two hours, is almost as ready for action as is the front-line division maintained at full strength. Some reserve divisions will not be ready that quickly. They will require a little more time for unit training. But in every case, a reserve division must have most of the major equipment available, as well as a reservoir of trained combat soldiers and specialists."

So much for our programme for 1952, which I submit is now reasonably clear in our minds. As for the subsequent years, figures were talked about at Lisbon which have not been made public. These were, as I have said, for planning purposes only. We agreed at Lisbon that they should be reviewed periodically by NATO agencies to make sure that they were realistic in the light of prevailing conditions; that if they

could be safely reduced they would be; and that if they had to be increased recognition could be given to that fact. For that purpose we resolved at Lisbon that an appropriate NATO agency, not an ad hoc committee but an appropriate permanent agency of NATO—perhaps part of the Secretariat, but that is to be worked out—should continuously review the requirements for building adequate defensive strength, and try to reconcile the military needs of the countries concerned with their political and economic capabilities. Surely, that does not look as though the military are running away with our planning in NATO, or as though NATO has fallen completely under their control or under any sinister influences of any kind. That is all I want to say about that aspect of our work at Lisbon.

European Defence Community

The second subject we discussed there, and a very important matter indeed, was the association of Germany with Western defence. When we got to Lisbon, the atmosphere with respect to this matter was not very propitious. There had been difficulties in some of the European capitals where the legislatures had been discussing these questions, and no one felt unduly optimistic that we would be able to reach agreed decisions at Lisbon with respect to this matter of German association with Western defence. In fact, we were successful in reaching such agreed decisions. One resolution approved on behalf of NATO of the principles of the treaty establishing a European Defence Community, which treaty included provision for a German defence contribution, and also provisions for certain security regulations after the peace contract takes the place of the occupation statute. We also agreed at Lisbon on principles governing the relationship between the European Defence Community, if and when it comes into being, and NATO itself. Our decision here was to this effect. We agreed that there should be two closely related organizations, one working—as far as the common objective of the defence of the Atlantic area was concerned—within the framework of and reinforcing the other.

I think we all felt before we went to Lisbon that there was a very real danger of the European Defence Community developing a separate existence from NATO itself, if and when the Community was set up; and I think most of us felt that it would be disastrous to get away from the Atlantic concept even to achieve such a desirable objective as a European Army. This resolution was to guard against the danger of that development. More important even than that, I think, was our agreement that each of the organizations should give reciprocal security undertakings to the other, so that by virtue of these undertakings the whole area of both organizations would be covered by a security guarantee.

The significance of this, if it is carried into effect, if the legislatures of the countries concerned agree, including the Canadian legislature, is that the area of guarantee will cover Western Germany—that is to say if the Defence Community comes into being and if in the treaty establishing that organization there is a reciprocal guarantee on the part of that European Defence Community covering our present NATO territory. I do not think it is easy to exaggerate the importance of that decision. So far as guarantees and security are concerned it does bring Western Germany into very close association with NATO.

Then finally under this heading we agreed on a procedure by which there can be joint meetings of both organizations, a matter which caused a good deal of difference of opinion in the six months or so before the Lisbon meeting. These joint meetings can be called on the initiative of either organization and indeed, in certain circumstances, they can be called on the initiative of any one member of either organization.

I think all this is of very considerable importance in the development not only of European unity but of the North Atlantic concept; but none of these decisions can take effect until the treaty establishing the European Defence Community is ratified. I think we might reserve our most enthusiastic plaudits against that day, because there are obvious difficulties in the way of such legislative action, difficulties in Bonn, difficulties in Paris, and possibly difficulties in other capitals. In Bonn we know what

those difficulties are: the German insistence that in the substitution of a peace contract for the occupation statute there should be a recognition of their equality of status with other members of the European Community; the German insistence on unity between East and West, with all that implies in terms of boundaries and other things. . . .

Even under the draft treaty which is now being discussed with a view to the setting up of a European Defence Community there is no provision which would obligate any member of the Community or any member of any North Atlantic Treaty Organization associated with the European Community to go to the help of any country which takes any offensive or aggressive action of any kind. It is purely defensive in character; the reciprocal undertaking is to help each other if attacked, and on no other occasion.

This question of Germany, which loomed so large in our minds at Lisbon and must continue to loom large in our minds in all the free countries, is very difficult, complicated and indeed explosive. There are two extreme trends which might develop dangerously in Germany at the present time. On the one hand there is the revival of militarism, Nazi militarism; and there is the other extreme, the rejection of all defence responsibilities by the Germans and the creation of a power vacuum in the centre of Europe. We know what happens when a vacuum of that kind is created. We have a pretty good idea who would try to move into that vacuum in present circumstances. Nevertheless the fact remains that Germany, as I see it, is bound to become stronger and is bound to become united ultimately. Surely it is better that this should be done in association with the Atlantic powers than in isolation, or on a purely nationalistic basis, or in association with the Communist East which would have no scruples about a Germany armed to the teeth, with Nazi leaders back in harness, provided that was done by a Communist government under Moscow orders.

There are also difficulties in the way of the ratification of these treaties in Paris. There is the financial difficulty facing any French government; and that was made very clear to us at Lisbon. There is the difficulty of the war in Indo-China, with its inevitable drain on the French economy and on France's human resources. There is the fear, which is still strong and still understandable in France, of a resurgent and remilitarized Germany against which there must be guarantees, which are being worked out. Then also in France today there is a hesitation in certain quarters over the whole European Defence Community concept. But, I think we can be reasonably optimistic that as a result of our Lisbon decision, which makes this progress possible, Germany will be satisfactorily associated with Western defence and in that way with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization before very long.

Another matter with which we dealt at Lisbon is called, and I hate to use this horrible word, the "infrastructure" problem. I disclaim any responsibility for the word. In fact, everyone who speaks about it now disclaims any responsibility for it, but it must have started somewhere. You may be even more shocked, when I tell you that one, at Lisbon, we solemnly discussed a subject which was referred to on the agenda as "the solution of the hard core of the third slice of infrastructure". In plain English terms infrastructure means collective facilities. We were faced with the problem of deciding how many of these facilities were required for the 1952 programme. It is not much use going ahead with a programme, especially an air programme, if we have not the facilities, such as airfields, with which to carry it out. We were confronted with the problem of finding out how many of these facilities were absolutely necessary in 1952, and how the cost could be fairly divided between member countries. We came to agreement on that total figure for 1952 for the infrastructure programme appeared in the estimates the other day as \$27 millions.

Then finally, at Lisbon we completed our consideration of the problem of the association of Greece and Turkey with NATO. The Greek and Turkish representatives took their places there for the first time as full members of the Organization. We began at Lisbon the consideration of the military planning which is required to bring them into the military organization. We agreed that the land forces of these two valuable defence allies would be brought directly under the Supreme Commander of NATO for Europe, and the naval arrangements are to be worked out.

NATO Re-Organization

At Lisbon we considered other than military questions and I should report on them. The first and most immediately important of those questions was that of the re-organization of NATO or, as I would prefer to call it, the adapting of the NATO organization to its new functions and its new responsibilities. Probably the most important decision under this head was that, instead of having the Council meet two, three or four times a year with Deputies meeting in between, the Council would be established in permanent session with the Ministers attending when required. There were to be representatives of the Ministers and the governments acting for them in between ministerial meetings. These permanent representatives are now being appointed by the various governments, and the Canadian representative was nominated the other day. I hope that, among other things, this will reduce the necessity for so many ministerial meetings.

In connection with this re-organization we approved the abolition of the existing civilian agencies, such as the Finance and Economic Board, the Defence Production Board and the Maritime Shipping Board. These will now become committees of the Council. After a great deal of discussion we also agreed that the permanent headquarters of NATO should be located in an area in which other international agencies were located whose work is important to or closely related with NATO, and with whom co-operation is essential. This brought us to Paris. We agreed also that there should be, as the senior permanent official of the Organization, a Secretary-General who would be not only a Secretary-General in the usual sense of that office but a member of the Council and, indeed, the Vice-Chairman of the Council. As you know, Lord Ismay has been appointed to that office, a man of wisdom, tact, experience and modesty. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is very fortunate in securing him.

Non-Military Co-operation

Finally, under this head, we discussed non-military co-operation. The Committee of Five, which was set up as the House knows some months ago, made its report on this subject. Just to remove any doubt in this House that we were only concerned with military matters, I should like to read some paragraphs from this report.

"...The Committee wishes to emphasize that the process of achieving cohesive relationships among the countries of the North Atlantic community is necessarily a slow one, and that it would be a mistake to expect rapid or spectacular achievements. In this field it is necessary to build carefully on a solid foundation. The immediate and urgent aim of the North Atlantic Treaty is the common defence. The degree of success which is attained in defence co-operation will in large part determine the progress which can be made in strengthening the Atlantic community in its wider aspects. The sense of community, the experience, and the habits of co-operation which the development of collective defence has engendered form the essential basis for the growth of collaboration in fields other than defence."

The report went on:

"The enduring nature of the North Atlantic community must rest on something broader and deeper than military co-operation alone. Indeed, this is explicit in the Atlantic Pact itself, through article 2, and is reflected in the growing habit of consultation and feeling of community within the group. This concept of the "North Atlantic community" cannot easily be defined. Nor does it necessarily have to express itself always and immediately in institutional terms. But the idea itself is of vital importance and advantage should be taken of every opportunity to transform it into reality.

"The Committee feels, however, that this transformation, though essential, will not be easy, indeed, it may not even be possible if economic collaboration does not develop and increase; if the members of the North Atlantic community do not take early and concrete steps to liberalize and expand trade between them and with other friendly countries. They must give their peoples the hope

of greater human welfare by increased production and exchange of goods on an easier and wider basis than is now possible."

The report also made certain concrete suggestions to avoid duplication and overlapping in this economic field, especially with the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. We also discussed in this report co-ordination and consultation on our separate foreign policies, and the desirability — we have emphasized this before at NATO — of no one member of the Organization taking a far-reaching decision on foreign policy without at least some consultation with the other members of the Organization whenever possible. There was also a section in the report by the Committee of Five dealing with the movement of labour and manpower, subjects that are of very great importance to some European members of the Organization. Certain proposals for social and cultural co-operation were made, such as the exchange of students, the encouragement of travel, the exchange of teachers, as well as other proposals for making NATO, its ideals and its purposes, better known.

Finally in this report, . . . we recommended our own disappearance as a Committee of Five. We felt that this subject of non-military co-operation could not be dealt with effectively on any basis smaller than that of the full membership of the Council, and as the Council will be in permanent session now it should take over the work of developing this field. That is what will happen. . . .

I cannot give any information in concrete terms as to what has been done in the field to which I just referred. Indeed, very little has been done in the field of non-military co-operation. I admit that, and I think we must all be disappointed that more has not been done. But we have laid the foundation for a growing feeling of community in these matters, and I think if we are patient we shall find that results will be achieved. Some progress has been made, for instance, in the field of migration, but that is of more concern to the European countries than our own. Then there is the question of the exchange of labour between European countries. On this occasion in our report we did make to the Council certain concrete and specific suggestions for action. It is not however, appropriate for me to tell exactly what they are until the Council decides what action it can take in regard to them . . .

There was a discussion of budgetary arrangements for NATO generally and there was an estimate made by the experts who worked with us on this committee as to how much these proposals would cost. They will cost a considerable amount. They include such items as exchanges of students and that kind of thing. But I am not in a position to give exact figures in that regard at the present time. They will not cost much in relation I might add, to our total defence programme

The following members discussed Mr. Pearson's statement:

Mr. Graydon (PC, Peel)
Mr. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar)
Mr. Low (SC, Peace River)
Mr. Larson (L, Kindersley)
Mr. Pearkes (PC, Nanaimo).

United Nations General Assembly—Sixth Session

On March 25, the Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Lesage, rose to complete the statement made by Mr. Pearson on March 21. A partial text of his address follows:

. . . I should like this afternoon first to review briefly the results of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, which is the last Session of the Assembly of the United Nations, and then to elaborate on the subject of assistance to under-developed countries, with which I myself was particularly concerned.

I would not deny to the House, . . . that the recent Sessions of the General Assembly left many of the participants with a sense of depression. We all know that the General Assembly exists primarily to further the cause of peace and security and

to promote the general welfare of all peoples. It is a meeting place where we hope to relieve the tensions between the free world and the Soviet world, and to reach satisfactory political settlements by conciliation and peaceful negotiations. It cannot be said that the Sixth Session achieved a great deal in terms of these basic purposes . . .

The organization still affords opportunities for negotiation between the free world and the Soviet world, provided that the will to carry on such negotiations is present. This was shown, for instance, in the Berlin blockade, where a casual conversation between a Soviet and a United States representative led to negotiations which eventually ended this explosive episode.

Again, in several complicated disputes, on which the non-Communist world has been divided, such as those which have prevailed in Kashmir, Indonesia and Palestine, the United Nations has provided machinery which has yielded important results in ending hostilities.

Moreover, the organization brings together in loose association all the countries of the world which are opposed to Soviet aggression. . . .

Disarmament and Collective Measures

The resolution on disarmament, which set up a new Disarmament Commission, of which Canada is a member, to consider "the regulation, limitation and balanced reduction of all armaments and armed forces", may turn out to be the major accomplishment. But the debates on disarmament in the Assembly itself and the recent meetings of the Disarmament Commission under the chairmanship of the Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York show little promise that the U.S.S.R. will be inclined to use the new Commission as a place where serious plans for disarmament and the control of atomic weapons should be studied. However, . . . it is really still too early to estimate the value of this resolution of the Assembly, and we all must hope that steps will be taken, as a result of the discussions in the Commission during the next few months, which will bring some agreement on the very difficult questions of disclosure and international control of armed forces and armaments, including atomic weapons, so that a measure of disarmament, with its consequent easing of tension, will be possible.

Another important decision taken by the General Assembly was a resolution on collective measures, which continued the Collective Measures Committee for another year. . . .

In other political fields a commission was established to look into the possibility of holding free elections throughout Germany, and this commission has been unsuccessfully seeking entrance into East Germany for that purpose. The German Federal Republic has, on the other hand, welcomed the establishment of the commission and has assisted it in its work.

A resolution on the Palestine dispute was adopted which called on the parties to resolve their differences in conformity with previous Assembly resolutions. This resolution was made acceptable to all parties concerned by amendments introduced by the Canadian Delegation.

Libya's attainment of independence was also approved within the time limit set by the Assembly in 1949, a development warmly supported by Canada.

Yugoslavia's complaint of hostile activities by the Cominform states was dealt with by a resolution calling on all the parties to conduct their relations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

The question of Korea was postponed to a special session of the Assembly to be convened if an armistice is signed, or if "other developments" make such a session desirable.

There was a sharp division of opinion in the Assembly on trusteeship and colonial questions which the debate on Southwest Africa made even sharper.

The Canadian Delegation, while not taking an active part in these frequently acrimonious and important debates, was not perhaps without influence in bringing about compromises between the views of the administering countries and the non-administering majority.

A sum of a little over \$48 million was approved for the United Nations budget for 1952, and the scale of assessments of member governments was adjusted to bring it more into line with the principle that in an organization of sovereign equals no one government should contribute too large a proportion of the budget. The Canadian Delegation took an active part in administrative and budgetary questions and pressed once more for all possible economies consistent with efficient functioning of the United Nations. . . .

The Third (Social) Committee of the Assembly spent the greater part of its time on the question of the International Covenant on Human Rights. The main issue was whether economic, social and cultural rights should be contained in a covenant dealing with political and civil rights. The Assembly decided that the two covenants should be drafted, one containing political and civil rights and the other economic, social and cultural rights. . . .

In the legal field the Assembly set up a special committee of fifteen states, including Canada, to study steps to be taken to improve the handling of legal and drafting questions by future Sessions of the Assembly. . . .

An important resolution calling for contributions to the Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees was also approved by the Assembly. A long and useful debate was held on the general problem of economic development of the under-developed countries. . . .

Colombo Plan

Last year Parliament approved Canadian participation in the Colombo Plan and authorized an appropriation of \$25 million for the fiscal year 1951-52 for economic assistance to governments in countries in South and Southeast Asia. It was later decided that, for the first year of the Colombo Plan, the Canadian contribution should be used to assist in the economic development of India and Pakistan. In order to establish a basic working relationship with the Indian and Pakistan Governments, and to make sure that our activities under the Colombo Plan would be founded on knowledge and mutual understanding, arrangements were made for consultations to take place here in Ottawa with officials from India and Pakistan.

These discussions were held last summer, and agreement was reached on the general principles which should guide and govern the provision of economic aid by Canada to India and Pakistan under the Colombo Plan. Subsequently, on September 10, 1951, an agreement, in the form of a statement of principles, was signed in New Delhi by representatives of the Canadian and Indian Governments, and in Karachi by representatives of the Canadian and Pakistan Governments.

Since then continuing discussions have been carried on with a view to selecting specific projects suitable for economic assistance out of the 1951-52 Canadian appropriation for the Colombo Plan. . . .

At the request of the Government of India the Canadian Government agreed to allot \$10 million for the provision of wheat to India under the Colombo Plan. This wheat was urgently needed, as hon. members know, to help prevent starvation in certain districts in India. Except for a negligible amount, all the wheat has now been shipped from Canadian West Coast ports.

In order that the grant of wheat might be directly related to the economic development objectives of the Colombo Plan, the Indian Government agreed to establish a special counterpart fund equal in rupees to the \$10 million paid for the wheat by the Canadian Government.

The Government of India proposed that the funds be used to finance a large-scale irrigation and hydro-electric project at Mayurakshi in West Bengal. From all

reports this project appears to be economically sound, and we have accepted the Indian proposal that the counterpart funds be devoted to its construction. It is estimated that the Mayurakshi project will, through irrigation, increase the annual food production of the district by about 350 thousand tons of rice and other crops. It will produce some 4,000 kilowatts of electric energy.

In addition to assisting in the construction of the Mayurakshi irrigation and hydro-electric project through the use of counterpart funds, we have also been asked to supply a small amount of equipment not locally obtainable. Inquiries will be made to determine whether the required items are available in Canada and, if so, they will be provided.

Preliminary consideration is being given to the practicability of supplying a quantity of chassis to India for use of the Bombay State Transport Commission, but this project is still in the discussion stage.

The main project in the Canadian programme of economic assistance for Pakistan under the Colombo Plan is a cement plant to be erected in the Thal area of the Punjab where the Pakistan Government is carrying on a large-scale colonization scheme for settlement and rehabilitation of millions of people who have moved from their homes as a result of partition.

The Governments of Australia, Canada and New Zealand have jointly agreed to establish and equip an experimental livestock farm also in the Thal area. The Canadian contribution to this joint project will take the form of agricultural machinery and related equipment. In addition it is expected that a Canadian expert will be provided to instruct local Pakistani personnel in the care and maintenance of all the farm machinery.

Another item in the Canadian programme for Pakistan which has been mutually agreed upon is the provision of a substantial quantity of wooden railway ties which are urgently needed for the rehabilitation and development of the Pakistan railway system.

A tentative agreement has been reached on a photographic and geological survey of Pakistan to be undertaken by Canada. Very little is known of the geological and geophysical make-up of Pakistan, and a survey of the kind contemplated would provide basic data of immediate and long-term value to Pakistan in carrying out its economic development.

The Colombo Plan is a novel experiment in international economic co-operation. It is inevitable that in translating the plan into action all kinds of organizational, administrative and consultative problems will arise which will require time to solve. There is also a good deal of preliminary study and fact finding to be undertaken if our economic aid programme is to rest upon a sound foundation.

As a result, delays in the first stages are unavoidable. Nevertheless it was possible in the past few months to make real progress. Moreover governmental machinery which has been set up to co-ordinate our international economic and technical co-operation, and the experience which has been gained in the first year of the Colombo Plan, will greatly help our activities in the future.

As the Secretary of State for External Affairs said at a press conference: We have been criticized for giving only \$25 million to the Colombo Plan this year. During the past year we have had a very difficult time working out with India and Pakistan a practical programme by which the money could be spent.

As a matter of fact, although the whole \$25 million voted by Parliament for this current year has been earmarked, only \$10 million of goods has been shipped out. This means, in effect, that in the coming year the balance of this year's programme will have to be carried on, along with the programme to be initiated under the 1952-53 contribution.

I should perhaps at this point make reference to the meeting, which opened yesterday in Karachi, of the Consultative Committee for Co-operative Economic

Development in South and Southeast Asia. This Committee, which is composed of all the governments participating in the Colombo Plan, and includes the United States, meets from time to time to review the progress being made in reaching the objectives of the Plan and to discuss matters of policy. At this session Canada is being represented by my colleague the Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. McIlraith).

Technical Co-operation Under the Plan

Soon after the establishment of the Council for Technical Co-operation in Colombo, a permanent Canadian representative was appointed to it.

Two principles have been kept in mind in making offers of scholarships and fellowships and in inviting technical missions to visit Canada. The first is that the training we offer to make available should be directly related to the economic development needs of the countries in the area, and the second is that the offers be ones which Canada is in a position to implement effectively.

Sixty scholarships and fellowships have been offered under the Colombo Technical Co-operation Programme: Twenty-five to India, fifteen to Pakistan, ten to Ceylon and ten to non-Commonwealth countries in the area. Almost all the trainees from India, Pakistan and Ceylon have arrived in Canada. They are taking courses of training in road and bridge construction, hydro-electric development, public administration, public health and welfare, and agriculture. Up to date the ten awards which were offered to non-Commonwealth countries have not been taken up. They are, however, being held open.

Last year three technical missions, each composed of senior government officials from India and Pakistan, were taken on tours across Canada, arranged by Canadian government departments in co-operation with the corresponding provincial departments. One of these missions was interested in studying highway and bridge construction in Canada, another mission came to look into Canadian agricultural methods, and the third was interested in hydro-electric power installation and development.

It has proved more difficult to find qualified Canadian experts to serve in advisory capacities in the countries of South and Southeast Asia than it has to provide training facilities in Canada for scholars and fellows from that area. Nevertheless we have been able to provide a fisheries consultant from British Columbia to assist the Government of Ceylon in the development of the fishing industry, and a refrigeration engineer has also gone to Ceylon to help in the same field.

Now that the programme is under way we shall be able to operate more and more on the basis of specific requests from governments for both experts and training facilities. The Government believes, as do most members of the Colombo Plan, that technical co-operation will probably do most good at this stage if it concentrates on the training of middle and lower grade workers in their own countries. In planning future activities every effort will be made to shift the emphasis in this direction.

For each of the past two fiscal years, this Parliament has authorized an appropriation of \$400,000 for Canadian participation in the Technical Co-operation Programme of the Colombo Plan. Because of the delays in getting a programme of this kind off the ground and running smoothly the total value of the services and facilities extended by Canada has lagged behind the amount of funds available. However, the programme has been steadily increasing its pace. . . . The technical assistance missions and experts constitute the "other forces of the United Nations." . . .

Here for the first time almost all countries of the free world have co-operated in pooling their resources to give technical assistance to governments which are in need and which request it, but of course the Soviet bloc refused to participate, despite their constant professions of solicitude for the welfare of the peoples of the under-developed countries.

Canada contributed \$850,000 to the first eighteen months' operation of this programme on a total budget of \$20 million. This year, at the Technical Assistance Con-

ference which was held in Paris on the 6th and 7th of February, we offered to contribute on a matching basis a maximum of \$850,000 towards the objective of \$20 million for the present twelve months period, and at least \$750,000. The United States for its part has offered to contribute a maximum of \$12 million if the contributions reach \$20 million, but not more than sixty per cent of the total. The contributions of the United States and Canada are offered in this way in order to encourage other contributing countries, and especially the receiving countries, to participate themselves in the plan and show their interest in it. The United States and Canada have pledged a little over \$2 for each dollar which will be contributed by all the other countries in the world. I do not believe that Canada could be accused of lack of generosity. . . .

On March 1, 1952, the total contributions pledged were equivalent to \$18,839,618, the American contributions being calculated at sixty per cent of the total and the Canadian contribution at \$750,000. The Canadian representative said at the Technical Assistance Conference, and I quote:

"We regret very much that pledges to date do not permit the utilization of the maximum Canadian pledge. However, we are very anxious to go as far as possible toward ensuring the success of this important Programme during 1952. My Government will, therefore, make a firm pledge today of \$750,000. The further \$100,000 will remain available until the Final Act is closed for signature on April 15."

Since the beginning of the Programme in July, 1950, Canada has received forty-six United Nations fellows from under-developed countries for special training in Canada, in addition to many directed to us by the Specialized Agencies. We have just completed training arrangements for an additional twenty-seven United Nations fellows in Canada. Moreover, many Canadians are serving abroad in the field under United Nations programmes, a great number of them in Asian countries.

... If we expect the peoples of Asia, African and Latin America to share our belief in democracy and to stand with other nations of the free world in defence of the democratic way of life, we must help them to know the benefits of democracy. We must convince them, by genuine and practical co-operation, that our system does not tend to perpetuate economic and social injustice and class privilege. It is urgent, therefore, that we should continue, through the United Nations and outside it, as in the Colombo Plan, to assist under-developed countries to build up, little by little, conditions of economic stability and social well-being. . . .

The following members commented on the statements of Mr. Lesage and Mr. Pearson:

Mr. Green (PC, Vancouver-Quadra)
Mr. Wright (CCF, Melfort)
Mr. Quelch (SC, Acadia)
Mr. Bradette (L, Cockrane)
Mr. Gagnon (Ind., Chicoutimi)
Mr. Bourget (L, Lévis)
Mr. Browne (PC, St. John's West)

Protection of Canadian Missionaries in China

On March 10, in response to a question by Mr. Hees (PC, Broadview) as to what action the Government planned in protest against the recent treatment of five Canadian nuns in Canton, Mr. Lesage said:

I believe little can be added to the statements made in this house by the Prime Minister . . . on December 31, 1951, and by the Secretary of State for External Affairs . . . on December 29, 1951.

However, I am authorized to repeat that the Government deplores the shocking treatment the Canadian missionaries in China have received, and has taken every course open to it to protest to the Central People's Government of the People's Republic

of China. In the absence of direct Canadian representation in China we have had the assistance not only of the United Kingdom chargé d'affaires but of representatives of other countries. On a number of occasions these gentlemen have made strong representations, and there are some signs that in a certain measure they have succeeded in improving the conditions of some imprisoned persons.

The House will no doubt be aware that three of the nuns who were tried in Canton have now reached Hong Kong, and missionaries of all denominations continue to arrive at that place. Whereas on January 1, 1951 there were about 400 Canadians in China, there are now approximately 160, the majority of whom are missionaries; and many of these have applied for exit permits.

The situation, of course, is one of great delicacy; and, as has been pointed out in the past by both the Prime Minister and by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, the best advice at the disposal of the Government indicates that little is to be gained and much may be lost by heated public discussion of those questions. I know the Government shares to the full the natural indignation engendered by these events, but it is compelled to suggest, as it has suggested, that the safety of Canadian citizens still in China dictates the utmost caution.

Death of Don Stephen Senanayake

In a tribute to the late Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. St. Laurent said in part, on March 24.

Members of the House of Commons will have learned with profound regret of the death of the distinguished Prime Minister of Ceylon, the Right Hon. Don Senanayake

His Excellency the Governor General and I have already expressed the sympathy of the Government and people of Canada with the people of Ceylon, and with the members of the Prime Minister's family. To confirm those messages of sympathy, and as a special tribute to the memory of the late Prime Minister, I beg leave to move, seconded by the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Drew):

That as a token of our sympathy for the family of the late Prime Minister, as well as for all the people of this sister state in the Commonwealth, we now stand in this Chamber for a moment of respectful silence.

Following agreement on this motion, the House rose and stood in silence, after which there were brief tributes by Mr. Drew, Mr. Coldwell and Mr. Low.

Famine in India

On March 31, in response to a request by Mr. Catherwood (PC, Haldimand) for a statement on reports of famine in the state of Madras, India, Mr. Pearson spoke as follows:

. . . . I have seen reports in the newspapers about the serious food and water situation in Madras, but no official report of any recent deterioration in the situation has been received, nor has any representation or special appeal been made to this Government by the Government of India. However, the hon. member will be aware that we are in close touch with the Government of India in respect of the use made of the funds that we have made available to India in connection with the Colombo Plan. Ten million dollars from those funds have been used to purchase wheat for India. That wheat is now arriving there and no doubt will be directed by the Government of India through normal distribution channels to the areas where it will be most useful.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. E. D'Arcy McCreer was appointed as Canadian Minister to Denmark, effective March 12, 1952.
- Mr. G. A. Newman was appointed as Canadian Consul at New Orleans, Louisiana, effective January 30, 1952.
- Mr. F. G. Ballachey was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Shanghai, China, to Ottawa, effective March 3, 1952.
- Mr. J. G. Hadwen was posted from Ottawa, to the Office of the High Commission for Canada, Karachi, Pakistan, effective March 5, 1952.
- Mr. F. G. Hooton was posted from leave of absence (Oxford, England), to the OEEC, Paris, effective March 1, 1952.
- Mr. G. A. Rau was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, Ireland, effective March 14, 1952.
- Mr. E. D. Wilgress was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, Italy, effective March 8, 1952.
- Mr. W. S. Durdin was posted from the Canadian Consulate, Frankfurt, Germany, to the Canadian Embassy, The Hague, the Netherlands, effective March 16, 1952.
- Mr. T. B. B. Wainman-Wood was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Helsinki, Finland, effective March 19, 1952.
- Mr. D. B. Wilson was posted from home leave (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), to Ottawa, effective March 17, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Dr. Rajko Djermanovic, Ambassador of Yugoslavia, March 13.

His Excellency German Fernandez-Concha, Ambassador of Peru, March 27.

His Excellency Delfin H. Pupo y Proenza, Ambassador of Cuba, March 28.

Mr. H. R. Martola, Chargé d'Affaires of Finland, March 17.

Mr. Henry Mareschal, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of France, March 5.

Mr. Joseph A. Pieters, Attaché, Embassy of Belgium, March 19.

Mr. S. M. Koreschi, Third Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, March 21.

Mr. Josef Velek, Commercial Attaché, Legation of Czechoslovakia, March 26.

Departures

His Excellency Primo Villa Michel, Ambassador of Mexico, March 15. Pending the presentation of the Letter of Credence of his successor, Mr. Luis Ibarguen, Second Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Acyr Paes, Ambassador of Brazil, March 31. Pending the presentation of the Letter of Credence of his successor, Mr. Raul José de Sa Barbosa, Third

Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Mr. W. Gautier, Third Secretary (Commercial Affairs), Embassy of Germany, March 1.

Mr. Lewis D. Brown, Second Secretary, Embassy of the United States of America, March 31.

His Excellency Hubert Guérin, Ambassador of France, was absent from Ottawa, March 5 to March 20. Mr. François de Laboulaye, Counsellor, was Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency the Honourable Stanley Woodward, Ambassador of the United States of America, was absent from Ottawa, March 7 to March 20. Mr. Don C. Bliss, Minister, was Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Werner Dankwort, Ambassador of Germany, was absent from Ottawa, March 12 to March 24. Dr. J. F. Ritter, First Secretary was Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency R. R. Saksena, High Commissioner for India, left Ottawa on March 18 for a visit to India. Mr. P. K. Banerjee is Acting High Commissioner.

His Excellency A. Adrian Roberts, High Commissioner for South Africa, left Ottawa on March 25 for a vacation. Mr. T. J. Endemann, Secretary, is Acting High Commissioner.

CONSULAR

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Lorentz Halfdan Thorlaksson as Honorary Consul of Iceland at Vancouver, March 5. He was previously Honorary Vice-Consul in that city.

Mr. W. H. Warren as Honorary Consul of Iceland at Halifax, March 5. He was previously Honorary Vice-Consul in that city.

Mr. José Luis Ceron as Acting Consul General of Spain at Montreal, March 10. He was previously Consul in that city.

Mr. David Silveira da Motta, Jr., as Vice-Consul of Brazil at Montreal, March 10.

Mr. Ovidio de Andrade Melo, as Vice-Consul of Brazil at Toronto, March 10.

Mrs. Elizabeth L. Engdahl as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, March 11. She is on temporary duty for a period of approximately two months.

Mr. Donald H. Robinson as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Niagara Falls, March 11. He is on temporary duty for a period of approximately two months.

Mr. Raymond J. Swanson as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, March 11. He was previously Vice-Consul at Saint John, N.B.

Mr. Joseph F. Burt as Consul General of the United States of America at Toronto, March 14. He is on temporary duty for a period of approximately four months.

Mr. Luis D. Paulino A. as Consul of the Dominican Republic at Halifax, March 14.

Mr. F. Willard Calder as Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, March 18. He is on temporary duty for a period of approximately two months.

Mr. Richard P. Butrick as Consul General of the United States of America at Montreal, March 25.

Departures

Mr. Mariano de Yturralde, Consul General of Spain at Montreal, March 1.

Mr. Edward J. Lawler, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, March 2.

The address of the Consulate of Switzerland at Winnipeg is now:

210 Mitchell-Copp Building,
334 Portage Avenue,
Telephone: 9-27013.

TRADE

New Appointment

Mr. P. B. Hunt, Trade Commissioner for the United Kingdom, at Montreal, end of March.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of International Conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of March 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such Conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Now published annually; see "External Affairs" January 1952, for complete list.)

Conferences Attended in March

1. *British Commonwealth Scientific (Official) Conference.* Canberra and Melbourne, February 18 - March 7. Chairman: Dr. E. W. R. Steacie, President, National Research Council; Delegates: Dr. K. W. Neatby, Department of Agri-

culture; Dr. G. S. Hume, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys; Dr. G. B. Reed, Fisheries Research Board; Dr. G. H. Ettinger, Queen's University, Kingston; Dr. P. Gagnon, Laval University, Quebec.

2. *3rd Meeting of American Central Bank Technical Experts.* Cuba, February 25 - March 8. Representative: W. E. Scott, Bank of Canada.
3. *2nd Meeting of the Sub-Group of the Interseasonal Working Party on the Reduction of Tariff Levels (GATT).* Geneva, February 26 - March 1. Representative: L. Couillard, Deputy Representative to the OEEC, Paris.
4. *Conference on Settlement of German External Debts.* London, February 28 - March. Head of Delegation: E. A. Côté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Delegates: A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; H. D. Clark, Department of Finance.
5. *International Sugar Council.* London, March 3 - Observer: D. A. B. Marshall, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
6. *Meeting of the Financial and Administrative Committee of the Governing Body of ILO.* Geneva, March 3-7. B. Williams and K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
7. *Preliminary Meeting of Officials of the Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia.* Karachi, March 10 - K. P. Kirkwood, High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan; R. G. Nik Cavell and G. D. Mallory, Department of Trade and Commerce; G. S. Murray and A. P. Bissonnet, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, Karachi; H. H. Wright, Department of Finance.
8. *118th Session of the Governing Body of ILO.* Geneva, March 11-14. P. E. Côté, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Labour; Alternate: P. Goulet, Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Labour; Advisers: B. Williams and K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
9. *North American Wildlife Conference.* Miami, March 16-19. Representatives: Dr. H. F. Lewis and Dr. V.E.F. Solman, Canadian Wildlife Service.
10. *Interim Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations.* New York, March 17 - Representative: D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York.
11. *4th Session of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security (ILO).* Mexico, March 24 - April 8. Delegate: Col. J. G. Bisson, Unemployment Insurance Commission, Department of Labour; Alternate: R. B. Curry, Department of National Health and Welfare; Adviser: A. E. Blanchette, Canadian Embassy, Mexico.
12. *Consultative Committee on Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia.* Karachi, March 24 - Representative: G. J. McIlraith, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Trade and Commerce; Alternate: K. P. Kirkwood, High Commissioner for Canada in Pakistan; Delegates: R. G. Nik Cavell and G. D. Mallory, Department of Trade and Commerce; G. S. Murray and A. P. Bissonnet, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, Karachi; H. H. Wright, Department of Finance.
13. *Special Session of ECOSOC.* New York, March 24 - Representative: D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York; Adviser: A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
14. *5th Session of the Permanent Inter-American Committee on Social Security (ILO).* Mexico, March. Observer: Col. J. G. Bisson, Unemployment Insurance Commission, Department of Labour.

Conferences to be held in April and May

(The inclusion of the name of a conference or of an international meeting in the following list is merely for information. It does not follow that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate or, if so, that the invitation has or will be accepted; the dates are tentative.)

1. *Committee on Non-Government Organizations (ECOSOC).* New York, April 1-4.
2. *7th Session of the Narcotic Drugs Commission (ECOSOC).* New York, April 15.
3. *5th Conference of American States Members of ILO.* Rio de Janeiro, April 17-30.
4. *4th Session of the Metal and Trades Committee of ILO.* Geneva, April 21 - May 3.
5. *Executive Board of UNICEF.* New York, April 22.
6. *Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices (ECOSOC).* New York, April 28.
7. *6th International Conference of the International Hydrographic Bureau.* Monaco, April 29.
8. *International Wheat Council.* April.

9. *9th Meeting of the International Rubber Study Group*. Ottawa, May 5-9.
10. *1st Pan-American Universities' Congress of Odontology*. Buenos Aires, May 4-10.
11. *4th Session of the Iron and Steel Committee of ILO*. Geneva, May 5-17.
12. *International Civil Service Advisory Board*. Geneva, May 9-16.
13. *14th Session of ECOSOC*. New York, May 13 - August.
14. *13th Universal Postal Union Congress*. Brussels, May 14.
15. *11th Session of the International Consultative Committee on Cotton*. Rome, May 17.
16. *1st Pan-American Congress on Veterinary Medicine*. (FAO-WHO). Lima, Peru, May 20.
17. *Meeting of the International Committee on Monuments, Artistic and Historical Sites and Archeological Excavations*. (UNESCO). Paris, May 21.
18. *IXth International Congress of Agricultural Industries*. Rome, May 23-31.
19. *6th Session of ICAO*. Montreal May 17.
20. *1st Session of the Consultative Committee for Europe (WHO)*. Geneva, May 28.
21. *Working Party on Programme of Work and Associated Long-Term Problems (FAO)*. Rome, May 28.
22. *Joint Committee of WHO-UNICEF on Health Policy*. Geneva, May 31.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
10	4/3	Canadian and United States officials to examine St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project.
11	7/3	Report of talks, March 6 and 7, on St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project.
12	11/3	Travel Restrictions on U.S.S.R. Embassy staff.
13	12/3	Appointment of Mr. E. D'Arcy McGreer as Canadian Minister to Denmark.
14	13/3	Presentation of Letter of Credence by Dr. Rajko Djermanovic as Ambassador of Yugoslavia.
15	13/3	Note on number of Canadians now in Communist China.
16	21/3	Hungarian decree on nationalization of property.
17	27/3	Presentation of Letter of Credence by Mr. German Fernandez-Concha as Ambassador of Peru.
18	28/3	Presentation of Letter of Credence by Mr. Delfin H. Pupo y Proenza as Ambassador of Cuba.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

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| <p>No. 52/9—<i>Canada and World Affairs</i>, text of an address by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Walter Harris, delivered at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, February 19, 1952.</p> <p>No. 52/10—<i>Canada and Technical Assistance to Under-Developed Countries</i>, text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, at the Annual Congress of the Co-operative</p> | <p>Union of Canada, Ottawa, March 4, 1952.</p> <p>No. 52/11—<i>Some Aspects of Canada-United States Relations</i>, text of an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Society, New York, March 7, 1952.</p> <p>No. 52/12—<i>Canada's Trade Outlook</i>, text of an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce and Defence Production, Mr. C. D. Howe, to the Montreal Canadian Club, March 19, 1952.</p> |
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The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

No. 52/8—*Canada's Experiments in Social Legislation*, excerpts from an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, delivered at the University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, on February 28, 1952.

No. 52/13—*Canada's Post-War Resources Development*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. Robert H. Winters, to a gathering of the Canadian Club of Shawinigan Falls and Grand Mere, made at Shawinigan Falls, Quebec, on March 19, 1952.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS[†]

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Mimeographed Documents:

Draft International Covenant on Human Rights and Measures of Implementation (Report of the Third Committee); 3 February 1952; document A/2112; 36 p.

* *Report on the United Nations Seminar on Public Personnel Management* (30 October 1950 to 30 January 1951); 31 January 1952; document ST/TAA/CONF.1/1; 236 p.

(b) Printed Documents:

‡ *Assistance to Palestine Refugees:*

a) *Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East*; Paris, 1951; document A/1905; 48 p.; 50 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 16.

b) *Special Report of the Director and Advisory Commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency*

for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; Paris, 1951; document A/1905/Add. 1; 6 p.; 10 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 16. A.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East — Accounts for the period 1 May to 31 December 1950 and Report of the Board of Auditors; Paris, 1951; document A/1931; 15 p.; 25 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 6 B.

‡ *United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency — Financial Statements for the period from the commencement of operations (1 December 1950) to 30 June 1951 and Report of the Board of Auditors*; Paris, 1951; document A/1961; 10 p.; 15 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Sixth Session, Supplement No. 6 C.

Study on Assistance to Indigent Aliens; 10 October 1951; document ST/SOA/7; 81 p.; 50 cents; Sales No.: 1952.IV.1 (Department of Social Affairs)

[†] Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

[‡] French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

* French version has been published previously.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, on April 15, 1952.

In discussing this subject, I should like to look tonight behind the headlines for a brief period and consider some of the movements and forces now operating in the field of international organization; forces ranging from the narrowest nationalism to those which advocate the "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World".

National sovereignty in its present-day form is generally considered to have originated in the rise of unified states in Western Europe during and after the Renaissance.

With the development of such states the doctrine of national sovereignty was elaborated as one of the basic principles of international law and politics. Sovereignty is a concept which, of course, has a number of meanings. In one common usage it refers to the jurisdiction over the land surfaces of the globe. In this sense of territorial sovereignty there is now not much international dispute. The land areas of the world have practically all been divided up among sovereign states, although there are still issues regarding the demarcation of boundaries and a few serious conflicting territorial claims.

Nationalism, as a spur in the scramble for territory in the old manner is, then, largely extinct. Nationalism, however, as an expression of the desire of a people for self-government and independence, is still very much alive. Indeed, at a time when long-established states are becoming increasingly aware of the disadvantages of a rigid adherence to the principle of national sovereignty in international dealings, there is a wave of insurgent nationalism throughout the Islamic and Asian world and throughout the overseas dependencies of the European nation-states. Perhaps it is inevitable and right that nationalism must find expression in political freedom before its limitations are realized.

In any event, its strength has been shown in recent years by the partition of existing political entities and the emergence of new independent states. So we have Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, The Philippines, Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Israel, Indonesia, and, most recently, Libya. The Wilsonian principles of self-determination are, in a delayed reaction, adding to the multiplicity of independent nations throughout the world. Nor is the process yet completed, for a number of new states will probably appear in the years ahead. This national and anti-colonial feeling may often result in disturbance and confusion and, indeed, in some premature and unrealistic decisions in those international agencies where it now has a powerful platform on which to express itself. In its name, the United Nations, for instance, has decided that a former colony like Italian Somaliland, weak and poor and primitive, is to be given the privilege and the responsibility of governing itself as a sovereign state. It may well prove to be unequal to the responsibility. The national urge, however, cannot be stopped. Nor should it be, although it might, with advantage, accept some guidance and develop some appreciation of the inevitability, and the permanence, of gradualness!

This fragmentation of political society, resulting from the triumph of the national idea, must presumably run its course before the opposite trend towards closer international political association can make general headway. One example of what I mean is to be found in the British Commonwealth of Nations. That association

rests firmly in 1952 on the only basis which would be accepted by its members, their complete national independence. Now that this has been achieved, however, there is less constitutional and political sensitiveness than formerly about the closest possible co-operation between those members. Yet such co-operation does not express itself in organizational forms so much as in the practice of consultation, and in the desire to work together; a desire which cannot always be realized because of the differing interests and circumstances of the member-states. These differences make any centralized formal organization of the Commonwealth extremely difficult, if not impossible, but they do not prevent a close, almost a family, relationship. That relationship, among other things, now provides a very important link between East and West, as three of the independent members of the new Commonwealth are India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

At present, then, movements towards national independence and towards international organization run side by side throughout the world.

The latter movement, whether it finds expression in the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or the European Council or Defence Community — and I propose to say a few words about all three — is, of course, bound to have an effect on the traditional concept of national sovereignty.

As a principle of international law, national sovereignty has meant that states will not brook any interference with their domestic jurisdiction by other states or by international organizations, through decisions which they have not themselves accepted. The more developed and politically mature countries have, however, gradually been coming to realize, as a result of their actual political, military and economic experiences, that their security, indeed their very existence, may require some modification of this doctrine of exclusive national sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction, which was once considered sacrosanct.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Soviet Union, which calls itself a progressive people's democracy and is based on a supra-national ideology, now often poses as a determined adherent and defender of the doctrine of full national sovereignty and opponent of international intervention or supervision. The Soviet has, in fact, an almost pathological concern for national sovereignty and the equality and independence of states, whenever any form of international action is proposed which would lay its own territory or its own domestic activities open to examination by others. On other occasions, when the action concerned means interference with "capitalist" states, it takes, of course, the opposite view. Consistency in these, as in some other matters, is not a communist virtue.

We might first look at the effect of international organization on national sovereignty by examining the Charter of the United Nations. This Charter is the most far-reaching international treaty in force today, and is at present the basic instrument of international organization. As such, it represents a considerable advance over the Covenant of the League of Nations, which it replaced. Nevertheless, the Charter is, according to its first principle, based on the sovereign equality of all its members, though this principle is not always recognized in practice.

The Charter also contains a categorical provision that nothing in it should authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. This merely asserts another general principle, of course, and does not define what are essentially domestic matters. The way is left open, therefore, for discussion and dispute regarding such a definition — and the position taken in such discussion is often concerned more with political than legal considerations.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the Charter does contain a significant clause, though up to the present it has not been widely applied, that the Organization shall ensure that states which are not members of the United Nations act in accord with its principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security. To this extent the United Nations, at least in theory, asserts itself as an international body having some authority over non-member states, even though these states have not given their consent in any form to the terms of the Charter or actions which the various United Nations bodies may decide to take. This is at least an indication of the emergence of an international authority existing above and apart from its member-states, and threatening their freedom of action.

Because it is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of its member-states, the United Nations operates in most respects on the rule of one state, one vote. This follows the respected practice of universal suffrage in democratic communities. The application, however, of this simple principle to the conduct of affairs of international bodies leads to certain special difficulties. While it is proper to recognize that states have a right to equality in international law, it is equally sensible to recognize that they vary widely in their populations, economic resources and power, as well as in the stage they have reached in political development. The granting of equal voting rights to each of the sixty members of the United Nations means, because of the disparity in their size and wealth, that decisions are sometimes taken on an unrepresentative basis. Indeed, some decisions have been characterized as not only unrepresentative, but irresponsible, because of the use of voting power based on the one state, one vote principle. The United States, for example, contributes more than a third of the annual operating budget of the United Nations but a large number of small states, which in the aggregate may contribute a very small proportion of the operating funds, can have resolutions adopted, by the exercise of their collective voting rights, calling for very large expenditures by others on all kinds of projects. Groups of states could also succeed in having resolutions adopted calling for military and other action which might not have to be taken by them at all but by a very few states which may be in a dissenting minority. This situation might be intolerable if the resolutions of the General Assembly had a binding legal effect on all the United Nations members, or if the smaller states exercised their voting power irresponsibly.

Even in its present form this exercise of voting power, which is something apart from veto power, at times threatens the effectiveness and could, in certain circumstances, threaten even the integrity of the United Nations. It has led to suggestions that there should be some form of weighted voting corresponding in rough fashion with the population, the strength, and actual contributions of the member-states to the Organization. These proposals for new voting procedures are usually quite complicated and rarely find widespread support. Agreement on criteria for weighting is almost as impossible to achieve in international political bodies as it would be in regard to weighted voting by state representatives in the United States Senate. The criterion of population alone, for instance, would certainly not do, because it is often in conflict with such tests as economic resources and development, trade and commercial importance, or military strength.

The principle of one state, one vote, does not, of course, apply to all the agencies of the United Nations. Indeed, the General Assembly is the only such agency in which *every* member-state is represented and, therefore, has a vote. The membership of other organs is restricted in the interest—not always realized—of speedy and effective action. In the Security Council, on which, according to the Charter, the members conferred primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, there is another kind of deviation from the rule of equality. I refer, of course, to the provision that in other than procedural matters affirmative votes must

include those of the five permanent members: China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. It is, however, not this rule itself, but its excessive and irresponsible exercise, principally by the Soviet Union, which has had such unhappy consequences and has largely frustrated the effective operation of the Security Council in political and security matters. The veto possessed by a select group only is an extreme form of weighted voting and the dissatisfaction caused by its operation is a warning of the difficulties of devising both equitable and workable constitutions for international organizations.

Let us now turn for a moment to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It was largely because of the failure of the United Nations to implement, through the Security Council, the Charter provisions for organizing collective security universally that certain countries felt it necessary to make their own more limited collective defence arrangements by an agreement concluded under Article 51 of the Charter. This short and simple international agreement, the North Atlantic Treaty, the third anniversary of whose signature was celebrated two weeks ago, remains, until the United Nations can function more effectively, the most important international instrument for the defence of the free world and the preservation of international peace. Unlike the United Nations Charter, the North Atlantic Treaty does not erect an elaborate and somewhat rigid structure for carrying out the aims and objectives of its signatories. Apart from establishing a Council on which each of the parties to the Treaty is represented, and a Defence Ministers' Committee, the Treaty leaves the development of the machinery for its implementation to evolution and experience.

Consequently, in the space of about three years, there have already been a number of changes in that machinery. NATO is now, in fact, a very different body from that which was set up after the Pact was signed. Gone are the Defence Ministers and Finance Ministers Committees, the Defence Production Board, the Finance and Economic Board and the Committee of Deputies. We have now only one Council consisting of the representatives of governments and, after the Lisbon decisions, to be in permanent session. The ministerial meetings of the Council will now be merely regular sessions, with a higher level of governmental representation. The technical and day-to-day work of NATO will be done by either committees of the Council, or by committees of a permanent secretariat, which is now to be organized under a Secretary-General.

When the nature of this key post, the Secretary-Generalship, was under discussion at Lisbon, there were two points of view expressed. One, that the Secretary-General should be merely the chief administrative officer of the Organization, the head of its Civil Service. The other, that the Secretary-General should be more than this; that he should be given enough power and authority to be the active directing head of the Organization, with direct access to governments on questions of policy, and with membership on the Council. The latter view prevailed and the Secretary-General is now not only a member of the Council, but its Vice-Chairman as well, which means that at the great majority of meetings he will preside, as the ministerial chairman will not normally be present. This is an interesting and an important development in international organization; an international official becoming a member of and presiding over a Council composed of the representatives of national governments. In this sense, the NATO Secretary-General has been given greater authority in his organization than that conferred by the Charter on the Secretary-General in the United Nations.

In its broad operations NATO works on the principle of equality and unanimity among a group of sovereign powers. Every one of its members, even the smallest, has technically a veto! But this is not important because NATO is not an agency for international legislation but for international negotiation and agreement. When you

are negotiating, you don't count heads—at least not formally! In fact, we have never had a formal vote at NATO, or taken action by other than a unanimous decision. We do not operate by vote or veto, but through discussion, the reconciliation of differing viewpoints, and decisions based on the general will. In these discussions, and the resulting decisions, special weight, of course, attaches to the opinions of those members whose governments carry the greatest share of the burden and the greatest responsibilities. But these, in their turn, do not ride roughshod over the opinions of the other and smaller members. In short, we are a partnership with a will to work together as free co-operating states. That is why we have been successful in coming to agreed decisions on such important questions as the level of defence programmes, the sharing of defence burdens, and the relationship of NATO to the European Defence Community. On no other basis could NATO work satisfactorily—or indeed work at all.

Even in NATO, however, decisions are merely recommendations to governments and parliaments, where the ultimate authority lies. That is why, when we are tempted to become exultant over resolutions passed at, say, Lisbon, we should not forget that our exultation can easily be turned into something else by the attitude taken to those resolutions by the legislatures in Paris or London, Washington or Bonn.

The equal status of NATO members is also qualified by the fact that the Organization, in certain matters, has to function by means of smaller committees on which not all the members are represented.

For example, the main strategic and military planning organ of NATO is the so-called Standing Group, located in Washington. It consists of the three big members of NATO — France, the United Kingdom and the United States — rather than of all fourteen signatories to the Treaty.

The reconciliation of unequal power and equal rights in this case is accomplished in two ways. First, the Standing Group is subordinate to and reports to a Military Committee which comprises the Chiefs of Staff of all the member countries. Secondly, the Standing Group, when it is discussing any matter that particularly affects a government not represented on it, invites a representative of that government to take part in that discussion.

There has been another NATO development which has reflected the difficulties of reconciling the legal equality of states with their actual inequality. At its meeting last September in Ottawa, the Council decided to attempt to relate the military requirements for the defence of the North Atlantic area to the political and economic capabilities of its member-states. This was to be done through an investigation conducted, in form, by a temporary committee representing all the members. In practice, however, the Committee operated largely through a smaller Executive Committee which came to be known popularly as the "Three Wise Men". These three—they were American, British and French officials—made a number of recommendations regarding the military and economic contributions of each country to the common cause. These resulted from what might be described as an inquisitorial examination into the defence programmes and economic and financial resources of the member countries. The fact that all yielded gracefully to this exercise is an interesting commentary on the extent to which sovereign states are now prepared to co-operate for the promotion of their joint defence and security and to subject themselves to international attention and supervision.

The fact, however, that they did not all accept every detail of the recommendations of the "Three Wise Men" shows where the ultimate authority still resides, even in an organization the members of which work so closely and co-operatively together as they do in NATO. Yet those governments which demurred at some of the

"Wise Men" proposals recognized that recommendations from a group representing the most powerful members of the coalition must exercise considerable influence on them; that they could not and should not be ignored in the national decisions to be taken. The impact of these recommendations, I should add, was increased by the fact, an increasingly normal and dubious practice, that they leaked into the press before the governments could deal with them.

It can, I think, be said that this new examination procedure, though its results on this occasion were important and valuable, caused some concern among the governments of those countries not directly represented on the Executive Committee. As a result, it has been agreed that future enquiries of this nature in NATO — and they will take place periodically — should be conducted as a part of the normal operations of the NATO Council without the fuss and fanfare which inevitably attaches to a special committee of big names from big countries.

Another NATO development, important from the point of view of international organization and national sovereignty, was the creation of an integrated force under a Supreme Allied Commander in Western Europe, General Eisenhower. We had become accustomed, of course, to integrated forces under unitary commands during the Second World War, but it was a very radical step in terms of international organization to establish one in peacetime as we have now done. General Eisenhower was "seconded" for this high post — which he has filled with such great distinction and general approval — by the President of the United States at the request of the North Atlantic Council. He was — and his successor will be — in a very real sense the Commander-in-Chief of *each* separate NATO contingent as well as of *all* the NATO forces combined. He takes his instructions from all the NATO governments through the Standing Group, whose decisions are subject to the approval first of the Military Committee and then of the North Atlantic Council. He has, however, access not merely to the Standing Group but to each NATO chief of staff or defence minister or even the head of each government if that is necessary to accomplish his mission. He may make recommendations to the Standing Group or to national governments, as would a national chief of staff, with respect to national forces placed under his command. He is also responsible for overall planning, and for the organization and training of the national forces assigned to him. In wartime, of course, his authority would be even more extensive.

In all these NATO arrangements for collective defence planning and organization, the forms of sovereignty have been respected. But, in fact, national policies have been modified by them to achieve a common international purpose. The fourteen nations of NATO are by their own decisions becoming a team for purposes of defence and not fourteen individual players.

This is a recognition of the truth that in the free world the independent sovereign state is no longer clothed with sufficiently effective power for external defence. NATO, we hope and believe, can clothe itself as an international organization with such power precisely because its members are not abandoning sovereignty but interpreting it in accordance with the facts of contemporary political life.

The process, however, is not an easy one. This unique attempt by fourteen sovereign states to plan and organize a joint defence programme in time of peace on occasion becomes bogged down in delay and difficulties. There are those, therefore, who say that, to make our NATO operations speedier and more effective, we need a central political authority which can itself make decisions that would be binding on all member countries. Such a body, it has been proposed, should formulate and execute a common foreign and defence policy for all the North Atlantic countries. In practice, however, this might well mean that the three larger countries in the alliance,

or even the single largest one, would determine the policy of and dominate the whole organization. The other member-states are, fortunately or unfortunately, not yet prepared to make this extensive surrender or delegation of political and military authority. They would feel that they are being called on to share the costs and the risks of a coalition without commensurate participation in its control; a point of view which has been put in its extreme form in the slogan "no annihilation without representation".

There is probably no final answer to this dilemma between functional efficiency and sovereign equality. The lines along which we are trying to find one in NATO involve the recognition of leadership, power and special responsibilities, on the one hand, and recognition, on the other hand, of the necessity (as the price for free co-operation) for the stronger members of the international association to give consideration to the special problems and the sensibilities of the others. Only in this way, and it requires a high degree of tolerance, understanding and maturity, can a coalition of friendly but free states be made to work.

Our third example is the move towards European unity. This is more significant, in some respects, even than the United Nations or NATO, as an evidence of the trend towards closer international association and its effect on national sovereignty. This is a stirring development of historic significance. There are, of course, many reasons for it: the urgent need for collective defence against the Soviet threat; the growth of European feeling, in the face of the preponderance of power of Soviet Russia and the United States of America; the lessons of two wars, that Europe to survive must remove the causes of strife between European countries themselves, especially between France and Germany; finally, the desire to increase European economic and productive activity in order to reduce the present dependence on United States assistance. For these and other reasons there seems to be a general dissatisfaction in Western Europe with the limitations and disadvantages of national sovereignty and an urge to a broader European basis for political organization.

From this urge have come the Brussels arrangements, the Council of Europe, the Schuman Plan and the proposed European Defence Community.

These developments illustrate not only the benefits that may come from greater unity on a regional rather than a national basis but also the complexities that arise in devising constitutional arrangements to this end which are both equitable and workable. Here again the problem of voting rights has been conspicuous. The smaller countries in Western Europe included in these projects have been concerned about the protection of their equal rights and the achievement of a fair share in the direction of the new organizations. At the same time it has been necessary to give recognition to the unequal functional contributions of the participating countries. Therefore, the principle of one state, one vote, has had to be modified in the interest of co-operative efficiency.

For the Schuman Plan, for instance, there will be an Assembly composed of seventy-eight delegates from the six member-states, appointed by the various national parliaments or elected by direct suffrage. France, Germany and Italy will each have eighteen delegates and votes, Belgium and the Netherlands, ten each, and Luxembourg four. There will also be a Council of Ministers composed of one member from each state, but in this Council, there is a balancing of voting rights in favour of France and Germany, which are the largest coal and steel producers.

This Schuman Plan Assembly is expected to serve also the European Defence Community. When it meets, however, to consider problems concerning the European Army, France, Germany and Italy, as the largest contributors in money and men, will have an additional three delegates, giving them each twenty-one votes. In

the Council of Ministers for the European Defence Community there will also be a weighted voting procedure to take into account the differences in the contributions of the various member-states. The normal method of taking decisions in this Council will be by majority vote. Since there will be six ministers, it was necessary to find a procedure to deal with cases where the voting results in a tie. Whenever this happens, the side which includes the nations making two-thirds of the aggregate contribution in funds and manpower would be considered to have the majority. In cases where a two-thirds majority is required, the four countries in the majority would have to include those providing two-thirds of the budget and troops. In some cases, however — they will be few but important — the Council of Ministers will only be able to give directions to the executive body of the European Defence Community by unanimous voting.

These are all very important developments in the field of European international organization and they would have been unthinkable twenty years ago. There are, however, those on this continent who are impatient because more progress has not been made, and who think that during the last five years, all national boundaries should have been eliminated in Western Europe, all national traditions and loyalties lost in the larger European concept.

The surprising thing, however, is not that so little has been done, but so much. As President Truman said in his message to Congress on March 6, Europe "has moved faster toward integration in the last five years than it did in the previous five hundred". Our impatience, in fact, might well be directed, not at the Europeans but at those who, in Mr. Walter Lippmann's words, produce "grandiose and superficially conceived schemes for remaking Europe by the end of last week."

We in North America should, I think, be hesitant to try to apply the patterns and the formulae of our own federations to other peoples and other regions of the world. The happy circumstances and conditions which made possible the creation of the American union and the Canadian federation may not be paralleled elsewhere. Countries have different histories and traditions and the solutions to their problems may not necessarily be found in consolidating or adapting existing political forms and institutions. New situations may call for entirely new ideas, new solutions, some of which may be as yet unknown to the students of political science.

Impatience is also being shown in another direction. It is argued that European unity is not only too late; it is too little; that there must be Atlantic Federation or Union, if the Western world is to prosper, or even to survive. So proposals to this end have been made and are being actively pursued.

In all such proposals a distinction should, of course, be made between those which are based on the participation of governments as units, and those under which representatives will be directly elected to international bodies by the people of the participating countries. The latter, if they exercise real powers, come much closer to what we usually describe as a federation. By analogy with existing federal states, a regional federation would include a popularly elected parliament with defined though limited legislative powers, a common executive or cabinet, a common foreign policy, a common citizenship, common defence forces, a common currency, a common budget and system of taxation, as well as other features of the central institutions of a federal state.

Those who advocate such schemes of federation, either on a regional or wider basis, do so usually from the highest of motives. They perform, I think, a good and useful service in preparing public opinion for the political changes which will undoubtedly be called for in the future to promote international co-operation. As a practising and I hope practical politician, however, as well as a quondam student of

political science, I confess that I sometimes find some of the blueprints of the brave new international world so far removed from the possibilities of the present that it is difficult to consider them in realistic terms. Our ultimate destiny — to safeguard our very existence — may require some form of federalism on a regional or even a wider basis. But meanwhile we have to work with the institutions which exist today and attempt to adapt them for the more ready and efficient and equitable solution of our current problems. This is, I suggest, a necessary and practicable task, and the insistent demand for something more far-reaching to be achieved immediately may at times be an obstacle to its accomplishment.

So I think that normally it is better to proceed to the organization of international action on a step-by-step and functional basis, each step taken after the previous one has been proven to be of value to our peoples; rather than to attempt to bring about, by one great leap, some grandiose plan for union now.

May I suggest in conclusion that, in forming our attitudes towards various schemes for integration and union, and for international organization generally, we keep certain main ideas to the forefront of our thinking.

We should be reluctant, if not unwilling, to press others to make a greater abandonment of their sovereign rights than we are willing to make ourselves. We should also remember that small powers are often more sensitive about their rights than large ones. If they weren't, they might not have any. If they are realistic, however, they must also know — these smaller powers — that, by insisting on standing alone, or in isolation or neutralism or whatever they may call it, they are not likely to get very far in determining their own fate. Today it is only by working with others that smaller countries can exercise any influence on the big decisions by the big powers which determine their own fate. This should strengthen their belief in international co-operation and international organization. It may also make them insistent on a voice and influence within this co-operation and these organizations, in the effort to recapture some of the control over their own destinies which they may once have possessed and a large part of which, it must be admitted, most of them have now lost.

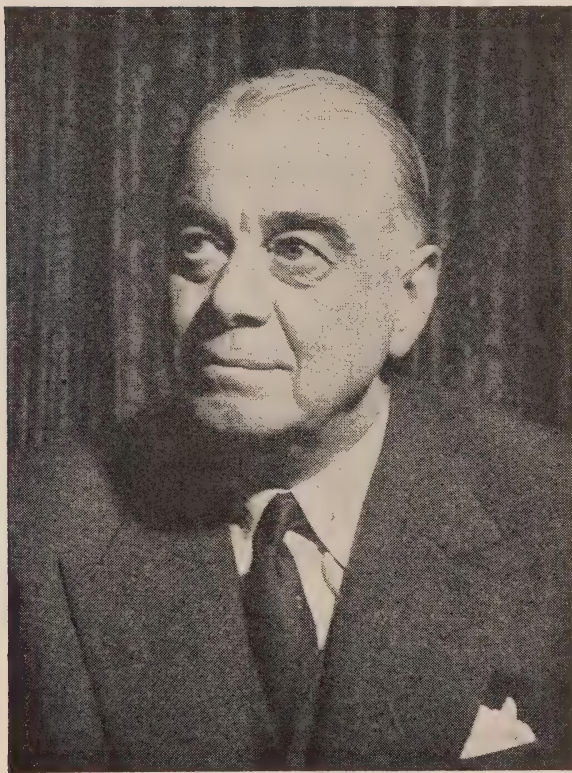
That is why any international partnership, such as NATO, to work effectively and smoothly, must be based on the voluntary participation of its constituent units. That is why the more powerful members should resist any temptation to exercise undue pressure on the others, and also why all the members should refrain from exercising pressure on hesitant or unwilling countries to join the group.

The general principle of equality must, I think, continue to guide us in our approach to projects for closer co-operation. However, the equality appropriate to status need not, and in many circumstances should not, extend to function. You may recall that the creatures in George Orwell's "Animal Farm" lived under the slogan, "All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others." In a similar sense, all states are equal, but some are more equal than others. Of these, the United States of America is the "most equal" of all. That imposes on this country — as it faces — with its friends — the problems ahead and seeks for solutions to them — special responsibilities. It also offers special opportunities.

We in Canada — your neighbour, your best and most candid friend — feel that this country, constant to the concept of freedom and generous to the ideals of co-operation, will continue to accept these responsibilities and to use these opportunities for the general good.

Under United States leadership and with the whole-hearted and effective co-operation of the other free countries of the world, we have the right to hope that one day we will secure a world where the weak will at last be safe, because the strong will have learned to be righteous.

The days ahead will be perplexing, difficult and dangerous, but if the free countries — under the leadership of the United States — work together whole-heartedly and efficiently for good purposes — we may hope that one day we will have a peace which will be more than the absence of bullets or bombs; that one day we will live in a world where the weak will be safe and without fear because the strong will have learned to be just and to be righteous.



—British Official

Lord Ismay, Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

JAPANESE PEACE TREATY*

The Department of External Affairs announced on April 28 that, with the coming into force of the Japanese Peace Treaty on that morning, full diplomatic relations have been resumed between Canada and Japan. The treaty came into force when the United States Instrument of Ratification was deposited April 28 at 9:30 a.m.

The Canadian Liaison Mission, which was established in Tokyo in 1946, will now have the status of an Embassy. Pending the appointment of an ambassador, Mr. A. R. Menzies, who has been Head of the Canadian Liaison Mission since December 1950, will be the *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim*.

The following is the text of a message from the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, to the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Yoshida, on the occasion of the coming into force of the peace treaty.

I wish to express through you to the people of Japan the cordial good wishes of the Canadian people on this day which inaugurates a new period of friendly relations between our two countries.

I wish to assure you that at this historic moment when Japan resumes her place as a free and sovereign member of the Community of Nations, we in Canada, putting behind us all thoughts of rancour which the tragic war may have engendered, look to the new Japan to be an effective bastion of peace and freedom in an area afflicted by Communist aggression and oppression. It is the deeply felt hope of the Canadian people that Japan will play an honourable and constructive part in helping to re-establish peace, security and friendly relations among the peoples of East Asia. As a prosperous and peaceful Far East is in the best interests of Canada, we expect to find ourselves co-operating with Japan in meeting a great number of common problems in the Pacific area.

In the years before the war, Canada had set up in Japan one of its first diplomatic missions. Numbers of Canadians worked for many years in Japan in business, education and social welfare. Through these friendly associations many Canadians had come to feel a keen interest, not only in Japanese affairs, but in Japanese culture and history.

For my part, I sincerely welcome the opportunity that now opens up for restoring friendly and mutually profitable relations between our two countries and for strengthening sympathetic understanding between them.

Mr. Yoshida replied to the above message as follows:

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind message delivered to me by Mr. Arthur R. Menzies, Head of the Canadian Mission in Tokyo, on this day the San Francisco Peace Treaty comes into force.

For the people of Japan who have long toiled and moiled patiently and indefatigably under the allied occupation aspiring to a place of honour and equality in the family of free nations this is the day of fulfilment and of great rejoicing.

I deeply appreciate the generous and cordial sentiments toward Japan which your letter conveys on behalf of yourself and the people of Canada. In return I desire to assure you that our nation chastened and free and committed firmly to the ways of peace is resolved to follow the path of international conciliation, concord and co-operation.

Canada is one of the biggest countries of the world and the richest with vast natural resources still to be tapped. Japan is a small country meagrely endowed with the bounties of nature. The Canadians are a young growing people, the Japanese an

* See also *External Affairs* October 1951, p. 330.

old race whose origin is lost in the mist of antiquity. But we are neighbours facing the same ocean. We are inescapably bound by common interests and a community of ideals and aspirations as free nations. We are confronted as you say by a common menace in the rising tide of Communism. We share the common destiny of the Pacific.

May this day mark the beginning of a new era of friendly intercourse, commercial and cultural, between Japan and Canada which, like the warm current that washes the shores of both lands, will ameliorate and enrich the lives of our two nations.



—National Defence

QUEEN JULIANA VISITS OTTAWA

During April the Queen of the Netherlands returned to Ottawa, her home for five years during the Second World War, for an unofficial visit. She was met on her arrival by the Governor General, Mr. Massey, left, and by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent.

THE PROBLEM OF RECORDS IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

"It *must* be somewhere!" This sentence is subject to a wide variety of interpretations, depending upon what "It" represents. To all who have worked in an office, however large or small, in private business or in public service, "It" usually means a lost file. In fact, one office supply company has produced a training film which uses the phrase as a title, and the cartoons which appear with almost monotonous frequency in many publications provide humorous evidence to prove that files have a tendency to wander. The files of a foreign office are no exception to this rule.

The task of finding misplaced files is only one of the more routine activities of the Registry Service of the Department of External Affairs. In general it may be said that the Registry is responsible for making up and keeping in order the active records⁽¹⁾ of the Department. It must provide a quick and accurate reference service on a multitude of live subjects. This is in contrast with the work of the Archives Unit which is responsible for recommending destruction or preservation of dormant or inactive records. It is obvious that the two services are closely related and that many of the active records of today will be the archives of tomorrow, but in practice they have distinctly different functions.

Today the control of active records has assumed a prominent place in both business and public administration. Improved means of communication and new copying methods such as mimeograph, microfilm and photostat have led to a marked increase in the production of records. This, of course, means that constant care and attention must be given to improving the methods of records control.

No organization can operate without records, nor can it be expected to operate with inadequate records. One prominent British scholar suggests that the golden rule of any administration, so far as concerns its papers, "must be to have them always in such a state of completeness and order that, supposing . . . (the) staff to be by some accident obliterated, a successor totally ignorant of the work of the office would be able to take it up and carry it on with the least possible inconvenience and delay, simply on the strength of the office files".⁽²⁾

Importance of Records Recognized

The importance of records management in the United States public service is recognized in the document now popularly known as the Hoover Commission Report.⁽³⁾ The Report prepared for this Commission by the Task Force on Records Management is probably one of the most comprehensive studies yet made on the subject of public records. It recommends, among other things, that each department and agency of the United States Federal Government be required by law to appoint a qualified records management officer. It proposes that "records management officers should plan, develop and organize a records management programme, the minimum content of which should include tested controls on record-making, record-keeping and selective-records preservation". This recommendation shows the change in thinking which has taken place since the days when filing was left to the indifferent

(1) In this article the term records includes official communications of all types — diplomatic notes, despatches, letters, telegrams, memoranda, etc.

(2) Hilary Jenkinson: *A Manual of Archive Administration* — Revised Edition — London, Percy Lund, Humphries and Co. Ltd., 1937.

(3) *Report of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the (United States) Government* — (Appendix C) — *Task Force Report on Records Management*.

care of a junior clerk with the help of the office boy thrown in for good measure when a crisis occurred.

In Canada, two Royal Commissions⁽⁴⁾ have been interested in the subject of public records. Both, quite understandably, seem to have been more preoccupied with the destruction of useless records and the preservation and classification of inactive records of national historical value than with specific recommendations for improved methods of handling current records.

With increased international trade and the continuing development of political, economic, defence and cultural relations between many nations of the world, most foreign offices have found that systems which may have been satisfactory in the days when the typewriter was first introduced are now anything but adequate.

Wide Range of Subjects

What Gilbert and Sullivan wrote of the policeman could be written with even more justification about the head of registry in a foreign office—his lot is not a happy one. The same problems which confront all people responsible for the making and handling of files, also confront him; in addition his staff must be able to analyse and classify papers on a wider range of subjects than any other organization except a library.

A foreign office deals with international affairs; to many this may create impressions of diplomatic courtesies, negotiation of treaties and discussion of political, economic and military affairs which are international in scope. In fact, however, international affairs take many unsuspected forms and it would be difficult to find a subject which at some time or other did not turn up in the External Affairs Registry as an international affair.

Would you like to send "a pair of buffalo to Chile by air?" Do you wish to enter the "Police Gold Medal Essay Competition?" Perhaps you would prefer to compete for the "King George V Trophy for Marksmanship" or take part in the "Olympic Games." If you are not interested in such strenuous activities, you might undertake a "Philosophical Analysis of the Fundamental Concepts of Liberty, Democracy, Law and Legality," or learn more about "Calendar Reform." You could buy a "Ropeway in Eritrea" by submitting a public tender, or you might wish to find out if "white pine needles could be used as a substitute for fuel." If all these leave you uninterested, why not read something on "Archaeology", "Alcoholic Beverages", "Veterinary Surgery" or "Prefabricated Houses?" There is an External Affairs file for each of these subjects.

It is not always sufficient that a file clerk read a communication and say the subject of this paper is "docker's strikes in Ruritania". He must consider whether it has implications which should be cross-referred to other files. In the development of foreign policy it is seldom that an international matter can be dealt with on the basis of purely political, purely economic or purely military considerations. There are international political and strategic considerations which must be taken into account in dealing with economic questions. There are economic factors which must be considered when dealing with defence questions. Problems relating to policy in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization must be examined in the light of economic policy, as well as policy in the United Nations. From this, it will be evident that it is seldom possible, when making an External Affairs file, to paraphrase the old song and say "this is this and all alone, and ever more shall be so".

(4) *The Royal Commission (1912-1914) appointed to inquire into the state of the Records of the Public Departments of the Dominion of Canada, and the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1949-1951. (Massey Commission).*

No foreign office, whether it be old or young, has found an easy solution to the problem of classifying its active records. Some have tried library classifications, others have experimented with complicated decimal systems, but usually without satisfactory results. In 1918 the United Kingdom Foreign Office worked out an elaborate plan based on an alpha-numerical library system, but it was not a success. After that, (to quote from an article written by a member of the United Kingdom Foreign Office Registry)⁽⁵⁾ "the Foreign Office took advantage of any opportunity to learn how the foreign service of other governments faced the same problem, but these enquiries usually resulted in mutual commiseration rather than help". This reference to United Kingdom experience should not end without noting (according to this same article) that considerable progress has recently been made in devising a system which has resulted in improved registry service.

Canadian Problems

What of Canadian experience? The rapid expansion of the Department of External Affairs which began in 1940 and did not level off until 1947, created registry problems which have not yet been solved.

Prior to 1940, a new series of files was opened each year; apart from a few repeating subjects which bore the same title and number in each series, files were assigned numbers in sequence as they were needed each year. By the end of 1940, the volume of records had more than doubled, but, as in many other departments, there was little, if any, increase in staff. To simplify procedures, therefore, it was decided to retain all files in the 1940 series, thus avoiding the administrative burden of opening, in 1941 and subsequent years, hundreds of new files on subjects for which a 1940 file already existed.

Throughout the war, and in the years immediately following, the registry staff was so hard pressed that it was only by working in shifts over long hours and week-ends that it was at all possible to keep work up to date. There was neither time nor manpower to make long-term plans until 1947, when the Department maintained 38 offices abroad with a total staff of 1000, as compared with the 1939 complement of 11 offices and a total of under 200 employees. It is not difficult to realize what this expansion would mean in volume of records alone, but when the complexities of international relations in the post-war world are taken into account, together with Canada's increasing responsibilities in this field, it is not surprising that, by the end of 1947, the pressing problems of registry reorganization and the handling of records became questions of major importance in the administration of the Department. Since then it has been possible to strengthen the records staff and to institute a number of organizational and procedural improvements, but the key to an adequate filing system, the classification, has not been easy to find.

A classification, to be satisfactory, obviously must be suitable for the material dealt with by the Department; it must be sufficiently flexible to allow for expansion and constant adjustment; to be practical it must take into account, not only the almost unlimited range of subject matter, but also the organizational structure of the Department.

In the past, External Affairs posts abroad have filed their papers in whatever way seemed appropriate for each office. In planning a new classification, provision must be made to have it suitable for adaptation by posts abroad, so that uniformity of registry operations will prevail throughout the service.

⁽⁵⁾ *The Classification of Political Papers — A Registry Problem in the Foreign Office*, by W. C. Tricker — *The O and M. Bulletin of the British Treasury*, July 1951.

To reconcile all these factors and still attempt to design a classification which will be logical, consistent and adequate, has entailed many months of research and analysis which has not yet been completed.

It was evident from the beginning that there was no ready-made classification which would be satisfactory, and that the detailed plan would have to be designed from departmental experience to meet External Affairs' needs. This did not preclude that possibility that something useful could be learned from the experience of other organizations having somewhat similar problems. From time to time, therefore, information has been sought from outside sources, particularly from the United Kingdom Foreign Office, the State Department of the United States, the Swiss Foreign Office and the United Nations Secretariat. In addition, registry officials of several other departments and agencies of the Canadian Government have contributed valuable suggestions and useful information.

The work of analysis has now reached a stage where it is possible to contemplate the preparation of a file classification manual which will serve as a guide for all members of the Registry. It would be too optimistic to expect that with the publication of the manual all filing problems will disappear. The best that can be hoped is that a new classification will facilitate the work of the supervisors and classifiers by defining the scope of the files to be made up in any one group. It will reduce the possibility of building up overlapping and parallel files. It will simplify the tracing of communications which may be asked for on a subject basis. It will mean also that numbers of the service, whether serving in Ottawa or overseas, may derive the advantages of using a system known to all. In spite of these aids, the classification of External Affairs papers is unlikely ever to become a simple routine. Each one must be analysed on its own merits, as well as with reference to related matters. This work demands well-trained staff with qualities of high intelligence, responsibility and experience, supplemented by a genuine interest in the activities of the Department so that imagination and good judgment may be brought to bear on the handling of its current records.

Inactive Records

Let us now turn from the active to the inactive records. Files accumulate at a rapid pace, and in a short time many of them become dormant. Some dormant records may have permanent value, either to serve as raw material for the historian or to provide precedents which must be consulted in determining current policies. Others, which deal with routine or ephemeral matters, are of no importance for the future. This latter category would include, for instance, covering letters for communications transmitted to or from other government departments, routine acknowledgments, general enquiries which are answered by statements of fact, and routine cases concerning individual persons which are settled on the basis of well-established policies but which themselves have no value once a case has been satisfactorily closed for a reasonable length of time. The indefinite retention of such papers not only makes it difficult to find and use more vital material but also adds immeasurably to the cost in labour, space and equipment of storing all records.

The importance of this problem in Canadian Government departments was noted in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1912-14.⁽⁶⁾ However, it was not until September 1945, that an Order-in-Council (P.C. 6175) was passed establishing a Committee on Public Records, whose duty it is "to keep under constant review the state of the public records and to consider, advise and concert with departments and agencies of government on the organization, care, housing and destruction of public

⁽⁶⁾ cf. footnote on page 4.

records". This Order-in-Council further provides that "the primary responsibility . . . for seeing that the policies of government in respect to disposition of public records be carried out . . . will rest with departments and agencies of government concerned". Subsequently a preliminary survey was undertaken by the Department of External Affairs to determine the extent and general nature of its dormant records. This survey led to the setting up of an Archives Unit in September 1949, and for the first time since the establishment of the Department in 1909, a start was made in planning the appropriate disposition of the ever-growing accumulation of inactive files.

It is the function of the Archives Unit, under the supervision of the Director of Historical Research and Reports, to analyse dormant records in order to identify those of permanent value which should be preserved indefinitely, either in the department, or by transfer to the Public Archives, and those which may be destroyed immediately or eventually. This analysis represents two aspects of the same problem, the selection of records for preservation being the positive aspect and the destruction of records the negative. While disposal is essential in the interests of economy and efficiency, the ultimate purpose of the programme is the selective preservation of records of permanent value, reduced in volume to the minimum consistent with the public interest. At appropriate stages of the work, the Public Records Committee is consulted and, where necessary, authority for the destruction of records is sought in accordance with Order-in-Council 6175. Within the Department, this examination of dormant records provides useful opportunities for historical research.

The principles which apply to the disposition of public records in Canada apply also to records accumulating in External Affairs posts abroad. Arrangements are therefore made to provide for the orderly disposition of post files along lines parallel to those being followed in Ottawa.

In so far as the organization of departmental records, both active and inactive, is concerned, the past five years have been devoted mainly to a detailed examination of the existing situation with a view to making adequate plans for future development. It is reasonable to expect that within the next five years considerable progress will be made in carrying out these plans.

THE NATO DEFENCE COLLEGE

Site

Since November 19, 1951, a new organ of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a Defence College, has been in operation in the shadow of the Eiffel Tower in Paris, at the Ecole Militaire, one of the most remarkable buildings of the French capital. It was appropriate that the centre of all French higher military learning should shelter an institution the purpose of which is the pursuit and development of the idea that inspired the establishment in various countries of colleges for senior studies in national defence. While most schools of this type bring together officers of the three services and, sometimes, admit civilian and military representatives from allied nations, the NATO Defence College has been established on an international basis, and in fact corresponds to the purely administrative and financial bodies set up since the creation of NATO in 1949.

Purpose

It was General Eisenhower himself who, last year, recommended the establishment of such a college. The idea was unanimously approved by the NATO governments. It sprang partly from the Supreme Commander's desire to bring together public officials and military officers from all 12 member countries with a view to training senior personnel for the inter-allied forces. The main purpose, however, was to make possible the working out of a common doctrine, an essential prerequisite to organized activities of any kind, and to bind together in friendship and understanding the personnel of the various agencies that were to play a part in the efficient functioning of the forces which General Eisenhower had agreed to command.

Staff

The College comes directly under the North Atlantic Military Committee, which meets in Washington, and is headed by Admiral Lemonnier, General Eisenhower's naval assistant. As commanding officer of the College, Admiral Lemonnier has four principal lieutenants: an American brigadier-general, a general of the French Air Force, a British naval commodore and an American diplomat. These, in turn, have a number of assistants who maintain liaison with nine committees, each of which has its own premises and is made up of part of the group of some fifty students sent to the College by the ten participating countries. Most of the students have the rank of colonel or embassy counsellor or the equivalent. Four of them are Canadians, divided among the committees, in which they work in co-operation with their colleagues from other countries. The British and French are represented by six students each, the Belgians by three, the Norwegians by two and so forth. Iceland and Luxembourg are not yet represented.

Organization

The French Government is entrusted with the administration and organization of the College. Students do not board there, but receive breakfast and lunch at a special mess in the College operated by the French Navy. Thus, they are able to continue at lunch, with the guest speakers and the experts accompanying them, discussions begun during the morning. They can also consult at the library newspapers and magazines from the principal countries and keep abreast of the latest developments in any technical field related to the activities of the College. They are encouraged in every way to meet after working hours; for instance, receptions and evening parties are offered at the mess, in order that students may become better acquainted with one another, which is one of the College's chief aims.



NATO DEFENCE COLLEGE

The headquarters of the new NATO Defence College in the historic « Ecole Militaire », shown above, are situated in the heart of Paris.

Working Methods

Every morning, students and instructors meet in the auditorium to hear a lecture delivered by a civilian or a military personality, who may be an ambassador, a chief of staff of one of the participating countries, a commander of inter-allied forces, a professor or an outstanding writer. Topics discussed include NATO organization, military, political or economic problems of general NATO interest and questions claiming the attention of the respective member countries.

The lectures are followed by discussions, in which anyone in the audience may take part, and these in turn by conversations within more limited groups constituting two or three committees.

In the afternoon, a specific problem, set by the College authorities, is discussed by the committees, a new one being studied every third or fourth week. In the course of these meetings, students become better acquainted with one another and learn to work out recommendations expressing a common appraisal of the facts. The solutions suggested by each committee are examined by the College authorities, and the best, or most challenging, is selected for general discussion. Afternoon topics may be related, for instance, to the political and military problems involved in the movement of large contingents, the integration of NATO forces, improved use of the Organization's potential, etc.

When a new problem is brought up for discussion, membership changes in the various committees, so that every student has an opportunity to work with each of his colleagues. Students are called in rotation to act as chairmen or secretaries of the committees. As the time allowed for the study of any given problem is comparatively short, students find it necessary to divide the work among themselves and to co-ordinate their efforts closely.

The curriculum requires that the courses given, together with the proceedings of committees, be supplemented by visits to various countries or to the NATO forces; such visits, however, take place only towards the close of the term, when a thorough course of study has prepared the students to take full advantage of them.

While the work in the College has a concrete and practical character, emphasis is laid on the importance of study. The Defence College is not a research or planning agency. Such activities are the proper responsibility of the administrative bodies of NATO.

Languages of Instruction

The languages used for instruction are French and English, and lectures in one are translated concurrently into the other. Canadian students naturally find themselves at an advantage because both languages are official in their country. The College is rendering an important service in accustoming officers speaking a variety of languages to understand one another and to work together efficiently.

The College has now been in operation for three months. In another three months it will be getting ready to receive a second group of students for a six-month term. A few years hence, if its activities are continued, the staffs of the NATO agencies and national administrations will include graduates of the College. The bonds of friendship developed among them during their stay at the College, the studies carried on jointly, and above all the habit acquired of working in harmony, will represent for the NATO nations an invaluable asset in their efforts towards the integration of national forces.

In a speech delivered at the opening ceremony of the College, Admiral Lemonnier described its value thus: "We shall become used to thinking and working together as a team, so that in future each of us, confident of reconciling his own nation's interests with the general interest, will contribute in his particular sphere, with all his strength and spirit, to increasing the efficiency and strength of this NATO organization, which is a stage on the road travelled by the United Nations."



CORRIGENDUM

In the first paragraph of an article entitled "Canadian Films Abroad," appearing on page 106 of the March issue of *External Affairs*, the statement was made that a film viewed with enthusiasm by a Tokyo audience had been provided by the Canadian Military Mission. This was an error for "Canadian Liaison Mission", the Canadian diplomatic post in Japan, which was recently raised to Embassy status.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Tunisian Question

On January 14, 1952, a communication from the Prime Minister of Tunisia, M. Chenik, to the President of the Security Council was delivered to the office of the Secretary-General by two members of the Tunisian Government. This note claimed that a difference had arisen between the French and Tunisian Governments because of French determination to maintain a policy of direct administration in Tunisia and to oppose the democratic reform of Tunisian institutions. The letter went on to invoke Article 35 of the United Nations Charter under which a state not a member of the United Nations might, under certain conditions, bring to the attention of the Security Council a dispute to which it was a party.

On April 2, 1952, the representatives at the United Nations of eleven Asian and African countries, (Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and Yemen), addressed identical notes to the President of the Security Council on Tunisia. These referred to the arrest of M. Chenik and other members of the Tunisian Government, expressed the view that a situation endangering international peace and security had been created and requested the calling of an immediate session of the Security Council (under Articles 34 and 35 of the Charter) to consider the matter.

On April 4, the Council proceeded to debate the subject of including the Tunisian question on its agenda. The French representative, who spoke first, contended that the eleven states had failed to take into account the new agreement achieved between the French Government and the Bey of Tunis, which eliminated any "situation" or "dispute", even if the broadest possible construction were placed on these terms. For the Security Council to discuss Tunisia, therefore, would only serve to disturb peaceful relations and to cast doubt on the impartiality of the United Nations. The United Kingdom representative took a broadly similar position. He did not think that the Tunisian question should be placed on the Security Council's agenda, since a debate on this subject would almost inevitably increase tensions at a time when peaceful negotiations were proceeding. He also expressed doubt regarding the competence of the Security Council to consider the subject.

Representatives of four states (Greece, the Netherlands, Turkey, and the United States) indicated their intention to abstain on the question of inscribing the Tunisian item on the Council's agenda. These delegates took the general view that, while United Nations organs should be available for the examination of any problem causing serious friction in international relations, the main objective of the Security Council remained that of fostering agreement through negotiations between the parties themselves. A programme of reforms in Tunisia had been suggested by the French Government and, in the words of the Turkish representative, "France should be given the necessary time to prove its assurances by deeds". The United States representative said that his Government would re-assess the situation should the Tunisian question be brought before the Council again. The Netherlands, Turkey and the United States reserved their position regarding the competence of the Security Council to deal with the problem.

The remaining five states (Brazil, Chile, China, Pakistan, and the U.S.S.R.) wished to have the question of Tunisia debated in the Security Council. The Pakistani representative took exception to certain remarks of the French representative concerning the conditions under which the Bey of Tunis had sanctioned the appointment of a new Prime Minister to continue negotiations with France. He suggested that the Bey had acted under duress.

The representatives of Brazil, Chile, China and Pakistan pointed to the liberal tradition of the Security Council in considering questions brought before it. It was argued that outright rejection of the request of the eleven states would harm the United Nations by making it appear that the organization was incapable of protecting the interests of weak nations when these ran counter to the interests of powerful nations. The members of the Security Council, it was asserted, acted in the name of all members of the United Nations in carrying out its functions in the maintenance of peace and security and it should be borne in mind that the eleven states sponsoring the Tunisian question represented about one-quarter of the population of the world. The representative of the U.S.S.R. contended that the attitude of France, the United Kingdom and the United States was a further manifestation of the imperialism of the colonial powers, which were waging a ruthless struggle against national liberation movements in dependent territories.

When all members of the Security Council had spoken and it had become apparent that the proposal to inscribe the Tunisian question on agenda would fail, the Chilean representative submitted a resolution providing that the item be included on the Council's agenda, that this inclusion be without prejudice to the question of the Council's competence and that consideration of the item be deferred indefinitely. The Chilean representative argued that this procedure, while it would allow the French Government to proceed with current negotiations, would permit the Security Council to intervene if a new and serious situation developed in Tunisia. The Chilean resolution was rejected on April 14 by a vote of five in favour (Brazil, Chile, China, Pakistan, U.S.S.R.), two against (France, United Kingdom) and four abstentions (Greece, the Netherlands, Turkey, United States).

Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations normally holds two regular sessions a year. In 1952, however, because of the unusually long duration of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly, it was decided to compress the two meetings into one. The Council's Fourteenth Session will open in New York on May 20, and it is expected to last about twelve weeks.

In recent years the agenda of the Economic and Social Council has become increasingly crowded, and the amalgamation of the two regular 1952 meetings into one means, of course, that the Fourteenth Session faces a heavier programme. The agenda is made up of some fifty items covering a wide range of subjects. The Council must also continue to play its role as co-ordinator of the policies and activities of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies in the economic and social fields.

Perhaps the most important economic item to be discussed is the development of under-developed countries. Its consideration follows from the attention given it at the Twelfth and Thirteenth Sessions of the Council and by the General Assembly, particularly at the Sixth Session. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is submitting to the Council a report on the question of creating an International Finance Corporation to provide loans for use in under-developed countries and to stimulate and guide private investment in these countries. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is expected to provide a working paper as a basis for discussion of the possibility of establishing an agency to solicit funds from governments and to administer them by way of low-interest, long-term loans and grants-in-aid for the development of less developed lands. The difficult and controversial problems involved in this project are likely to occupy an important part of the Council's time.

Other important economic items of the agenda are the world economic situation and the problem of full employment. As in former years, there will be a thorough examination of the way in which the United Nations programmes of technical assistance are being carried out. Of importance to many areas of the world is a report, to be taken up this year, on methods for the development of arid land.

On the social and humanitarian side, the subject which will probably evoke the greatest interest is the report of the eighth session of the Commission on Human Rights. The Sixth Session of the General Assembly requested the Human Rights Commission to prepare for consideration by the Assembly's Seventh Session two draft covenants on human rights, one to include the traditional civil and political freedoms and the other economic, social and cultural rights. The Commission is due to finish its meetings during the course of the Session, whereupon the Council will take such action on the Commission's report as seems fit and will no doubt make recommendations to the General Assembly. A great deal of interest attaches to this item of the agenda because of its wide popular appeal and also because of the fundamental differences of opinion as to methods, which have characterized most debates on the subject.

Other major social items which the Council will consider are the report of the Social Commission, the report of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the report of the Commission on the Status of Women and the question as to how the Council will deal in the future with matters concerning freedom of information.



—United Nations

DELEGATES TO THE DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

Mr. D. M. Johnson, Canadian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, and Chairman of the Disarmament Commission, is shown above with Hernan Santa-Cruz, of Chile, left, and Ahmed S. Bokhari, of Pakistan.

The Tenth Session of the Trusteeship Council

The Tenth Session of the Trusteeship Council opened on February 23, 1952, in New York, and ended on April 2. The session was held in the new United Nations Headquarters, under the presidency of Sir Alan Burns of the United Kingdom.

Immediately after the opening, the Soviet representative proposed that the representative of the National Government of China be excluded and that a representative of the People's Republic of China be invited to participate. By a vote of 11 to 1, a United States counter-proposal to postpone this question indefinitely was adopted.

During the five weeks of its session the Council dealt with a number of comparatively routine problems arising primarily from resolutions of the General Assembly. Arrangements were made for a mission to visit the trust territories in West Africa to make a special report on the Ewe and Togoland unification problem for consideration by the Council not later than November 7, 1952. In addition, four annual reports by the administering authorities were considered. Nauru and New Guinea, submitted by Australia; Western Samoa, by New Zealand; and the Strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, by the United States. The debates on these reports were, in general, less acrimonious than usual, and much of the comment made by the non-administering states was constructive and helpful to the administering authorities. On the other hand, the representative of the Soviet Union, as usual, sharply attacked the administering authorities and claimed that they were hindering the development of the trust territories by not taking the necessary steps to improve the conditions of life of the indigenous inhabitants.

One of the more important decisions of the Council was to set up a Standing Committee on Petitions, composed of three administering and three non-administering members of the Council, to meet between sessions of the Council to screen all communications from individuals or groups in the trust territories in order to decide which should be treated as petitions. This Committee will also conduct a preliminary examination of the petitions in consultation with a representative of the administering authority concerned. The Standing Committee has been established as an experiment, to try to hasten the handling of petitions by the Council. On March 21 the Standing Committee began to examine the 302 petitions placed before this session of the Council.

The Trusteeship Council's membership remains the same as last year, except for the substitution of El Salvador for Argentina, which resigned from the Trusteeship Council upon its election to the Economic and Social Council at the recent Session of the General Assembly. The Eleventh Session of the Trusteeship Council will be held in New York between June 3 and July 11, 1952.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

On April 1, during the debate on the motion for Committee of Supply, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, rose to reply to criticisms of his statement to the House on March 21* and, in particular, to answer the speaker immediately preceding him. The following is a partial text of his remarks:

Formosa

... At the moment we in the United Nations are pledged at least to try to make peace with Communist China over Korea; and negotiations for the first stage of making peace, the armistice stage, are now under way. That is what we are trying to do. Then if we are successful in the first stage we are pledged to discuss other Far Eastern questions. We have taken that pledge in the United Nations. Should we now say that we will never allow Formosa to go back to Peking, if they do not throw out their present government in China? Should we say that, especially when we have subscribed to international agreements recognizing Formosa as part of China, and when we recognize that now sovereignty legally resides in China? I suggest that that would be rigid, dead-end diplomacy, and not very wise diplomacy to follow at this time in this matter. Suppose we had followed the same tactics three or four years ago in respect of Yugoslavia. We would look a little ridiculous now.

... Ultimately, of course, Formosa must be a question of international discussion and decision, preferably through the United Nations, as the Secretary of State for the United States has already intimated.

In such a discussion, which I suppose must come ultimately, there are certain factors which should be taken into consideration by those responsible. The first—and possibly the most important factor of all, though it is very often overlooked—in our discussion of this matter is that the views of the Formosan people themselves should be taken into consideration. They are a people who have not known national freedom, who are in many ways quite separate from the Japanese and Chinese who have ruled over them. Second, consideration should be given to the character and policies of the government or governments of China which may be in power at that time. Fourth, of course, we cannot overlook the fact I have just mentioned, that legally Formosa is part of China. Both Chinese governments insist on that. It is about the only matter on which they are united. The dispute is over which government shall control Formosa.

Unification of Korea

We have been discussing with our friendly governments what would be the best procedure for attempting to negotiate a political settlement, once an armistice has been satisfactorily concluded in Korea. Here again in these discussions we have emphasized the importance of the role of the United Nations.

... As soon as it became seized of the problem in Korea, as far back indeed as 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations has had as its policy the creation of a unified, democratic and independent Korea. It should be emphasized that that is the political purpose to be achieved by peaceful means in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. We were trying to do that when the Korean war broke out in June 1950, thereby adding a new element to the situation. North Korea committed an act of aggression against the Republic of Korea and the United Nations decided, quite properly, that that aggression had to be repelled. A series of resolutions were passed to give effect to that decision. The United Nations now, therefore, is really dealing with two questions — the basic or long-term question of the unification and independence of Korea, and the short-term question of repelling the aggression committed against the Republic of Korea.

* Reproduced in part in *External Affairs*, April 1952, pp. 147-153.

In September and October 1950, there seemed to be a possibility that the two purposes could be dealt with at once. It seemed likely then that a by-product of the military action taken to repel aggression might be the unification of Korea. If such a possibility existed, the majority of the United Nations wished to take advantage of it, and took action to that end. But as it turned out, that possibility could not be realized at that time because the Central Peoples Government of China intervened and the United Nations forces were driven back from North Korea. The United Nations, however, has not abandoned any purpose in Korea. We still hope to repel aggression and prove that it does not profit the aggressor. It is for that purpose we are using force. But while we should be happy to see unification of Korea result from this use of force for the repulsion of aggression, the United Nations has not been pledged to use force for the sole purpose of bringing about unification.

Article Two of the North Atlantic Treaty

... The background of Article 2 is well known. It has been called, because of our efforts to get it in the Treaty, the "Canadian article." We got it included in the Treaty, but only after some difficulty. Our purpose in trying to get this article in the North Atlantic Treaty was a simple one. It was to demonstrate by the very words of our Treaty that what we were signing was more than a mere military alliance; but we never at that time expected, nor do we now expect, immediate or sensational results.

... If we look at Article 2, I think we will find that, unlike certain other articles in the Treaty, it does not provide specifically for any special NATO machinery; nor does it necessarily entail joint programmes of action among member nations, although that might of course develop. It is a rule of conduct which member nations undertake to follow in their internal and external policies generally, and not merely in their policies vis-à-vis one another. Existing international institutions, particularly the United Nations, should be used by members to the full for this purpose. It may be that as time goes on we shall find it desirable to establish special NATO machinery and to organize special NATO programmes for these broad purposes, but there is certainly no point at the present time in duplicating machinery which is already existing and which is functioning.

Meanwhile, we in NATO agree to seek under this article to eliminate conflict in our international economic policies, not only among ourselves, but as against other nations. We agree to encourage economic collaboration. I do not mean to suggest that this economic co-operation sentence of Article 2 is meaningless in the sense that it is merely a guidepost for purely academic matters. It is important for other reasons. It is important as a defence against discriminatory trade practices by one NATO nation against others. It is also an extremely important safeguard should any member of NATO find its economy imperilled by reason of its contribution to the common defence of the North Atlantic community; and in setting up the TCC Committee to look into that very matter we were implementing Article 2 of the Treaty. I would also add that there is already a good deal of economic consultation and collaboration going on within NATO. Some of it is closely related, as is inevitable, to defence, and some less closely. Through the work, for instance of NATO's Financial and Economic Board, I think we know more about each other's economic positions and problems than we ever knew before, and the whole of the TCC operation was based on the foundation of statistics and knowledge that have been collected by the Financial and Economic Board. ...

The article is being implemented in other ways, some of which do not involve the use of NATO machinery at all. ... There are many international organizations and agencies in the economic field, and all NATO countries are members of most of them, if not all of them. ...

For example, not long ago in NATO we considered setting up a special migration and manpower body, and the proposal was referred to a special committee for examination and report. But it was found, after such examination, that that was a subject much broader than NATO, that it could best be dealt with on a basis wider than NATO, and that an international organization indeed was already in existence to deal

with it. Similarly, we considered setting up special NATO machinery for allocating raw materials. But it became quite clear that broader machinery, such as is now provided by the International Materials Conference in Washington, would meet the needs in that field much more effectively than anything NATO could do. . . . All these matters were very carefully and very exhaustively reviewed by a special committee, and that committee did report and did recommend some concrete proposals which, I admit, have not yet been carried into action. That committee, when it gave up its mandate at Lisbon, emphasized, as indeed it had emphasized previously, that what we have done under this article is just a beginning.

Mutual Aid to NATO Countries

. . . As has already been reported, the executive bureau of the TCC, known as the "Three Wise Men," approved of the general shape and size of our military programme in their first report. They did, however, suggest for consideration by the Canadian Government that in 1952-53, the current financial year, we should provide mutual aid . . . of \$250 million over and above our proposed programme of approximately \$225 million, which we had already submitted to them. That would have meant a total of \$475 million for Canada for this year's NATO mutual aid. If we add in the contribution under the Colombo Plan and other items it would have meant for us total foreign aid of well over \$500 million.

. . . The Government considered these proposals of the Three Wise Men and decided that in present circumstances the amount was too high; too high in relation to our balance of payments, which is already supported by borrowing abroad at a rate in excess of \$600 million a year, and indeed too high in relation to the United States itself. Indeed those figures might have meant that Canada would have been budgeting for foreign aid in larger proportion than other great nations such as the United States and this despite the far greater per capita wealth and the stronger trading position of the United States, and despite its responsibility as a creditor nation and as the leader of our coalition. The Government, however, did decide before Lisbon that it could go beyond our original programme for mutual aid as submitted to the Wise Men. As a result, after a good deal of consideration, we decided to recommend a mutual aid programme for 1952-53 of some \$325 million, a figure which has already been announced and, as it happened, is almost exactly the same figure as we have up to the present announced and, as it happened, is almost exactly the same figure as we have up to the present spent on mutual aid for NATO. Therefore, the total amount for foreign aid in the estimates, including the Colombo Plan and other items, amounts to some \$360 million for the current fiscal year. Considering all the circumstances . . . I believe that this compares favourably with what any other country is likely to do.

Having decided on a total of \$325 million for our NATO mutual aid, the Government then had to consider how that money could best be used. Here again there was a suggestion from the Three Wise Men that, while part of it might be spent on military equipment—they never suggested at any time that all of it should be spent on raw materials and that sort of thing — part also should be spent on raw materials, foodstuffs and so on . . . not all of the \$500 million as was suggested . . . This suggestion was also carefully considered by the Government, and as a result we put forward an alternative plan which we considered to be a better one. In our reply to the TCC on January 13, we stated our position substantially as follows:

The TCC had suggested that this increased assistance might take the form partly of economic assistance and partly of military transfers. Economic aid of the type suggested would have meant foregoing payment to us for normal exports which are the basis of Canada's outgoing overseas trade. The proceeds from these exports are required to pay for our expanding import requirements, and to finance currently heavy carrying charges on external liabilities, a large part of which have been incurred in expanding the production of those same exports. We suggested to the TCC, therefore, that to give away these staple exports would cut at the basis of the viability of the Canadian economy. So we informed the TCC that, for this and for other reasons, under the present circumstances, we considered that it would be inadvisable for us

to give our economic assistance in this form but that we should give it in the form of defence support. We were particularly concerned lest we should be asked to give aid in the form of raw materials, because we realized that, in addition to large external payments, we would be undertaking large purchases of military equipment in the United States and large expenditures for the maintenance of our troops in the form of offshore military purchases, payment for infrastructure and other payments to NATO. We pointed out, therefore, that our mutual aid this year might better take the form of defence aid and not of the raw materials which are the basis of our export trade.

We pointed out also that, unlike the United States, Canada lived by these staple exports, that the North Atlantic Treaty was a 20-year obligation, and that something like the TCC operation was clearly going to be an annual affair. As a matter of fact, later on at Lisbon we decided that that kind of examination should be an annual affair. If we started to give away our staple exports, it might very well lead us into very deep water indeed, especially at a time when we were so heavily dependent upon the United States for borrowing. We concluded, therefore, that economic aid of that type from Canada was not the best way in which we could help our NATO allies, and retain our own strength at this time. Nevertheless, the kind of help we recommend, and expect to give, is just as much economic aid as if it were in the form of raw materials. . . . Mr. Harriman himself told Congress the other day that defence support is also a form of economic assistance, and the TCC itself has accepted this position. . . .

Our programmes now are firm for 1952. Each government concerned with those firm programmes for this year can work out some fairly accurate estimate of what it will likely cost that government; and no doubt that is being done. It will certainly be done by this Government. Our programmes for 1953 are subject to review, and for 1954 they* will be subject to more review because it is two years hence. I therefore suggest, . . . that it is quite impossible for anyone to do anything but make the wildest guess as to what the military programme for the next three years will cost the NATO countries, when that programme is being subjected to continual review and has already been changed more than once. I am quite at liberty to admit that what were discussed at Lisbon by the TCC experts were provisional costs for the year ahead in order to see the impact those costs would likely make on the economies of the countries concerned. But even the figures of the TCC experts for the twelve months ahead were not accepted as authoritative by the governments concerned and many comments were made on those TCC figures.

Japanese Peace Treaty*

Replying on April 9 to criticisms of the Japanese peace treaty by members of the non-Government parties, the Secretary of State for External Affairs spoke in part as follows:

I am going to try to deal with some of the points which have been raised in the course of this discussion. . . .

. . . Territories mentioned in this treaty, . . . which were taken from Japan, . . . were won by Japan as a result of conquest, at least as far as Formosa and Korea and one or two other islands were concerned. On the same basis by which the Japanese acquired these territories, the victors in this war might very well have taken them themselves. Instead of that, the islands mentioned were not taken as territorial acquisitions by the victors but were put under United Nations trusteeship, with the United States as the trustee.

Reference was also made to Article 10 of the treaty as an example of rather high-handed injustice against the Japanese. Article 10, which refers to the Peking Protocol of 1901 and abrogates that Protocol as far as any benefits acquired by Japan were concerned, merely release the Chinese from an intolerable situation under which they

* See also p. 176.

have suffered, if you like to use that word, for fifty years. It gave not only Japan but other countries the right to station their own troops in China, a right arising out of the Boxer Rebellion; and I do not think it is any injustice to Japan to have the right abrogated in this treaty as far as Japan is concerned.

Also a good deal has been said . . . about the tyranny of imposing upon the Japanese the unconditional most-favoured-nation clause; and for that purpose Article 12 was read. . . . I would like to read the first part of section (c), which I think will throw a rather different light on the matter:

(c) In respect to any matter, however, Japan shall be obliged to accord to an allied power national treatment, or most-favoured-nation treatment, only to the extent that the allied power concerned accords Japan national treatment or most favoured treatment, as the case may be, in respect of the same matter.

It is a reciprocal engagement, not a unilateral engagement, which Japan undertakes as a result of that article. . . .

. . . Of course we must all feel, whether or not we approve of this treaty, that there are possibilities of danger arising out of it. It is a calculated risk we have to take. In this case I believe it is a calculated risk towards peace rather than towards war, because I do not believe this is a punitive treaty which has in it the seeds of future war. Nevertheless, we should not indulge in any excessive optimism as to what may happen now that Japan is going to be free to conduct its own affairs. The Tokyo correspondent of the *Economist*, writing in the last edition, said something which is very true and which we should keep in mind. He said that the lacquer-thin coating of occupation reform is cracking and peeling off in most places. Japan, then, is beginning to withdraw into itself. I believe this is inevitable once occupation comes to an end.

We hope that this process will not result in the consequences for peace that Japan's policy had in the years before the war. There are of course problems ahead. In the case of Japan, these are both from political and economic. There is a problem of Japan's relations with the continent of Asia and the Western world. We in the West must do everything we can to make it in Japan's interest as well as to our advantage to choose the Western democratic world as her vehicle of international co-operation rather than the Asiatic Communist world.

The economic aspect of the treaty, which has been so often emphasized in this discussion, and quite rightly so, has within it elements of danger. As was pointed out, Japan is a country of 83 million people and must trade with the rest of the world in order to survive, even to feed herself. It is interesting to note in this connection that food production in Japan has steadily increased in the last few years, and that of course is an encouraging sign. But Japanese material prosperity does not necessarily mean that Japan will not develop the aggressive tendencies which, unfortunately, she developed in the past. The higher standard of living which we must hope the Japanese people will be able to achieve does not necessarily make for peace. In our discussion of international affairs we sometimes overlook the fact that a nation does not have to be under-developed to be over-aggressive. In the years before World War II Japan had the highest standard of living of any Asiatic people, and, whatever may have been the reason, they were the most aggressive of Asiatic people.

Although we must do our part to assist Japan to build up her economy, I suggest we must not take it for granted that Japan's prosperity, of itself, means peace in Asia. It depends upon how that prosperity and how that power will be used. It is the purpose of those who drew up this treaty, and it is the hope of those who are in favour of it, that because this is the ending of a chapter Japan will use its new power and developing economic strength not for those purposes which have caused so much damage, so much cruelty and so much suffering in the past but for the purpose of international co-operation in a great area of the world, and which will lead not only to peace but to prosperity for all of us.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Major-General L. R. Laflèche was appointed as Canadian Ambassador to Argentina, effective April 25, 1952.
- Mr. T. L. M. Carter was appointed as Charge d'Affaires a.i. at the Canadian Legation in Warsaw, Poland, effective April 17, 1952.
- Mr. E. R. Rettie was appointed to the then Canadian Liaison Mission, Tokyo, Japan, effective April 1, 1952.
- Mr. Y. Beaulne was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, Italy, to Ottawa, to CBC International Service (on loan), effective April 3, 1952.
- Mr. L. A. D. Stephans was posted from home leave (The Hague), to Ottawa, effective April 16, 1952.
- Miss H. D. Burwash was posted from the Canadian Legation, Oslo, Norway, to Ottawa, effective April 21, 1952.
- Mr. J. G. H. Halstead was posted from home leave to Ottawa, effective April 21, 1952.
- Mr. D. B. Hicks was posted from the Canadian Embassy, Dublin, Ireland, to the Canadian Legation, Oslo, Norway, effective April 17, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Mohammed Ikramullah, High Commissioner for Pakistan, April 1.

His Excellency Corrado Baldoni, Ambassador of Italy, April 7.

Mr. K. Narita, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Embassy of Japan, April 28.

Mr. Auguste Geiser, Second Secretary, Legation of Switzerland, March 27.

Mr. Paul O. Nyhus, Agricultural Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, March 30.

Major Count de Hemricourt de Grunne, Military and Air Attaché, Embassy of Belgium, April 5.

Mr. George S. Vest, Second Secretary, Embassy of the United States of America, April 7.

Mr. T. W. Cutts, Official Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Australia, April 11.

Commander P. R. Ward, Assistant Naval Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, April 11.

Major A. N. B. Ritchie, Assistant Army Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, April 15.

Mr. Sven Jonsson, Commercial Secretary, Legation of Sweden, April 16.

Mr. Olov Ternstrom, Assistant Commercial

Secretary, Legation of Sweden, April 16.

Mr. Artur Zyto, Acting Commercial Attaché, Legation of Poland, April 18.

Mr. Mervyn V. Pallister, Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, April 27.

Departures

Mr. Michel Krycun, Second Secretary, Legation of Poland, March 25. Mr. Krycun is now Consul of Poland at Winnipeg.

Lt.-Col. Edouard de Vicq de Cumptich, Military and Air Attaché, Embassy of Belgium, April 5.

Mr. Zygfryd L. Wolniak, Second Secretary, Legation of Poland, April 10.

Commander H. C. O. Bull, Assistant Naval Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, April 11.

Mr. Vassili I. Goguine, Attaché, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, April 12.

Dr. Henri Zoelly, First Secretary, Legation of Switzerland, April 14.

Colonel Constantin Provorov, Military Attaché for Air, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, April 15.

Major A. I. R. Murray, Assistant Army Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, April 15.

Mr. Pierre Brancart, Attaché, Embassy of Belgium, April 28.

Mr. D. O. Hay, Official Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Australia, end of April.

His Excellency Dr. Victor Nef, Minister of Switzerland, left on April 7 for a visit in his country. Mr. Emile Bisang, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency A. Adrian Roberts resumed his duties as High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa on April 23 on his return from a vacation.

Mr. Alfonso Arias-Schreiber, Third Secretary, Embassy of Peru, was promoted to the rank of Second Secretary, April 1.

CONSULAR

Definitive recognition was granted to:

Mr. Raymond J. Swanson as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, April 19.

Mr. Ralph W. McMahon as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Calgary, April 25.

Mr. Nils Hammarstrand as Honorary Vice-Consul of Finland at Winnipeg, April 29.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Michel Krycun as Consul of Poland at Winnipeg, March 25.

Dr. Mario Carvajal as Consul General of Colombia at Montreal, April 3.

Mr. George F. Bogardus as Consul of the United States of America at Toronto, April 15. He was previously Vice-Consul in that city.

Mr. Samuel Karp as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, April 19.

Mr. George S. Vest as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Ottawa, April

19. He is also Second Secretary at the Embassy.

Miss Jessie L. Webb as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, April 25.

Miss Olive M. Jensen as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, April 25. She is on temporary duty until June 30, 1952.

Departures

Miss Marie C. Chabot, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Montreal, April 6.

Mr. Philippe Cantave, Consul General of Haiti, left on April 7 for one month's leave in his country. During his absence Mr. Ernesto Martijn, Consul at Montreal, is in charge of the Consulate General in Ottawa.

The address of the Vice-Consulate of Sweden in Sydney, Nova Scotia, is now:

The Masonic Building,
4 Dorchester Street,
Telephone No. 6186.

TRADE

Mr. E. A. Allen, Trade Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Toronto, was trans-

ferred to Montreal in the same capacity, March 28.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 52/14—*The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway: The Canadian Point of View*, text of an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, at a meeting of the Economic Club of Detroit, made on March 24, 1952.

No. 52/15—*Review of the International Situation (Part I)*, statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons on March 21, 1952.

No. 52/16—*Review of the International Situation (Part II)*, statement by the Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Jean Lesage, made in the House of Commons on March 25, 1952.

No. 52/17—*National Sovereignty and International Organization*, a speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., on April 15, 1952.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of April 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Now published annually; see "External Affairs", January 1952, for a complete list.)

Conferences Attended in April

1. *4th Session of the Inter-American Conference on Social Security (ILO)*. Mexico, March 24-April 8. Delegate: Col. J. G. Bisson, Unemployment Insurance Commission, Department of Labour; Alternate: R. B. Curry, Department of National Health and Welfare; Adviser: A. E. Blanchette, Canadian Embassy Mexico.
2. *Conference on Settlement of German External Debts*. London, February 28-April 4. Head of Delegation: E. A. Côté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Delegates: A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; H. D. Clark, Department of Finance.
3. *Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations (ECOSOC)*. New York, April 8. A. R. Crépault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
4. *UNICEF - WHO Joint Committee on Health Policy*. New York, April 9-11. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
5. *Programme Committee of UNICEF*. New-York, April 15-17. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.
6. *4th Inter-American Congress on Tourism*. Lima, Peru, April 12-20. Observer: E. Vaillancourt, Canadian Ambassador to Peru; Alternate: J. A. Dougan, Canadian Embassy, Lima.
7. *7th Session of the Narcotic Drugs Commission (ECOSOC)*. New York, April 15. Col. C. H. L. Sharman, Canadian Member, Narcotic Drugs Commission.
8. *5th Regional Conference of American States Members of ILO*. Rio de Janeiro, April 17-30. Head of Delegation and Government Delegate: Dr. E. H. Coleman, Canadian Ambassador to Brazil; Alternate Government Delegate: W. W. Dawson, Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Labour; Adviser to Government Delegates: J. W. Willard, Department of National Health and Welfare; Employer Delegate: D. M. Young, Lever Bros. Ltd., Toronto; Worker Delegate: A. Hemming, Trades and Labour Congress; Secretary: P. E. Morin, Canadian Embassy, Rio de Janeiro.
9. *13th International Wheat Council*. London, April 17. Head of Delegation: M. W. Sharp, Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Alternate Delegates: W. C. McNamara, Assistant Chief Commissioner of the Canadian Wheat Board; Dr. C. F. Wilson, Department of Trade and Commerce; Advisers: J. E. Brownlee, United Grain Growers, Ltd.; W. Coates, Saskatchewan Farmers' Union; W. J. Parker, Manitoba Wheat Pool; B. Plumer, Alberta Wheat Pool; J. H. Wesson, Saskatchewan Wheat Pool; R. V. Biddulph, Canadian Wheat Board; J. B. Lawrie, Canadian Wheat Board; L. Couillard, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Observers: H. L. Griffin, United Grain Growers, Ltd.; M. W. Porter, Alberta Wheat Pool; G. Robertson, Saskatchewan Wheat Pool.
10. *7th Session of the Administrative Council of ITU*. Geneva, April 17. Representative: C. J. Acton, Department of Transport.
11. *4th Session of the Metal Trades Committee of ILO*. Geneva, April 21-May 3. Government Delegates: L. Pepin and J. B. Lane, Department of Labour; Employer Delegates: S. C. Evans, Guelph; A. B. Lawrason, Woodstock; Worker Delegates: R. Holmes, Winnipeg; J. Mitchell, Toronto.
12. *Executive Board of UNICEF*. New York, April 22-24. Mrs. D. B. Sinclair, Department of National Health and Welfare.

13. *Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices (ECOSOC)*. New York, April 28-May 7. Delegate: T. D. MacDonald, Combines Investigation Commissioner; Adviser: G. V. Sainsbury,

Department of Finance.

14. *6th International Conference of the International Hydrographical Bureau*. Monaco, April 29. F. C. G. Smith, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.

Conferences to be held in May and June

(The inclusion of the name of a conference or of an international meeting in the following list is merely for information. It does not necessarily follow that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate or, if so, that the invitation has or will be accepted; the dates are tentative.)

1. *Diplomatic Conference on Maritime Law*, Brussels, May 2-10.
2. *9th Session of the ECE Timber Committee*, Geneva, May 2-6.
3. *5th World Health Assembly of WHO*, Geneva, May 5-31.
4. *9th Meeting of the International Rubber Study Group*, Ottawa, May 5-9.
5. *1st Pan-American Universities' Congress of Odontology*, Buenos Aires, May 4-10.
6. *4th Session of the Iron and Steel Committee of ILO*, Geneva, May 5-17.
7. *International Civil Service Advisory Board*, Geneva, May 9-16.
8. *8th Session of the Social Commission of ECOSOC*, Washington, May 12-31.
9. *14th Session of ECOSOC*, New York, May 13-August.
10. *13th Universal Postal Union Congress*, Brussels, May 14.
11. *11th Session of the International Cotton Advisory Committee*, Rome, May 17-31.
12. *Resumed Session of the Conference of German External Debts*, London, May 19.
13. *1st Pan-American Congress on Veterinary Medicine (FAO-WHO)*, Lima, Peru, May 20.
14. *Meeting of the International Committee on Monuments, Artistic and Historical Sites and Archeological Excavations (UNESCO)*, Paris, May 21.
15. *9th International Congress of Agricultural Industries*, Rome, May 23-31.
16. *Meeting of Fisheries Statistics of FAO*, Copenhagen, May 26-31.
17. *6th Session of ICAO*, Montreal, May 27.
18. *1st Session of the Consultative Committee for Europe (WHO)*, Geneva, May 28.
19. *Working Party on Programme of Work and Associated Long-Term Problems of FAO*, Rome, May 28.
20. *14th Session of the International Conference on Large Electric Systems*, Paris, May 28-June 7.
21. *119th Session of Governing Body of ILO*, Geneva, May 30-31.
22. *Wood Chemistry Commission of FAO*, Milan, May.
23. *Meeting of Sub-Group of the Interseasonal Working Party on the Reduction of Tariff Levels (GATT)*, Geneva, May.
24. *Preliminary Meetings of Government Employers and Workers Groups of ILO*, Geneva, June 2-4.
25. *35th Session of the International Labour Organization*, Geneva, June 4-28.
26. *15th Session of the Conference of the Committee of International Office of Documentation on Military Medicine*, Liege, Belgium, June 4-7.
27. *26th Session of "Les Journées Médicales de Bruxelles"*, Brussels, June 7-11.
28. *21st General Assembly of the International Commission of Criminal Police*, Stockholm, June 9-12.
29. *16th Conference of Provincial and Federal Wildlife Officials*, Ottawa, June 13-14.
30. *5th Session of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body*, Geneva, June 16.
31. *6th Meeting of the South Pacific Air Transport Council*, Nandi, Fiji, June 19.

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS CONCLUDED BY CANADA

Austria

Exchange of Notes reviving the application of the Convention between His Majesty and the Federal President of the Republic of Austria regarding legal proceedings in civil and commercial matters signed at London on March 31, 1931. Signed at Vienna, January 18, 1952.

Monaco

Exchange of Notes concluding a non-immigrant visa modification agreement between the two countries. Signed at Ottawa and Monaco, January 22 and March 20, 1952.

Spain

Exchange of Notes concerning settlement of Commercial debts. Signed at Madrid, January 29, 1952.

Union of South Africa

Exchange of Notes regarding the temporary suspension of the margin of preference on unmanufactured logs. Signed at Ottawa, January 2 and 11, 1952.

United States of America

Exchange of Notes in which the Governments agreed to co-operate in preparing applications to the International Joint Commission for approval of the plans to construct power facilities on the St. Lawrence in connection with the development of an all-Canadian seaway. Signed at Washington, January 11, 1952.

Exchange of Notes providing for the relocation of two of the Pacific Ocean Stations. Signed at Ottawa, January 22 and February 22, 1952.

Exchange of Letters providing for the renewal of the Arrangement of 1942 for the exchange of agricultural labour and machinery. Signed at Ottawa, April 15 and 16, 1952.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
19	7/4	Presentation of Letter of Credence of Mr. Corrado Baldoni as Italian Ambassador to Canada.
20	10/4	Appointment of Mr. T. L. M. Carter, M.C., as Chargé d'Affaires a.i. at the Canadian Legation in Warsaw.
21	15/4	Non-immigrant visa modification agreement between Canada and the Principality of Monaco.
22	17/4	Deposition of Canadian Instrument of Ratification of Japanese Peace Treaty.
23	21/4	Appointment of Mr. Sidney A. Freifeld as Press Officer.
24	23/4	Canadian Delegation to the Fifth World Health Assembly.
25	25/4	Appointment of Major-General L. R. LaFlèche, D.S.O., as Canadian Ambassador to Argentina.
26	28/4	Change of status of the Canadian and Japanese Missions in Tokyo and Ottawa.
27	28/4	Message from Prime Minister St. Laurent to Prime Minister Yoshida on the occasion of the coming into force of the Peace Treaty with Japan.
28	28/4	Message from Prime Minister Yoshida to Prime Minister St. Laurent on the occasion of the coming into force of the Peace Treaty with Japan.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Resolutions adopted by the General Assembly during its sixth session, 6 November 1951 to 5 February 1952; New York, 1952; document A/2119; 91 p.; \$1.00; General Assembly Official Records: sixth session, supplement No. 20.

Atomic Energy Commission — Index to documents 1 January 1946 to 30 April 1951; New York, 1951; document AEC/C.1/81/Rev.1; 72 p.; 70 cents; 7 June 1951; Atomic Energy Commission Official Records: Sixth Year.

* *Measures for International Economic Stability*; 27 November 1951; document (E/2156; 48 p.; 40 cents; Sales No.: 1951.II.A.2 (Department of Economic Affairs) (ST/ECA/13).

* *Review of International Commodity Problems 1951* (Interim Co-ordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements); March 1952; documents E/2181; 54 p.; 60 cents; Sales No.: 1952.II.D.1.

* *Economic Survey of Europe in 1951*; Geneva, February 1952; document E/ECE/140/Rev.1; \$1.50; 243 p.

United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1951; Third Issue; New York 1951; 616 p.; \$7.50; bilingual; Sales No.: 1951; XVII.5 (Prepared by the Statistical Office of the United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs).

* *Yearbook of the United Nations 1950*; 1068 p.; \$12.50; Sales No.: 1951.1.24 (Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York).

World Health Organization

a) *Fourth World Health Assembly*,

Geneva 7-25 May 1951; Resolutions & Decisions, Plenary Meetings, Verbatim Records, Committees, Minutes & Reports, Annexes; Geneva, January 1952; \$2.25; Official Records of WHO, No. 35.

b) *Work of WHO 1951 — Annual Report of the Director-General to the World Health Assembly and to the United Nations*; Geneva, March 1952; \$1.25; Official Records of WHO, No. 38.

c) *Proposed Programme and Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1 January — 31 1953* with the proposed programme and estimated expenditure for technical assistance for economic development of under-developed countries; Geneva, March 1952; 564 p.; \$3.00 Official Records of WHO, No. 39.

d) *Executive Board Ninth Session held in Geneva from 21 January to 4 February 1952*; Resolutions, Report of the Executive Board on the proposed programme and budget estimates for 1953 and on the Organizational structure and administrative efficiency of the World Health Organization and Annexes; Geneva, March 1952; \$1.00; 151 p.; Official Records of WHO, No. 40.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the Governing Body of the International Children's Centre on the work of the International Children's Centre for the year 1951; 15 March 1952; document E/ECEF/187; 88 p. (Annexes to the Report will be issued separately as document E/ICEF/187/Add.1).

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

* French version has been published previously.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

ISRAEL'S ANSWER TO RACIAL PERSECUTION

A speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at a meeting on June 1, 1952, of the Jewish community of Toronto, sponsored by the Jewish National Fund in the interests of the Forest of the Martyrs.

There may have been at some periods of human history and in some regions of the world fortunate generations which have not had to struggle against oppression. Our own generation, however, has had no such fortune. The minds and indeed the very lives of many men, to whom pursuit of the arts, letters and sciences would have been far more appealing, have been and continue to be absorbed by the effort to limit the spread of despotism, and prevent man's inhumanity to man. It is therefore fitting that we should reflect tonight on the circumstances that have made this necessary; on the tragedy of loss and destruction sustained by the civilized world in the recent past and on how we may help to prevent its recurrence in the future.

An essential part of this task is to find ways of diminishing the force of hatred in the world. Another part is to assert and protect the right of civilized human beings to plan and live in their own environment, remembering that those whose history and traditions differ from our own have an equal right to develop along lines which they consider to be right for their own needs.

There are many other things waiting to be done. Progress throughout the world, both in the development of national life and in the sphere of international co-operation, must be protected by plans for effective resistance to possible attacks from totalitarian barbarism. Yet the very purpose of that protective effort would be defeated if we allowed it to swallow up all our energies to the detriment of constructive pursuits; or if in the name of protection we sacrificed tolerance and freedom. The basic problem will not be solved until the principles of democratic liberty are embraced everywhere; a liberty which is far wider and deeper than the right merely to govern ourselves. This subject is a large one; tonight I can touch on only one small segment of it, our response to the challenge of savagery and oppression.

An inspiring symbol of this response to oppression in its basest forms is the Forest of the Martyrs, the first groves of which have already been planted in Israel. They commemorate those six million Jews who perished in the holocaust in Europe before the tide of barbarism was stemmed by the arrival of Allied military forces, who themselves suffered grievously in their struggle to defeat a brutal, powerful foe and bring aid to the survivors. The Forest of the Martyrs will be a memorial whose meaning even the passing stranger cannot fail to mark. To the kinsmen of those whose memory the forest keeps green and to all who have dedicated themselves to the struggle against hatred and the oppression of one people by another this forest will be a source of living inspiration. In a thirsty and eroded land it will help to replenish the soil and to hold in it part of the moisture which will give it life and growth. These trees will protect the countryside from searing winds, give refreshment in the heat of summer and comfort and warmth in the winter cold. They will represent those twin principles of conservation and creativeness on which all genuine human progress must be based.

In our own day scientists have taught us to recognize the direct relationship between forest preservation and the maintenance of a sound economy. Not all of the many peoples, however, who have inhabited Palestine in the past three thousand years of its changing and cosmopolitan history have understood this; and not all who did understand have had the means to plant forests or to protect them after they were grown. Subject to repeated invasions by warring armies from other lands which used Palestine as a battlefield or a convenient corridor for invasion, torn by internal conflict among the descendants of the many peoples who had come to stay, Palestine has

had its cycles of conquest and development, of colonization and war, of fertility and barrenness. It has known the flow and the ebb of production and destruction which reflect man's striving after orderly development and witness his failure hitherto to achieve on any permanent basis that stable international society which has now become essential if civilization itself is to survive.

In the various periods of colonization and upbuilding in Palestine, the gains were laborious and slow, while the tale of recurrent disaster and destruction was often quickly told. We recall that from the time when the Jews of Babylon financed the first Jewish colonies which returned to the Jerusalem area until the time when the Jews recovered Galilee there passed some four hundred years, marked not only by internal conflict but also by the warring against each other on Palestinian soil of the Great Powers of that day. Nevertheless, the movement was upward. In particular the practice of agriculture improved and by the time Josephus wrote he was able to say, perhaps with some poetic licence, that in the Galilee of his day not an acre of land lay unfertilized. Palestine filled up with a busy and prosperous population. In the parched land south of Beersheba and the Dead Sea, moreover, another people, the Nabataeans, had, even earlier, invented means of using subterranean water for irrigation purposes and for conserving the infrequent rainfall. For several generations they built those terraces and water-courses whose faint traces are sometimes noted today by the new settlers in the Negev. They cultivated every acre of land in the area, and supported in prosperity a sensible, orderly and healthy population who lived at peace among themselves, and proved to their world that this desert area was capable of supporting many thousands of inhabitants in comfort. Israel is about to prove this again, although for long before and after the Nabataean period the Negev remained an empty and desolate waste.

As the fortunes of the cultivators of the soil varied in Palestine so did the history of its forests. Among the catastrophes still remembered are the destruction of the forests covering the hills near Jerusalem by the soldiers of Titus just before the city itself fell and the temple was destroyed. Then the crusaders hacked down the fine oak woods that grew between Jaffa and Nablus. Some of the earlier Turkish invaders, pushed westward from beyond the Caspian Sea by the restless Mongols, burnt over the whole of Palestine in the 13th century. Napoleon in his day set the torch to whatever grew on the plain of Sharon. More trees were lost three decades later during the effort to contain an Egyptian revolt against the Ottoman sultan. What escaped the attention of invading armies or of browsing goats or of raiding herdsmen fell victim to local cultivators whose fields had become exhausted and who needed more land in order to live, and so the last forest groves were sacrificed, although some orange and olive orchards continued to flourish and were carefully tended throughout all the troubles of the later days.

Inevitably, during the centuries while Palestine's impoverished soil was being washed down unchecked from the denuded hills by the winter rains, and while sand dunes, blown by the vagrant winds, were encroaching on the plains, the once teeming population declined. Mr. Ben Gurion's phrase "the turning back of nature" may thus refer properly not only to what the people of Israel are now doing for their land, from Galilee in the north to the Negev in the south, but also, by implication, to the life-giving influence of a restored soil on the people who care for that soil. There is a natural and inevitable connection between the two. The soil gives back life to those who tend it well.

The dual task of reclaiming a land placed as Israel is placed today and of restoring a dispersed people to normal living involves both economic and what one might describe as purely human problems of such extreme difficulty that responsibility for dealing with the issues concerned could hardly have been assumed by present-day

Jewish leaders were it not for the intensity of the Jewish feeling of revolt against cruelty and discrimination suffered in Europe since medieval times. That revolt is an expression of the stubborn hope in adversity, of that inflexible determination to survive which has typified Jewish life and inspired Jewish legend.

You recall perhaps the story that in the latter days the Almighty, being discouraged by the wickedness of mankind, decided to send a new and more destructive flood to put an end to what seemed after all to have been an unsuccessful experiment in the creative field. This time there would be no Noah and there would be no ark. There were, however, three good men in the world whom God wished to warn—a Moslem, a Christian and a Jew. To them in turn he sent his angel bearing the message that floods were about to descend and that even the highest mountains would soon be covered by deep waters. The Moslem addressed himself to prayer and the Christian to confessing his sins. The venerable Jew, however, stroked his beard and said reflectively to his heavenly visitant, "Very interesting indeed! But is it not going to be something of a problem to find a way of surviving under thirty fathoms of water?"

It is a small area—no larger than Lake Erie—which the Jewish people are now seeking to use as the geographical territory within which their national survival shall be assured. Nor is the present population of Israel large. As a result of mass immigration in the past four years the total has now reached approximately the level it had attained before the Arab exodus, but even now, after these four years of heroic rescue work, it is only about twice the population of Toronto.

The stature of a land, however, is not measured by a surveyor's instrument, nor the greatness of a nation by the census-taker. Israel's future rests on many things which mere statistics cannot show. This land now represents for a gifted but scattered and often frustrated people the possibility of realizing the twin principles of self-liberation and self-help which were advocated in the last century by Leon Pinsker as the only adequate answer to anti-Semitism . . . And in that land Achad Ha'am's ideal of the re-education of the Jewish people for normal living—their inner rehabilitation—is already beginning to be realized.

That great Jewish sociologist, the late Dr. Arthur Ruppin, to whose courageous work as one of the builders of Israel Dr. Weizmann has paid special tribute, stated in his book *The Jews in the Modern World* that the original source of anti-Semitism is the group instinct, which like the herd instinct of animals welds men connected by common descent, language, customs and interests into a cohesive community, but causes them at the same time to distrust members of other groups. When the Jews first migrated to Europe, he went on to say, they came as outsiders and long remained strangers by reason of differences of race, religion, culture and occupations. They had to make their way as representatives of one of the ancient eastern civilizations in the midst of a more primitive western culture. Anti-Semitism had its rise then in Europe as part of the general fear of and prejudice against strangers which permeated ancient and medieval society and is still with us in one form or another. The Jewish people arriving in Israel today from various points of the compass represent different levels of civilization, from the early patriarchal to the most sophisticated moderns. The majority, however, are westerners, who are reversing the situation described by Dr. Ruppin, since they represent in the Eastern Mediterranean region, whose fortunes have declined so greatly since the Mongol invasions, the now materially more advanced civilization of the West. A question that exercises the minds of many Jewish and other thinkers is how this return and this re-establishment can be brought about without giving rise to epidemics of fear and race hatred in the new environment which might prove as destructive a force in the Middle East as anti-Semitism has been in Europe.

Civilized man has learned a good deal more today than was known a thousand years or even a hundred years ago about the deep and secret springs of human fear and about the most effective means of securing release from that fear, either for groups or for individuals. In this case there are factors which enable one to hope that the initial struggle to secure the establishment of a Jewish state, and the fears and the tensions which have inevitably accompanied that struggle, are not to be a permanent feature of the environment in which Israel finds itself. It was in the belief, indeed, that these fears and tensions could be removed, that the majority of governments represented in the United Nations General Assembly judged it to be neither an imprudent nor an unfriendly act toward any of the neighbouring peoples to encourage the establishment of a Jewish national state in Palestine.

An analysis of the fears which beset human beings in various stages of their development is often a useful means of reducing the scope of the fears themselves. I do not propose to go into this question in any detail this evening, although it is germane to a discussion of the response of civilized man to oppression, the subject we are now considering. I do want to say just a few words, however, about one special fear that has caused a great deal of harm already, leaving it to you to reflect on the nature of other fears of which I shall not have time to speak. I am thinking of the very deep-seated fear of Israel's Arab neighbours that a high rate of Jewish immigration, if continued for any length of time, may impel Israel to adopt a policy of both territorial and economic expansion.

I do not myself think that this territory, preferred above all others by the Jewish people for the purpose of national regeneration, will necessarily prove to be inadequate for their national development. Even in the past, without the aid of modern scientific progress, the same land has supported a dense population in comfort, and we are assured by scientists and agronomists that it can do so again without threat to the territorial integrity or the economic and cultural self-determination of neighbouring peoples.

This should remove the fears of Israel's neighbours whose fears and whose rights, of course, we should recognize. Moreover, the same principles of self-help and self-liberation which are valid for Jews who have endured persecution in Europe for centuries, but who come back to the Eastern Mediterranean bringing with them the skills and the outlook of the West—these same principles of self-help and self-liberation are valid also for the Arabs, who have long endured other forms of oppression since their great civilization fell into decline at the time of the Mongol invasions, and who today suffer many consequent disabilities from which it is now their desire, indeed their determination, to escape. In the secure international society that we are struggling to create there must be recognition of the intensity of the desire of *all* peoples to develop along lines of their own choosing. There must also be a corresponding recognition of the need for mutual understanding and accommodation. So one welcomes the characteristic good sense behind the words of Mr. Sharett, the Foreign Minister of Israel, when he said to newspapermen in London last March: "It remains a cardinal principle of our foreign policy to seek integration in the region to which we belong, on the basis of mutual recognition and good neighbourliness, for the protection of the national interests of each state and for the advancement of the region's common interests".

I think I am right in saying that most of the delegates who voted in the United Nations General Assembly in November 1947 in favour of the resolution recommending the partition of Palestine, within the framework of economic union, did so because of an underlying feeling that it had been made necessary by the slaughter of Jews in Europe during the Second World War. This was a warning that it would be unwise to continue any longer an experiment tending towards bi-nationalism or a forced

federalism in the whole of Palestine, since that experiment had already led to complete deadlock in Palestinian affairs. It seemed imperative, moreover, after the annihilation of six million Jews in various countries in Europe, that arrangements should be made in at least one country in the world for the Jewish people to be definitely freed from the limitations and the fears imposed by minority status. Only in Palestine were the Jews willing and able to undertake the heavy responsibility of establishing an independent Jewish state. It was not only Jews who were convinced that salvation lay in the principles of self-liberation and self-help. That concept has now gained a wider acceptance and we had to do something about it.

It was also, I think, the general belief of those who voted in the United Nations General Assembly in favour of the principle of creating an independent Jewish state that the Jews of Israel would one day be able to establish friendly relations with the Arab world, although time would obviously be required to achieve the necessary mutual adjustments. All men of good will must have been glad to note, therefore, that already, only four and a half years after the adoption of the partition resolution, there are indications that areas of wider agreement may soon be established between Israel and its immediate neighbours. These may be mere straws, but I hope that they show from which quarter the currents of air are blowing.

Co-operation between Arab Governments and the Government of Israel has taken place in the past month, spontaneously and as a matter of course, in the face of a threatened plague of locusts. Fresh agreements have been reached within the past few weeks for the prevention and control of illegal crossing of Israel's borders in either direction. Similarly, when ships of Israel or Lebanon are in distress, each may now take refuge in the territorial waters of the other state and then proceed on their way without hindrance. These agreements were reached without the publicity that seems always to accompany bad news, and represent the sort of quiet adjustment to a changed situation out of which stable conditions often grow.

Speculation, as you know, has been rife within recent months regarding the possibility of a negotiated settlement of political problems between Israel and its neighbours. Of this speculation Mr. Sharett has said: "The mere appearance of such reports in an atmosphere charged with hostility is a hopeful omen". I have no intention of discussing here, and it would be improper for me to discuss here, the problems which would require consideration before such a peace settlement could be achieved. There is one point, however, which I think I might make now because Canadians interested in this question may feel they have some personal responsibilities in relation to it.

There can be no doubt that Israel requires a background of peace against which to work out to its fullest development the national life of its own people. The Prime Minister of Israel has often said so, and emphatically. There is also no doubt that the Arab position, as defined during the last Session of the United Nations General Assembly, represented, as Arab spokesmen themselves have pointed out, the concession of much which they had refused to concede before, particularly when they offered to sit down with representatives of Israel to discuss a peace settlement if, as a starting-point for the discussions, Israel would reconsider certain past recommendations of the United Nations General Assembly, some of which the Arabs had formerly rejected out of hand.

This would seem to indicate that the position in the Middle East is not at least a static one. Mr. Ben Gurion expressed the opinion in an address to a group of visitors from the United States last March that elements in the Arab countries do indeed wish to conclude peace with Israel, although internal political difficulties make this still impossible. About the same time, on the 19th of March, the editors of *The Times* in

London said; "... if only a handful of Arab statesmen are beginning to see that the adjustment of relations between the Arab world and the Western powers and the making of peace between the Arab states and Israel are two parts of the same problem of Middle Eastern defence, there is some hope of advance".

We in Canada who are anxious for real peace to come in the Middle East might perhaps help in a small way to create a climate within which mutual adjustments would gradually become easier if we avoided, in our speaking and writing, any easy generalizations about Arab leaders and the Arab people which may prove on closer examination or in the light of a future rapprochement to have been unrealistic. It is easier, of course, to repeat a generalization than to examine its authenticity, but a constant effort to be accurate — that is to say, to understand human beings who are different from ourselves — is likely to pay dividends out of all proportion to the effort itself. While in Israel Jewish leaders, civilized men and women, are trying in the midst of overwhelming difficulties to give the civilized answer to racial persecution, we should ourselves do what we can to aid their effort.

There was an Irishman once whom we might describe as the prototype of those who consider inter-racial rapprochement to be impossible. It was the end of summer and an English professor of botany, just emerging from an Irish bog with his specimens and his notes, was ready to head back to his university in England. He told an Irish peasant he wanted to go to Dublin and asked if this was the right path to take. "To Dublin!" the Irishman exclaimed, "Why, man, this is a bog! If I was going to Dublin I'd never start from here!"

If, however, we want badly enough to reach the goal of mutual understanding we can start from any point. The main thing is the civilized wish. With that wish, converted into a resolve on both sides, a way out of the bog of fear and misunderstanding between Israel and its neighbours can be found. This would make infinitely easier the work of those pioneers who are building the new Jewish nation, and those whose untimely and tragic death we lament tonight would rest more peacefully. So we are glad that the outlook here is not as dark as it was and that there are grounds for hope of better things.

There is more than hope, however. There is the fact of proud achievement in what the people of Israel have already done to create their own national home and assure their own national destiny. Here they are in no bog, but marching steadily forward on firm ground. The temple of liberty and national respect has been restored. The forests of freedom have in sad truth been nourished by the blood of millions; but they grow and they are spread. And to symbolise this new life that has emerged from cruelty and oppression, the flag of Israel waves proudly now among the banners of the United Nations.

THE COLOMBO PLAN

The Colombo Plan for the economic development of South and Southeast Asia was conceived at a meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers held in Colombo in February 1950, to review the international situation, including its broad economic aspects. As a result of a meeting in London, in September and October of the same year, of the Governments of Australia, Canada, Ceylon, India, New Zealand, Pakistan and the United Kingdom, a report on the Colombo Plan was published. Its opening paragraph contained the following statement:

During the past five years political events have moved fast in South and Southeast Asia. Changes have taken place on a scale hardly precedented in world history. Independent governments have come into being, supported by democratic institutions and imbued with enthusiasm for the future welfare of their countries. The horizon of thought and action in the economic as well as the political field has been greatly extended, and governments are grappling with the problem of promoting the economic improvement which is indispensable to social stability, and necessary to strengthen their free institutions. It is of the greatest importance that the countries of South and Southeast Asia should succeed in this undertaking. The political stability of the area, and indeed of the world, depends upon it, and nothing could do more to strengthen the cause of freedom.

Not an Exclusive Commonwealth Programme

Although the Colombo Plan was initiated by Commonwealth governments, it is not, and never has been, thought of as an exclusive Commonwealth programme. It is intended to assist in the economic development of all countries and territories in the general area of South and Southeast Asia. The Consultative Committee, an inter-governmental body which meets from time to time to review the progress of the Plan and to consider policy matters in connection with its implementation, now counts as members the following countries: Australia, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, India, Laos, New Zealand, Pakistan, United Kingdom, and Viet Nam, as well as the United States, which is also engaged in a substantial programme of economic aid in the same region.

The under-developed countries in the Colombo Plan area have a total population of 570 million people, roughly one quarter of the world's population. Unfortunately, the considerable natural wealth of the area has not been developed rapidly enough to match the increase in population. There is, therefore, great poverty among millions and an unceasing struggle for existence. The level of food consumption in the area, which has never approached our minimum standards, has, in many sections, dropped appreciably in the last ten years.

During the same period, economic development in the area not only came to a standstill, but gains previously made were wiped out. Countries under Japanese occupation were despoiled and neglected, and economic assets, such as rubber and tea plantations, power stations and transportation facilities, which had been painfully built up over long periods, were destroyed or allowed to decay. In other countries, like India, the very heavy strain on transportation and factories and the inability to keep up the necessary repairs and provide replacements took their toll of economic assets.

In these circumstances, the urgent need of these countries is to develop their economies in order to increase food production and consumption and raise the real income of their peoples. It is clear that a greatly increased flow of capital is essential to increased productivity and higher living standards.

This is the aim of the Colombo Plan. It is not in itself, however, enough to provide for the rate of development which is desirable and indeed essential. The countries receiving aid under the Plan have tremendous undeveloped resources but they lack the capital and the technical "know-how" to exploit their resources. The giving countries in the Plan can make a significant contribution and are doing so, but much more will be needed to implement the development programmes worked out by the governments of the receiving countries. The Colombo Plan is, however, a good beginning, a good pump-priming operation. As capital assistance is given and development programmes begin to show results, the economy of the area will be strengthened, and production increased and living standards will be raised. The process is bound to be gradual; the economic development of South and Southeast Asia is a long-term project. But as conditions improve and political and economic stability is maintained, it is reasonable to expect that outside capital from private sources will flow in greater volume toward the area.

Contribution Programme

The Colombo Plan calls for \$5 billion of capital development in six years for the Commonwealth countries of South and Southeast Asia. About \$3 billion of this must come from outside the area. To date, the contributing countries in the Colombo Plan have pledged themselves to support the programme as follows:

The United Kingdom will, over the six-year period, assist to a total of roughly \$900 million, chiefly in the release of sterling balances held by the receiving countries.

Australia is contributing the equivalent of \$21 million this year, and over the six-year period will contribute the equivalent of at least \$75 million.

New Zealand has promised the equivalent of \$9 million over the first three years.

Canada contributed \$25 million for the first year, and the Government has announced its intention to seek Parliamentary approval for a second \$25 million contribution in order that participation in the Plan may continue in 1952/53.

In addition to the contributing countries of the Commonwealth, the United States, through its own programmes of economic aid in the same area, is devoting about \$200 million this year to economic development projects.

Of the \$25 million which Parliament authorized for Canadian economic assistance under the Colombo Plan in 1951/52, it was decided that about \$15 million should be earmarked for economic aid to India and about \$10 million for aid to Pakistan. Continuing discussions have taken place with these Governments with a view to selecting suitable projects for Canadian assistance.

At the request of the Indian Government, Canadian wheat to the value of \$10 million was provided to India under the Plan. Most of this wheat has already been delivered or is en route to India, and the balance will be shipped before the end of March. The Indian Government will establish a special fund to be derived from the proceeds of the sale of wheat in India. This fund, which will be equivalent in rupees to the Canadian dollar value of the wheat, will be used for the internal financing of a large-scale irrigation and hydro-electric project of Mayurakshi in West Bengal. It is estimated that this project, when completed, will create some 600,000 additional acres of arable land and will produce about 4,000 kilowatts of electric energy.

Most of the remaining funds available to India under the 1951-1952 programme of Canadian aid have been ear-marked for the provision of vehicles for use by the Bombay State Transport Commission in rehabilitating and extending the State Road Transport Service.

The main project in the Canadian programme for Pakistan is a cement plant to be erected in the Thal area of the Punjab, where the Pakistan Government is establishing a large-scale colonization project. Canada is providing all the equipment, materials and technical personnel required for the erection of the plant, while Pakistan will furnish local labour and materials locally available for the construction of the building.

Another item in the Canadian programme for Pakistan is a photographic and geological survey which should be of far-reaching benefit to Pakistan in the exploitation of its natural resources.

Arrangements are being completed for the provision to Pakistan of a large order of railway-ties to help in the programme for the rehabilitation and development of the Pakistan railroad system.

Another project which Canada, together with Australia and New Zealand, is sponsoring is the establishment of an experimental livestock farm, in the Thal area of the Punjab, in connection with the Pakistan Government's colonization project. It is expected that the Canadian contribution to this joint undertaking will take the form of farm machinery and related equipment.

Programme for Technical Co-operation

An integral part of the Colombo Plan is a Programme for Technical Co-operation which provides an essential compliment to capital assistance to the countries of South and Southeast Asia. Because of the magnitude of the problems with which they were confronted upon attaining independence, the Governments of India and Pakistan, in particular, considered that they could absorb technical assistance over and above that being provided by the United States Point Four Programme, the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. The Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation is, therefore, closely related to technical assistance from these other sources. Interested governments in the region have been invited to send representatives to the Council for Technical Co-operation, which sits in Colombo, Ceylon, and to join this body if they wish to take part in the scheme.

The Council, which supervises the operation of the Programme, is composed of one representative of each co-operating government. It may at any time admit to its membership a government which applies to co-operate under the scheme. In addition to the Council, a Technical Co-operation Bureau has been established in Colombo to handle and co-ordinate requests for aid under the Programme.

The constitution of the Council states in its preamble that there is:

need for fullest co-operation with United Nations and other agencies providing technical assistance in the area, with a view to encouraging and speeding the provision of technical assistance from all sources . . .

In keeping with this objective, Canada has emphasized that the activities of the Programme for Technical Co-operation in South and Southeast Asia should be co-ordinated as closely as possible with those of the United Nations Extended Technical Assistance Programme.

The Council for Technical Co-operation is responsible for organizing the provision of technical assistance in the following forms:

(a) training of personnel from receiving countries in countries where suitable instruction is available, and the despatch of missions abroad to study the latest techniques and developments;

(b) the provision of experts, instructors and advisory missions to assist in planning development or reconstruction, for use in public administration, in health services, scientific research in agricultural, industrial or other productive activities and in training of local personnel on the spot; and

(c) the provision of equipment required for training or use by technical experts in the region.

As its contribution to the Programme for Technical Co-operation, the Canadian Government decided to make available a grant of \$400,000 for each of the first two years of the three year period. The Government has recommended that Parliament approve a further contribution of \$400,000 to the Colombo Programme for the 12-month period beginning July 1, 1952.

Action Taken by Canada

By March 1, 1952, the Canadian Government had taken the following action under the Technical Co-operation Programme:

(1) 46 trainees have received courses of instruction in Canada. Of this total, 31 were granted fellowships and 15 were granted scholarships for post-graduate study in Canadian universities. The fields in which these trainees have received instruction include agriculture, engineering (electrical, mechanical and mining), forestry, medicine, nutrition, rail transportation, fisheries and education.

(2) Canada has received three technical missions of senior government officials from India and Pakistan. These missions were in the fields of agriculture, highway and bridge construction, and hydro-electric power development.

(3) Canadian technical experts have been sent to recipient countries represented on the Council for Technical Co-operation. An expert fisheries consultant from British Columbia and a refrigeration engineer have gone to Ceylon to help develop the fishing industry in that country. A Canadian biologist is at present investigating the possibility of establishing biological-control institutes in Pakistan and India.

(4) A public health mission of senior public health officials from India, Pakistan and Ceylon is at present visiting Canada to study Canadian public health and medical facilities and services.

(5) Twelve Pakistani junior civil servants have arrived to receive a four-month course in public administration at the federal, provincial and municipal level.

The Canadian interest in the success of the Colombo Plan is three-fold. In the first place Canada, as a member of the community of free nations, is concerned in the maintenance of political stability in this vast and important region. The achievement of this object depends in part on the degree of sympathy and understanding and practical co-operation which the countries of the industrialized West are prepared to give to the peoples of South and Southeast Asia. The second reason for our interest is economic. As a great trading nation, so heavily dependent upon external markets, Canada is constantly concerned in the promotion of increased world trade. The economic development of the under-developed countries of South and Southeast Asia is bound in the long run to help towards this end, and it is therefore in the long-term economic interests of Canada to make the Colombo Plan succeed. Apart from these political and economic considerations, considerations of enlightened self-interest, there is the very important humanitarian appeal of this novel experiment in international co-operation aimed at helping the people of South and Southeast Asia to lift themselves out of their traditional poverty and misery toward a better and a fuller life compatible with the dignity and freedom of the human person.

NORDIC CO-OPERATION IN THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL FIELDS

Nowhere else in the world, surely, are there to be found five neighbouring countries so closely linked by race, language and history as Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland. The first three have, since earliest times, been the home of closely-related Teutonic peoples, who spread to Iceland in the ninth century and, in the twelfth, to Finland, where they have maintained ever since an important place amid the largely Ugro-Finnish population. As late as the thirteenth century all these Teutonic peoples spoke very nearly the same language, now known as Old Icelandic because it is best preserved in the literature of that country. Even today the citizens of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and the Swedish part of Finland can make themselves understood by one another with a little patience.

A common historical destiny has strengthened the coalescing influences of race and language. Thus the southern provinces of Sweden were Danish as late as 1658, and many people in Skane still tend to regard Copenhagen rather than Stockholm as their cultural capital. Norway was under Danish rule until 1814, and then passed under Swedish rule until 1905, before gaining its independence. Finland belonged to Sweden for over six centuries before 1809, and Iceland belonged to Denmark for nearly six centuries before 1944. Twice, long ago, still more elaborate unions appeared briefly in the North. Between 1018 and 1035, Canute was King of Denmark, Norway and Iceland as well as of England; and between 1389 and 1434 Denmark, Norway and Sweden were joined together in the Union of Kalmar. The lesson of Nordic history has, in the long run, been that complete independence from one another is natural and best for the five countries. The political fragmentation of the North has not, however, prevented the growth in modern times of the intimate co-operation in the cultural and social fields which this article will now attempt to summarize.

Nordic Cultural Commission

Cultural co-operation has been growing steadily since the middle of the last century. Innumerable contacts have been established between governments, national organizations and private citizens, and have contributed greatly to the cultural development of the North. For many years the Ministers of Education and of Ecclesiastical Affairs of the five Nordic countries have held conferences on cultural questions every two years. At one of these, held in 1946, the Nordic Cultural Commission was established. This body, composed of delegates from all the Nordic countries, has the task of encouraging cultural exchanges of all kinds in accordance with directives issued by the ministerial conferences.

In this task it is greatly aided by the Norden ("The North") associations. These were founded under private auspices in the various Nordic countries during the years immediately following the First World War. Subsidized by their governments, yet completely non-political, they are active in all branches of cultural life, each within its own country and in co-operation with the rest. Their influence is greatly increased by the fact that many important national organizations of an intellectual and professional character have become associated with them in each country.

These other national organizations, of course, have their own direct contacts in their special fields, exchanging information, preparing joint publications, arranging frequent visits and regular meetings, and often adopting joint programmes of action. Several medical publications deserve mention as examples of this co-operation in special fields. Psychiatrists, psychologists, nurses and midwives regularly assemble in

Nordic conferences. So do professional workers in the natural sciences, such as mathematics, physics and geophysics. Historians, philologists and ethnologists often meet to discuss the points of resemblance and difference between the types of Nordic culture that have developed in their respective countries. Rural cultural societies and workers' educational groups gather from all the Nordic countries to pool their experiences. It is hardly surprising that these, and many similar organizations, all endowed with a common cultural heritage and facing common cultural problems, should seek to aid one another across national boundaries.

Special Attention for Students

Students have always received special attention. The best way to teach them the meaning of Nordic culture, it has been decided, is to give them the opportunity to pursue their studies in more than one Nordic country. With this in mind, the Nordic Cultural Commission and the Norden associations have proposed recently that students who meet the university entrance requirements in one Nordic country should have the right to enter university in any of the others. A further proposal has been that university students should be allowed to move from one Nordic country to another, and any fees they have paid in advance should be credited to them wherever they go. These suggestions have not yet been accepted by all the universities concerned, but they are everywhere receiving sympathetic attention. The Commission has also arranged scholarships to facilitate this type of exchange.

Several interesting measures have been taken to ensure that the cultural unity of the Nordic countries is not endangered by their political diversity. Thus, linguistic committees have been nominated by the Nordic Cultural Commission in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, to try to prevent the evolution of the Nordic languages from carrying them too far apart. Each of the Norden associations has set up a committee on history books, whose task it is to see that in each Nordic country the history of the others is studied adequately and without prejudice. Another Norden committee occupies itself similarly with geography books. The work of these committees deserves close study in countries such as Canada, where the wish of two or more races to live together in amity is now and again thwarted by cultural misunderstandings, especially historical misinterpretations, which ought never to have been permitted.

The adult education movement, one of the most powerful influences shaping modern Nordic society, has always favoured Nordic cultural exchanges. A number of schools for advanced adult education exist in each of the Nordic countries. About 1930 the Norden associations arranged for state scholarships to facilitate the exchange of students between schools of this type in the various Nordic countries, just as the Nordic Cultural Commission has arranged exchange scholarships for the universities; by 1951 there were 200 such students on exchange. Teachers, also, are exchanged under this arrangement.

Curiously enough, it cannot be said that the relations between the Nordic countries in the domain of literature and the fine arts are as close today as last century, when the appearance of an interesting new work in one country was immediately noticed and widely discussed in the others. The explanation is possibly that the improvement of communications has widened the literary and artistic horizons of the Nordic countries, so that intellectual stimulation nowadays comes as strongly from Rome and Paris, London and New York, as from the neighbouring capitals in the North. The problem, especially as it concerned literature, was examined at a conference held in Oslo in 1950 by the Nordic Cultural Commission and the Norden associations. It was decided to enlist the aid of school authorities, the press, radio, libraries, and societies of authors and journalists. One result has been that publishing houses now list recent Nordic literature in their Christmas catalogues.

The cultural section of this article might conclude with a random list of Nordic organizations that concern themselves with literary and artistic matters. There are, then, organizations of authors, journalists, newspaper editors, bibliophiles and typographers; of artists and artisans; of radio employees; of dramatists, actors, theatre directors, and amateur actors; of composers and singers; and of libraries and museums. Several of these organizations have regular conferences, and all of them regularly exchange information.

Co-operation in Social Field

Co-operation in the social field among the five Nordic countries follows naturally from the similarity of their respective social policies. The first discussions on this subject were held by the Scandinavian labour congresses in the 1880's. As the social policies of the various Nordic countries took form in the following years, an increasingly regular co-operation was established between public authorities and private organizations.

The first, and for many years the most important, Nordic agreement in the social field dates from 1915, when Denmark, Norway and Sweden decided to extend to each other's citizens the benefits of their respective indigent-relief systems. When Finland and later Iceland gained their independence, they came into this agreement, which was revised and brought up to date in 1951. One of its consequences is that Nordic citizens who apply for relief in a Nordic country other than their own are not, as other foreigners would be, liable to deportation.

Ever since workmen's compensation legislation has been established in the North, the benefits in each country have been available to all Nordic citizens. The only difference originally was that payment would be continued to an injured foreign workman only as long as he or, in the event of his death, his dependents continued to live in the country where the accident happened. However, in 1919, Denmark, Norway and Sweden agreed to continue payments even if the beneficiary returned home, provided that he was a citizen of one of the three countries. In 1930, Iceland and Norway concluded a similar agreement, with special reference to industrial workers, sailors and fishermen. In 1937, the Nordic countries signed a convention determining which country's laws should apply to accidents occurring to workers in one country employed by a citizen of another.

Co-operative efforts have been made to improve protective measures against work accidents. Meetings on this subject are regularly held between doctors and inspectors, who exchange the results of their experience in the medical and technical aspects of accident-prevention. A project is at present under examination which would establish certain uniform safety requirements for machinery, so that a machine approved in one country could be approved without alteration in the others.

Under a convention signed by Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, children's allowances have, under certain conditions, been extended to cover children from Nordic countries other than those making the payments. Another agreement, in effect since 1931, ensures that a support order issued by a court in one Nordic country against a man who has deserted his wife and children may be enforced even if the husband has moved to another Nordic country.

In 1936, Denmark and Sweden concluded an agreement under which citizens of one country could join unemployment insurance schemes in the other country without having to complete the usual waiting period. Contributions already made to a fund in one country may be transferred to a similar fund in the other country. Norway and Sweden in 1947, and Norway and Denmark more recently, have concluded similar agreements.

For many years now the Nordic Ministers of Social Affairs have been meeting every two years. One of their major accomplishments has been a convention drafted at their 1945 meeting, in which they aimed at nothing less than a common Nordic labour market. Under this convention, labour permits would not be required of Nordic citizens seeking employment in Nordic country other than their own. Moreover, the several employment-exchange systems would co-operate to a certain extent, not only in placing Nordic citizens in employment but also in exchanging information about general employment conditions in the Nordic countries. Only Sweden and Denmark, so far, have signed this convention. Norway has been reluctant to do so for fear of increasing its labour shortage by facilitating the drift of Norwegians to employment abroad. However, Norwegian employment exchanges are, in practice, co-operating with the Swedish and Danish exchanges along the lines suggested by the convention. Finland, also, has found difficulties in the way of signature, but there too a limited co-operation has been established in practice between the employment exchanges of Finland and Sweden.

Since 1948 it has been agreed that a person contributing to a health-insurance fund in Denmark, Iceland, Norway or Sweden, may freely transfer his contributions to a similar fund in one of the other countries, even if he does not fulfil the conditions for opening an account in the new country, in view of his age, for example, or the state of his health.

A convention concerning retirement pensions, signed by all five Nordic countries, took effect in 1949. It provides that any persons who have lived more than five years in a Nordic country other than their own shall have the same retirement-pension rights there as the citizens of that country. These rights vary somewhat from one country to another, so that some pensioners may get more and some less than they would have got in their own country. Each country, however, assumes the obligation to shoulder any additional expenses it may be put to in this way. Denmark and Iceland have a convention extending these rights to invalids who retire before the statutory retirement age.

The most recent example of the Nordic approach to social problems has been given in Sweden, in the proposed amendment to its merchant-seamen legislation which has just been laid before the Riksdag. Since 1946, committees in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Finland have been engaged in preparing revisions for this type of legislation in each country. These four committees have continually consulted with each other, originally on Swedish initiative; the proposed amendment to the Swedish legislation therefore bears an authentic Nordic imprint. Consultations between Ministries of Social Affairs on such questions as these is simple and informal. They correspond, generally, not through the Foreign Ministries but directly with each other, and very often by telephone.

These are examples of Nordic co-operation in the social field, which is growing more intimate and extensive with every passing year. Mention has already been made of the 1945 labour market convention. Under this convention three Nordic social affairs committees were set up, and though only Sweden and Denmark have signed the convention so far, all five of the Nordic countries are represented on these committees. Two of them deal with social statistics—one with social expenditures and the other with wages—and are continually at work on the problem of bringing a greater uniformity into this important field. The third committee, which really began to function only in 1951, has more general terms of reference; its task is to work for greater Nordic reciprocity in all social legislation. Nordic co-operation in the social field is therefore bound to grow ever closer and more extensive in the years ahead.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

U. N. Disarmament Commission

Programme of Work

Since its establishment by the General Assembly at its recent Sixth Session in Paris, the Disarmament Commission (which has replaced the former Atomic Energy Commission and the Commission for Conventional Armaments) has been meeting periodically in New York. Having agreed to follow the rules of procedure of the former Atomic Energy Commission, the Disarmament Commission embarked on a considerable discussion of its programme of work. Mr. Malik, the Soviet representative, insisted that the Commission should first decide in principle that all weapons of mass destruction should be outlawed and that conventional armaments should be reduced by a given percentage (perhaps one-third) of current levels. He persisted in presenting this issue solely in terms of the Soviet proposals made at the recent Session of the Assembly, in spite of the fact that these proposals had in no sense been accepted by the Assembly but had merely been referred to the Commission for further examination. The Western delegations, while not objecting to examination of the Soviet proposals, maintained that they would be meaningless unless the Commission were at the same time to agree upon methods for putting them into effect. They pointed out repeatedly that, while Mr. Malik spoke in support of various more-or-less desirable objectives, he was reticent about the means which his Government would accept for carrying them out.

Finally, an agreement was reached for a programme of work calling for simultaneous examination of the question of the regulation of all armaments and armed forces, and the question of their disclosure and verification. Two working committees were set up, Committee One to deal with the first of these questions, and Committee Two to deal with the second. The membership of the committees was to be the same as for the Commission itself and they were to function simultaneously.

So far the Commission or its committees have not made any substantial progress. This is partly because the Soviet Representative has confined himself to criticizing the proposals of other members of the Commission and has declined to submit alternative suggestions. Another reason is that the Soviet Representative, by repeatedly alleging that United Nations forces in Korea are waging bacteriological warfare, has distracted the Commission from its proper functions. These charges, which have been much exploited by the Communist press, were denied categorically by the United States Representative, Mr. Cohen, and were also refuted by the spokesmen of other states contributing to the United Nations forces in Korea. Mr. Malik nevertheless returned over and over again to the subject and was only restrained when the Canadian Representative, Mr. Johnson, who was Chairman of the Commission during the month of March, ruled that consideration of these charges was not within the terms of reference of the Commission. This ruling was challenged by the Soviet Representative but was upheld by all other members of the Commission.

In spite of the lack of substantial progress, the Commission was able to submit on June 1 its first report to the Security Council in accordance with the instructions of the General Assembly. This interim report, which was adopted by eleven votes to one (the U.S.S.R.) describes the Commission's programme of work and lists the proposals so far submitted to it. These proposals may be summarized as follows:

Statement of Principles

The United States Delegation proposed on April 24 that the following principles should serve as a guide to the Commission in drawing up the essentials of a disarmament programme:

1. The goal of disarmament is not to regulate but to prevent war by relaxing the tensions and fears created by armaments and by making war inherently, as it is constitutionally under the Charter, impossible as a means of settling disputes between nations.

2. To achieve this goal, all states must co-operate to establish an open and substantially disarmed world,

(a) in which armed forces and armaments will be reduced to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no state will be in a condition of armed preparedness to start a war, and

(b) in which no state will be in a position to undertake preparations for war without other states having knowledge of such preparations long before an offending state could start a war.

3. To reach and keep this goal, international agreements must be entered into by which all states would reduce their armed forces to levels, and restrict their armaments to types and quantities, necessary for:

(a) the maintenance of internal security;

(b) fulfilment of obligations of states to maintain peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

Such international agreements must ensure by a comprehensive and co-ordinated programme both:

(a) the progressive reduction of armed forces and permitted armaments to fixed maximum levels, radically less than present levels and balanced throughout the process of reduction, thereby eliminating mass armies and preventing any disequilibrium of power dangerous to peace; and

(b) the elimination of all instruments adaptable to mass destruction.

5. Such international agreements must provide effective safeguards to ensure that all phases of the disarmament programme are carried out. In particular, the elimination of atomic weapons must be accomplished by an effective system of international control of atomic energy to ensure that atomic energy is used for peaceful purposes only.

6. Such international agreements must provide an effective system of progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces and armaments, including atomic, to achieve the open world in which alone there can be effective disarmament.

The Canadian Representative spoke in support of these principles, as did the representatives of the other Western powers. The Soviet Representative, in line with his previously expressed views on the Commission's programme of work, declared that these principles were inadequate because they did not embody a decision to outlaw all weapons of mass destruction and to reduce conventional armaments by a given percentage of current levels.

Disclosure and Verification

On April 5 the United States Delegation submitted a proposal for the progressive and continuing disclosure and verification of all armed forces and armaments (including atomic weapons) in five stages. It was supported in general terms by the United Kingdom and France but was rejected out of hand by the Soviet Representative. Since then, M. Moch, the French Representative, has submitted a modified plan for disclosure in three stages designed to simplify and make more acceptable the

United States proposal. The Canadian Delegation, as well as the delegations of the other Western powers, has emphasized that disclosure and verification are not ends in themselves but are, like the reduction of armed forces and an effective system of international control, only a part of the whole field of disarmament.

Reduction of Armed Forces

The latest, and perhaps the most important, proposal made in the Disarmament Commission so far is a United States-United Kingdom-French proposal for fixing the numerical limitation of all armed forces, which was introduced by Sir Gladwyn Jebb, the United Kingdom Representative, on May 28. The proposal is that there should be fixed numerical ceilings for the armed forces of China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom and the United States, which should be worked out with a view to avoiding a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security. It is tentatively suggested that the ceilings for the U.S.S.R., the United States and China should be the same, and should be between one million and one and a half million; and that the ceilings for the United Kingdom and France should be the same and should be between seven and eight hundred thousand. For all other states having substantial armed forces it is suggested that ceilings should be agreed on which would normally be "less than one per cent of the population" and "less than current levels except in very special circumstances", and which should be established with a view to avoiding a disequilibrium of power dangerous to international peace and security in any particular area of the world. Other delegations are now obtaining the views of their governments and a detailed discussion of this tri-partite proposal will shortly take place in the Commission.



—Capital Press

PAKISTANI CIVIL SERVANTS VISIT OTTAWA

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, meets a group of junior officers of the Pakistan civil service who were in Ottawa recently during a four month visit to Canada studying methods of public administration.

BRITISH COMMONWEALTH SCIENTIFIC OFFICIAL CONFERENCE: AUSTRALIA 1952

In 1946 there was held in London a British Commonwealth Scientific Official Conference to discuss collaboration in scientific research within the Commonwealth. The meeting, which was a large one, gave detailed study to such questions as research administration, methods and fields for scientific collaboration and means for keeping the results of research before official users. Arrangements were made for the establishment of a continuing committee to conduct business arising from deliberations of the Conference. This body was to consist of the chief scientific administrators of each of the Commonwealth countries. To facilitate the day to day business of the Conference, a working party was set up, consisting of the chief scientific liaison officers of each country in London. Each of these representatives received instruction from the Standing Committee member in his own country, and the working party proceeded, under direction, to put into effect as many of the resolutions of the Conference as possible.

By 1952, it had been decided that the time was ripe for a review of progress and for a discussion of future activity. A second Conference was, accordingly, convened in Australia from February 18 to March 7. The Canadian delegation, which was broadly representative of the country's official scientific activity, consisted of: Dr. E. W. R. Steacie, President, National Research Council; Dr. G. H. Ettinger, Assistant Director of the Division of Medical Research, National Research Council, Dean, Faculty of Medicine, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario; Dr. P. E. Gagnon, Director of the Department of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering and Director of the Graduate School, Laval University, Quebec City, P.Q.; Dr. G. S. Hume, Director-General of Scientific Services, Department of Mines & Technical Surveys, Ottawa; Dr. K. W. Neatby, Director of Science Service, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa; Dr. G. B. Reed, Chairman, Fisheries Research Board of Canada, Professor of Bacteriology, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

The following is a brief outline of the recommendations and attitudes of the Conference:

Collaboration in Research

No serious bars to scientific collaboration exist within the Commonwealth. For natural co-operation between individual scientists, the most effective form of collaboration, the necessary close relations already obtain. These favourable conditions can be still further improved by efficient arrangements for the movement and interchange of scientists for varying periods. Countries can, in addition, exchange the materials of research and co-operate in concentrating effort on special problems and in supplying staff, equipment and financial support to joint Commonwealth teams undertaking particular investigations.

While it favoured such co-operation, the Conference expressed strong disapproval of proposals to set up internationally administered laboratories. It held that a laboratory should remain the responsibility of the country in which it was situated, no matter to what extent it served other countries.

There was agreement that collaboration could best be arranged by scientists working in specific fields concerned. If a continuing organization to foster collaboration should appear desirable, recourse might be had to specialist conferences. Specialists meetings were, in fact, held between 1946 and 1952 on the following subjects:

1. Culture collections of micro-organisms
2. Radio research
3. Geology and mineral resources
4. Plant and animal nutrition
5. Fuel research

The primary purpose of such conferences should be to discuss methods of co-operation and to direct attention at gaps in scientific knowledge and on problems urgently requiring it. If intelligent discussions are to develop, delegates must be adequately briefed not only on the scientific matters involved but on the policy and financial aspects of the meetings, in order that they may avoid committing their countries to lines of policy they cannot, for financial or administrative reasons, support. In order to make the most of these gatherings, it may on occasion be desirable to invite specialists from non-Commonwealth countries to attend special conferences of top-ranking scientists.

Besides general scientific collaboration, the Conference considered the specific problems of co-operation in agricultural, medical, and industrial research. It was agreed that primary consideration should be given to certain parts of each of these fields. For instance, it was pointed out that special attention might be given to the following aspects of industrial research: (1) Development of industrial microbiology; (2) research on the use and beneficiation of low-grade ores; and (3) research on the use of solar energy by physical and biological means.

The Conference considered a suggestion that a specialist meeting should be held on climatic physiology, with special reference to living conditions in the tropics. It was indicated that September 1953 would be a suitable time, since there would be an international physiological conference in Montreal that month. Although a number of other problems of wide importance were considered, it was felt that other organizations had these well in hand and that no special action to facilitate Commonwealth collaboration in dealing with them was necessary. The Conference agreed, however, that the governments represented should urge that FAO and WHO jointly investigate the relation between world population, food supplies and the results of medical research. This investigation was necessitated by the possibility that the use of medical knowledge might cause populations to increase faster than the food supply.

It was noted that there was a considerable amount of duplication in agricultural research, since many problems had to be studied in a wide range of climates. Every effort, it was stressed, should be made to remove restrictions on the interchange of scientific materials within the Commonwealth. This would necessitate occasional relaxation of import and export regulations, always with due concern for the requirements of plant and animal quarantine. The Conference felt that the working party should keep under review work on the assessment of new insecticides, herbicides and fungicides and that, if any striking new developments arose during the next five years, consideration should be given to calling a specialist conference. In addition, it was agreed that the two most important agricultural issues upon which specialist conferences might be held were the infertility of ruminants and agricultural engineering.

Movement of Scientists

The Conference expressed approval of the work of such agencies as the Nuffield Foundation, the British Council, the Fulbright Foundation (U.S.A.) and the National Research Council of Canada, all of which had presented opportunities to scientists to broaden their knowledge and increase their training by visiting other countries of the Commonwealth. The Conference instructed the secretariat of the Standing Committee to examine the possibility of establishing a central fund for the promotion

of such visits by senior Commonwealth scientists. Satisfaction was expressed over a number of developments within the Commonwealth making travel less costly and difficult.

International Scientific Organizations

The Conference expressed some alarm at the growth in a number of international scientific organizations. It recognized the undesirability of such organizations being too closely associated with government and asked the Royal Society to study the whole question of international organizations in conjunction with the Commonwealth countries and the United States.

The national sciences programme of UNESCO for 1952 was noted. The Conference agreed that countries should maintain scientific representation at UNESCO general conferences. It was recommended that the present arrangements for an informal exchange of information on UNESCO'S scientific programme be retained and that Commonwealth countries also contribute as fully as possible to the exchange of information through their scientific liaison offices in London.

The Conference examined the constitution, functions and methods of the United Kingdom Committee on Overseas Scientific Relations. It noted the desirability of developing some system in each Commonwealth country for the co-ordination of policy, and for the selection and briefing of delegates to overseas international conferences. It felt that each country could no doubt develop machinery suitable to its own needs.

The suggestion was made that Commonwealth countries investigate the value of participating as associate members in the work of the OEEC scientific and technical committees.

The Conference gave consideration to demands for personnel now being made by the technical assistance plans of the United Nations, — especially through the Economic and Social Council and the Specialized Agencies, — as well as the Colombo Plan. Such demands might, it was thought, have considerable effect on the research programmes of individual countries. The Standing Committee was therefore asked to arrange for a study of the problems encountered in supplying scientists and technicians in sufficient number for the carrying out of technical assistance projects.

Abstracts

Abstracts and abstracting journals are fundamental to scientific progress. The Conference discussed the difficulties and expense in preparing abstracts, and it was pointed out that expense may cause the curtailment or suspension of some abstracting work. It was agreed that the continuing organization of the Conference should study this situation and propose to the appropriate authorities measures to deal with the problem, not excluding joint financial aid by Commonwealth countries.

Liaison Offices

The Commonwealth scientific liaison offices in London and Washington have acted, since their inception, as centres for facilitating Commonwealth collaboration. It was suggested that if Commonwealth countries establish liaison offices in other regions a similar pattern be followed. The Conference reaffirmed its opinion that the scientific liaison offices should serve all scientific organizations and individual scientists in their home countries.

General

There was no divergence of opinion on important matters of policy. The Conference was therefore able to devote its time to reviewing results obtained since 1946 and suggesting methods of continuing efforts to obtain the greatest possible amount of co-operation and collaboration.

NEW FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT CREDENTIALS

The Department of External Affairs announced on June 17 that Mr. Sadao Iguchi presented to His Excellency the Governor General at Government House his Letter of Credence as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Japan to Canada.

On June 20, Dr. Luis Esteves Fernandes presented to His Excellency the Governor General at Government House his Letter of Credence as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Portugal to Canada.

Mr. Iguchi was born in Wakayama, Japan in 1899, and was educated at the Tokyo University of Commerce. He is a career diplomat, having entered the Japanese Foreign Service in 1922. As a research student of the Japanese Foreign Service, he studied in England from 1922 to 1925. He has represented his country in London, Peking, Shanghai, New York, Chicago and Washington. In Tokyo, he served as Division Chief of the Information Bureau and of the Central Liaison Office. Prior to his appointment as Ambassador to Canada he was Vice-Minister of the Japanese Foreign Office.

Dr. Esteves Fernandes is the first diplomatic Envoy of Portugal to Canada. He was born in 1897. He is a Doctor of Laws of the University of Lisbon. He is a career diplomat, having entered the Portuguese Foreign Service in 1920. He has represented his country at several posts including Paris, London, Madrid, Tokyo. In 1946, he became Director General of Economic Affairs in the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1950, he became Ambassador in Washington, a post which he still holds concurrently with that of Minister to Canada.



EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

KOREA

Results of Negotiations

On May 7 the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made the following statement on armistice negotiations in Korea:

.... Members of the House will have seen that the Communist negotiators at Panmunjon have turned down the proposal of General Ridgway to solve the outstanding points of dispute in the Korean armistice negotiations. The proposal was, first, to exchange approximately 70,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners for the 12,000 Korean and United Nations personnel whom the Communists state they are now holding as prisoners; secondly, to accept Communist nominations of Poland and Czechoslovakia for membership on the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission in exchange for Communist acceptance of the United Nations nominations of Sweden and Switzerland, and thirdly, to omit from the provisions of the armistice any reference to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of airfields. This offer was put forward as representing the utmost limits to which the United Nations Command could go in making concessions and was intended to be considered as a whole rather than to be the subject of piecemeal bargaining.

Careful and individual examination of the approximately 132,000 prisoners held by the United Nations Command has revealed that about 70,000 would accept repatriation. Sixty-two thousand have indicated that they would forcibly resist any United Nations effort to repatriate them.

The United Nations Command can obviously make no concession on this point other than to allow the Communists to have the 62,000 men interviewed either by a neutral body or by joint Red Cross teams from both sides in order to satisfy themselves that these individuals have made their decisions of their own free will and not under compulsion. This the United Nations Command has offered to allow, and in doing so has given a convincing demonstration of its good faith in the matter.

In nominating Sweden and Switzerland and accepting the Communist nominations of Poland and Czechoslovakia for the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, the United Nations Command has been scrupulously fair to the Communists. What the United Nations Command would not do was to accept the Communist nomination of the Soviet Union itself to a body which is described as the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission.

The United Nations Command has also agreed that the armistice provisions will not make any reference to the reconstruction or rehabilitation of airfields but this was done only after considerable heart-searching.

Use of Canadian Troops at Kojima Island

Following is the text of a statement to the House by Mr. Pearson on May 26, regarding reports that Canadian troops had been moved to Kojima Island to assist in guarding Communist prisoners of war:

.... On the afternoon of Thursday, May 22, the Chief of the General Staff received a telegram from the officer commanding 25th Canadian Infantry Brigade, Korea, to the effect that he had received an order from the First Commonwealth Division issued in accordance with a request from the United Nations Command to post a company from the Brigade to guard duty at the prisoner-of-war camp on Kojima Island, and that he was accordingly assigning a company from the Royal Canadian Regiment for this duty.

On receipt of this message an inquiry regarding the order was immediately made in Washington. The inquiry confirmed that the order had been given, and that orders had also been given for the posting of units from certain other national forces under the United Nations Command to similar duty. It also appeared that the movement of the Canadian troops in question was under way.

The Government feels that it is essential that the Canadian policy in respect of the breaking up of the Canadian Brigade for miscellaneous duties in Korea should be made clear. A note has accordingly been presented to the State Department in Washington.

The following is the text of this note:

The Canadian Government recognizes the importance of re-establishing and maintaining effective control over Communist prisoners of war captured in Korean operations. The Canadian Government also recognizes that custody of prisoners of war is a military responsibility which should be performed in accordance with military requirements.

It has, however, been a long established policy of the Canadian Government that Canadian forces dispatched abroad for military operations should remain under Canadian command and control and that, except in the event of a military emergency which does not permit of time for consultation, no part of these forces should be detached therefrom except after consultation and with the agreement of the Canadian Government.

The Canadian Government therefore views with concern the dispatch of a company of the 25th Infantry Brigade to Koje Island without prior consultation with the Canadian Government, and hopes that it may be possible to reunite this company with the rest of the Canadian Brigade as soon as possible. Meanwhile, the Canadian forces concerned will, of course, carry out loyally the orders of the Unified Command with respect to participation in guarding prisoners of war on Koje Island. The Canadian Government also wishes to be reassured that, if it is proposed in the future to detach any Canadian forces from Canadian command and control for military or other duties, this will be done only after consultation and with the consent of the Canadian Government, except in the event of a military emergency which does not permit of time for such consultation.

I do not wish at this time to add anything to the note I have just read. However, in regard to consultation, I should point out that there are regular meetings in Washington in which Canadian representatives, as well as the representatives of other countries with forces in Korea, participate. In those meetings we are kept generally informed as to the progress or lack of progress of the truce and other negotiations in Korea; and included in those negotiations of course is the question of prisoners of war.

Japanese Peace Treaty

Provisions for Carrying Treaty into Effect

On May 9 Mr. Pearson moved that the House go into committee to consider the following resolution:

That it is expedient to introduce a measure to provide that the Governor in Council may do such things as to him appear to be necessary for carrying into effect the treaty of peace between Canada and Japan; and for that purpose the Governor in Council may make appointments, establish offices and make orders or regulations; and to provide further that any expense incurred in carrying out the treaty shall be defrayed out of moneys voted by Parliament.

In response to a request by Mr. Coldwell, the Minister then made the following statement:

.... The House will recall that a resolution approving the ratification of the Japanese Peace Treaty by Canada was adopted by both Houses of Parliament before

the Easter recess, and the Canadian instrument of ratification of the Treaty was deposited in Washington April 17.

... The Treaty came into force for those countries which had ratified it on the deposit of the United States instrument of ratification of April 28, in accordance with the provisions of Article 23 of the Treaty. So the Treaty is now in effect.

In the United States when a treaty is ratified it becomes part of the law of the land, and automatically thereby imposes obligations on United States citizens. But under our system, though governments may bind themselves, it requires legislation to impose obligations upon our nationals.

The resolution before the House is the first stage in the introduction of a bill which will be necessary to enable Canada to implement the provisions of this treaty. Those provisions which will require implementation by legislation in this country are rather narrow, and not of political but rather of legal importance.

Genocide

On May 21 Mr. Pearson introduced the following resolution:

That it is expedient that the Houses of Parliament approve the ratification by Canada of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as signed by Canada on November 28, 1949, and that this House do approve the same.

After brief speeches by Mr. Stewart (CCF, Winnipeg North), Mr. Graydon, (PC, Peel), Mr. Croll (L, Spadina), Mr. Knowles (CCF, Winnipeg North Centre), Mr. Crestohl (L, Cartier) and Mr. Stick (L, Trinity-Conception), the Minister spoke as follows on his motion:

The Genocide Convention which is before us was the first convention to be prepared by the United Nations and opened for signature by states throughout the world. The text was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 8, 1948. Canada's representatives at the first part of the Third Session of the General Assembly in Paris in 1948 were among those who supported the principle that the Genocide Convention should receive the widest possible application. Canada signed the Convention on November 28, 1949, and it came into effect on January 12, 1951, ninety days after the deposit of twenty instruments of ratification or accession without reservation. As has been pointed out, a total of thirty-six states have now ratified or acceded, thirty without reservation and six, unfortunately, with reservations. The states which annexed reservations are: Bulgaria, Roumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Philippines. The Genocide Convention is important not only because of the nature of the matter with which it deals but because it is the first international convention, prepared at any time, which seeks to define an international criminal offence . . .

The crime is defined in Article II, which has already been read to the House. It reads:

Acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such . . .

... I do not need to recall . . . some of the horrible examples of genocide we have had in the past, especially the recent abominable instance of the practices of the Nazis during the 1930's and during the War. Their systematic and ruthless policy, designed to uproot and exterminate a whole people, the Jewish people, makes one of the most tragic chapters in the whole of human history . . .

It is that kind of thing . . . that this Convention, inadequate though it may be in many respects, is designed to prevent or at least to make more difficult. . . .

The contracting states under the Convention undertake to prosecute persons guilty of genocide in their own countries or, in the alternative, to surrender them to

an international penal tribunal if and when such a tribunal is established. This latter obligation does not arise at once in any case or by virtue of the ratification of this treaty, since the contracting parties would also have to agree by a separate convention to accept the jurisdiction of such an international tribunal. For practical purposes, then, and particularly because the establishment of such an international penal tribunal is problematical at this time, it may be said that the scheme of the convention is that contracting states accept genocide as an international crime and undertake to punish offenders in their own courts.

As has been pointed out, however, the convention contains one provision in Article IX, which has some teeth in it, in the sense that it affords a means by which one contracting state can bring another contracting state before the International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice—which has no jurisdiction over individuals as distinct from states, and which also has no criminal jurisdiction of any kind—would have no power to pronounce on the guilt or innocence of any person, but under this Article it might give a declaratory judgment as to whether the respondent state was, in fact, carrying out its obligations generally under the Convention.

The Communist countries have consistently refused to accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, and in line with this general position these countries—and also the Philippine Republic—have made reservations refusing to be bound by this Article.

A few countries objected to those reservations, and the objections which were made have been responsible for hesitation and some delay on the part of certain states to ratify this treaty. To clear up these difficulties the Secretary General of the United Nations asked the General Assembly for a direction at its Fifth Session in 1950 in regard to the significance of reservations of this kind. The Assembly then . . . decided to refer the question to the International Court of Justice, and it was hoped that the court would give an opinion which would clarify the whole situation. This hope was not, I confess, entirely realized in the event. The Court by a majority decision merely stated that any state could be regarded as a party to the Convention while maintaining a reservation, notwithstanding the objection of other states, if the reservation could be considered “as compatible with the objects and purposes of the Convention”. The Court refused to state whether or not the reservations in question were “compatible”, and said that this depended upon a subjective appraisal of the effect of the reservation by each state.

Therefore the decision in one sense did not carry us much farther forward. The present position then is that if Canada were now to object to the Communist reservations on the ground that they were in fact “incompatible” the Communist countries, as well as some other countries, might maintain that they were “compatible”. In these circumstances—and we gave a great deal of consideration to this difficulty—it appeared desirable to the Government that Canada should now ratify the Convention without reference to the reservations even though this might involve our acceptance of them by legal implication.

The language of the reservation is such that no country which has made the reservation under Article IX can hale a non-reserving country on a charge under the Convention before the International Court of Justice without the non-reserving country's consent. That is a very important consideration. The reservations made under Article IX are identical, and I shall read the terms used by Bulgaria:

Bulgaria does not consider as binding upon itself the provisions of Article IX . . . and declares that, as regards the International Court's jurisdiction . . . Bulgaria will . . . maintain the position that in each particular case the agreement of all parties to the dispute is essential, for the submission of any particular dispute to the International Court for decision.

In other words it seems to me to be clear from the wording of that reservation that Canada, for instance, could not be brought before the International Court of Justice on a charge of violation of the Convention we are now considering, by a

country like Bulgaria, which has made this reservation, without the consent of Canada itself.

The Genocide Convention is possibly the most important source of new international criminal law which has developed since the last war. Other sources of this law are the Nuremberg Principles based upon the charter and judgments of the Nuremberg Tribunal, which were formulated by the International Law Commission of the United Nations, and also the proposed code of offences against the peace and security of mankind, which is still under consideration in the United Nations. . . .

Germ Warfare Accusations

In response to a request by Mr. T. H. Goode (L, Burnaby-Richmond), on May 12, for a statement on accusations by Dr. Endicott that United Nations forces in Korea had been waging germ warfare, Mr. Pearson made the following statement:

. . . . The charge that the United Nations forces in Korea have engaged in germ warfare is so false and so fantastic that it would normally be unwise to dignify it by official denials. Nevertheless, it has become such a central feature of Soviet propaganda, and has been repeated so violently and so often for the transparent purpose of deceiving persons who may not be aware of the Soviet purpose behind the charge, that I think some statement should be made about it. . . .

The accusation of germ warfare is usually aimed specifically at the United States. It has been emphatically and indignantly denied in Washington and by the Unified Command in Korea. Within the last few days Mr. Acheson has repeated that denial, emphasizing that the trumped-up evidence to support—and I quote him—

“—these utterly false charges constitute another example of the incredible length to which Communists will go to propagate the big lie.”

Canadian members of the Communist Party, who, of course, follow automatically every twist and turn of Soviet policy no matter where it leads them, and their fellow travellers, who do not always realize that they are travelling under orders from the Kremlin—these people prefer to accept this trumped-up evidence rather than the official denials of our friends in the United States. The charge, . . . has also been categorically denied on behalf of the United Nations by its Secretary General, Mr. Trygve Lie, as utterly false. I am sure that this House accepts those denials.

So far as our own position is concerned, it is, of course, a slanderous falsehood to say that Canada has participated in any way in any form of germ warfare. It is equally false and equally slanderous, but more cowardly and despicable, to imply without stating it in so many words that Canada is making any preparations in this field except for defence against such warfare. I may say . . . that some of our best-qualified scientists, though they would not of course be permitted to make on-the-spot examinations, have already examined the so-called evidence in Korean germ warfare that has been made public by the Communists and have pronounced it, in an oral report to me, to be a transparent and clumsy hoax.

Possibly the best proof that the Communist leaders themselves do not believe in these charges or in this evidence is the fact that for their so-called investigations they have used a Communist body, called, I think, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and other agencies which are under their direct control. The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and the other members of the United Nations with forces in Korea have, on the other hand, agreed that the charges should be investigated by men who would be bound—and of course this is unthinkable in Communist countries—only by their professional consciences, and who would act on their scientific knowledge; by men—and this would also be impossible in Communist countries—who would not be subject to any form of reprisal or punishment if their conclusions were embarrassing politically to the governments of which they were nationals. For this purpose it has been proposed that the investigation should be con-

ducted by representatives of such impartial international organizations as the International Red Cross or the World Health Organization. Indeed, any international organization of this kind should be acceptable to the United Nations. The Communists, obviously embarrassed by the possibility that this kind of investigation might take place, have retreated to the position of denying the impartiality and objectivity of the two international organizations in question, a denial which deceives no one except themselves but which very convincingly exposes their own bad faith and their realization that the charges could not be substantiated for a moment if a genuinely impartial investigation were permitted

Dr. Endicott addressed to me some days ago a telegram asking for an opportunity of making a personal report to me before he made a public statement on his return from Communist China. In reply to that telegram a letter was sent to Dr. Endicott in the following terms:

I have been instructed by the Secretary of State for External Affairs to forward to you the attached summaries of statements which you are reported to have made during your recent visit to Europe and to China. This is the most accurate report of these statements which we have been able to secure and I am directed to ask you whether you confirm or deny or wish to amend the statements contained in them which you are reported to have made.

This letter was signed, on my instructions, on behalf of the Acting Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs To this communication I received an answer It is addressed to me It reads as follows:

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt of a letter signed by an official of your Department questioning me on certain press and radio statements attributed to me.

Parenthetically all we did was to give him an opportunity to confirm, deny or amend those statements. He was not questioned in regard to them except in that respect. Dr. Endicott's letter continues:

Before commenting on these questions I should like to inform you that I am speaking in Toronto on Saturday morning at Massey Hall and on Sunday night at the Maple Leaf Gardens. In these speeches I will be discussing the use of germ warfare by the United States forces against the Chinese people. I will be repeating what I said abroad. As you are aware, I can speak Chinese fluently and I was able to ask and see for myself on the spot what I feel to be undeniable evidence of the use of bacteriological warfare by the United States forces.

The truth of these grave charges is a matter of the greatest importance to all Canadians and I should hope that you would want to hear what I saw in China. You will recall that I cabled you from China as long ago as April 1, before I made any public statement.

Incidentally, that was a cable from Peking to me some weeks ago protesting against the alleged use of germs and bacteriological warfare in Korea and in Northern China. Dr. Endicott's letter continues:

I would welcome a chance to present the facts to which I was a witness both to you and to the External Affairs committee, as well as to the Canadian people.

To come back to the questions your official asks. I have been unable to trace any authority possessed by your Department which gives the right to question Canadian citizens in such a way, nor is the purpose of the questions clear to me. Until I receive some clarification on this point I must decline to submit to cross-examination from your officials.

. . . . The cross-examination to which Dr. Endicott refers was the opportunity we gave him to explain, deny or amend what he is reported to have said when he was in Communist territory; and he did not take advantage of that opportunity.



—Anpfoto

CANADIAN WAR DEAD REMEMBERED

Mr. Pierre Dupuy, at that time Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, and now Canadian Ambassador to Italy, places a wreath on May 5 at the Cross of Sacrifice in the Canadian Military Cemetery at Bergen op Zoom, the Netherlands, to commemorate the Canadians who fell on Dutch soil during the Second World War.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. F. M. Tovell was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Legation, Copenhagen, Denmark, effective May 1, 1952.
- Mr. D. H. W. Kirkwood was posted from Ottawa to the NATO Delegation, Paris, France, effective May 6, 1952.
- Mr. A. E. Ritchie was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, to Ottawa, effective May 7, 1952.
- Mr. J. E. G. Hardy was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, Italy, effective May 19, 1952.
- Mr. N. F. H. Berlis was posted from home leave (Geneva, Switzerland) to Ottawa, effective May 26, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Heitor Lyra, Ambassador of Brazil, May 5.

Dr. J. J. Verschuur, Scientific Attaché, Embassy of the Netherlands, April 28.

Mr. Masao Izumoi, First Secretary (Commercial), Embassy of Japan, April 28.

Mr. Takaaki Kagawa, Third Secretary, Embassy of Japan, April 28.

Mr. Tohru Ishii, Attaché, Embassy of Japan, April 28.

Mr. Kalevi E. J. Kiviluoto, Attaché, Legation of Finland, May 1.

Major J. E. van Iterson, Military, Naval and Air Attaché, Embassy of the Netherlands, May 1.

Mr. Jan Dankowicz, Second Secretary, Legation of Poland, May 12.

Mr. Alain de Thysebaert, Counsellor, Embassy of Belgium, May 17.

Mr. Zubeyir Aker, First Secretary, Embassy of Turkey, May 19.

Lieutenant Colonel Jacinto Pinto de Moura, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, May 21.

Mr. Emmanuel Nery, Assistant Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, May 21.

Departures

His Excellency Sir Alexander Clutterbuck, K.C.M.G., M.C., High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, May 22. Until a successor has arrived Mr. J. Thomson, Deputy High Commissioner, is Acting High Commissioner.

Lieutenant Colonel G. L. Reinderhoff, Military and Air Attaché, Embassy of the Netherlands, May 1.

Mr. Efdal Deringil, First Secretary, Embassy of Turkey, May 19.

Mr. F. A. Mustonen, Attaché, Legation of Finland, May 1.

Mr. Iqbal Ahmed Akhund, Third Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan, May 6.

Lieutenant Colonel Paulo Emilio da Camara Ortegá, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, May 21.

Mr. Luis Corrêa da Silva, Assistant Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, May 21.

His Excellency R. R. Saksena, High Commissioner for India, has resumed direction of the High Commission on his return from a visit to India, May 27.

His Excellency Hubert Guérin, Ambassador of France, left on a tour of the western provinces of Canada, April 28, and has left the direction of the Embassy to Mr. François de Laboulaye, Counsellor.

His Excellency Dr. Victor Nef, Minister of Switzerland, has resumed direction of the Legation on his return May 26 from a visit to his country.

Mr. Katsushiro Narita, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Embassy of Japan, has been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and in that capacity will continue to be Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, May 5.

CONSULAR

Definitive Recognition was granted to:

Mr. Arthur B. Corcoran, as Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Edmonton, May 12.

Provisional recognition was granted to:

Mr. Takeshi Yasukawa as Consul of Japan at Vancouver, May 29.

Mr. Minoru Takeda as Vice-Consul of Japan at Vancouver, May 29.

Dr. Hans Christian Halter as Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Montreal, May 26.

Mr. Oscar Freyre as Consul General of Peru at Montreal, May 26.

Mr. Yosef Nevo as Consul in Charge of the Consulate General of Israel at Montreal, May 26.

Mr. Francisco Lasse-Guerrero as Consul of Ecuador at Vancouver, May 29.

Mr. Kurt Brunhoff, as Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Vancouver, May 29.

Mr. German Baraibar y Usandizaga as Consul General of Spain at Montreal, May 28.

Departures

Mr. Moshe Yuval, Acting Consul General of Israel at Montreal, May 2. Until the appointment of a successor, Mr. Hanan Aynor, Vice-Consul will be in charge of the Consulate General.

Mr. William M. Olive Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Victoria, April 27.

Mr. Philippe Cantave resumed his duties as Consul General of Haiti on May 19, on his return from a vacation.

Mr. Frans Willems, Vice-Consul of Belgium at Montreal has been promoted to Consul, May 27.

TRADE

Mr. M. J. Marshall, Trade Commissioner for the United Kingdom at Montreal, has been transferred to Toronto in the same capacity, May 9.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of May 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Now published annually. Only new standing international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for the last complete list.)

1. *United Nations Disarmament Commission.* New York, April. Representative: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
2. *United Nations Collective Measures Committee.* New York, April 15. Rep-

resentative: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York; Alternate: J. George, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

These bodies will continue in session until they have prepared their reports for the next seventh session of the General Assembly.

Conferences Attended in May

1. *4th Session of the Metal Trades Committee of ILO.* Geneva, April 21-May 3. Government Delegates: L. Pepin and J. B. Lane, Department of Labour;

Employer Delegates: S. C. Evans, Guelph; A. B. Lawrason, Woodstock; Worker Delegates: R. Holmes, Winnipeg; J. Mitchell, Toronto.

2. *Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices. (ECOSOC).* New York, April 28-May 9. Delegate: T. D. MacDonald, Combines Investigation Commissioner; Adviser: G. V. Sainsbury, Department of Finance.
3. *Diplomatic Conference on Maritime Law.* Brussels, May 2-10. Observer: R. Chaput, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.
4. *9th Session of the ECE Timber Committee (ECOSOC).* Geneva, May 2-6. Observer: R. D. Roe, Commercial Secretary (Timber), Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
5. *5th Session of the World Health Assembly of WHO.* Geneva, May 5. Head of Delegation: Dr. O. Leroux, Department of National Health and Welfare; Alternate Delegates: Dr. W. H. McMillan, M.P.; Dr. J. T. Phair, Deputy Minister of Health for Ontario; Special Adviser: Dr. T. C. Routley, Canadian Medical Association, Toronto; Adviser and Secretary: B. M. Williams, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.
6. *9th Meeting of the International Rubber Study Group.* Ottawa, May 5-9. Head of Delegation: A. F. W. Plumtre, Department of External Affairs; Delegates: D. Harvey and F. T. Carten, Department of Trade and Commerce; G. D. Smith, Canadian Rubber Manufacturers Association; C. C. Thachray, Canadian Rubber Manufacturers Association and Dominion Rubber Company; R. C. Berkinshaw, Canadian Rubber Manufacturers Association and Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company; G. D. Barrington, E. R. Rowzee and R. E. Hatch, Polymer Association.
7. *4th Session of the Iron and Steel Committee of ILO.* Geneva, May 5-17. Government Delegates: L. Pepin and J. B. Lane, Department of Labour; Worker Delegates: R. Holmes, Winnipeg; J. Mitchell, Toronto; Employer Delegate: T. E. Boyce, Toronto.
8. *International Civil Service Advisory Board.* Geneva, May 12-17. Delegate: C. Bland, Chairman, Civil Service Commission.
9. *8th Session of the Social Commission of ECOSOC.* New York, May 12-31. R. B. Curry, Department of National Health and Welfare.
10. *13th Universal Postal Congress.* Brussels, May 14. Head of Delegation: W. J. Turnbull, Deputy Postmaster General; Delegates: J. L. A. Gagnon and H. N. Pearl, Post Office Department; A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels; Secretary: Miss C. E. Bingleman, Post Office Department.
11. *11th Session of the International Cotton Advisory Committee.* Rome, May 17-31. Delegate: S. G. MacDonald, Canadian Embassy, Rome.
12. *Resumed Session of the Conference on Settlement of German External Debts.* London, May 19. Head of Delegation: E. A. Côté, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Delegates: A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; C. L. Read, Department of Finance.
13. *14th Session of ECOSOC.* New York, May 20-August. Representative: J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternates: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York; J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Dr. G. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare; Dr. F. G. Robertson, M.P.; Advisers: G. B. Summers, and J. H. Warren, Department of External Affairs; S. Pollock, Department of Finance; Secretary: A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
14. *Fisheries Statistics of FAO.* Copenhagen, May 26-31. Representative: W. MacKenzie, Department of Fisheries.
15. *6th Session of ICAO.* Montreal, May 27. Head of Delegation: C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO; Delegate: H. A. L. Pattison, Canadian Member on Air Navigation Commission of ICAO; Advisers: S. Pollock and M. G. Clark, Department of Finance; J. A. Irwin, Department of External Affairs.
16. *Annual Meeting of International Whaling Commission.* London, May 28. G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.
17. *119th Session of the Governing Body of ILO.* Geneva, May 30-31. Delegate: B. M. Williams, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Alternate: K. D. McIlwraith, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.

Conferences to be held in June and July

(The inclusion of the name of a conference or of an international meeting in the following list is merely for information. It does not necessarily follow that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate or, if so, that the invitation has or will be accepted; the dates are tentative.)

1. 19th Session of the Committee on Commodity Problems of FAO. Rome, June 3-7.
2. 15th Session of the Council of FAO. Rome, June 9-14.
3. 35th Session of the International Labour Conference. Geneva, June 4-28.
4. 15th Session of the Conferences of the Committees of International Offices of Documentation on Military Medicine. Liege and Brussels, June 4-7.
5. 21st General Assembly of the International Commission of Criminal Police. Stockholm, June 9-12.
6. 3rd Session of PICMME. Washington, June 10.
7. 16th Conference of Provincial and Federal Wildlife Officials, Ottawa, June 13-14.
8. 5th Session of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body. Geneva, June 16.
9. 6th Meeting of the South Pacific Air Transport Council. Nandi, Fiji, June 19.
10. 3rd Meeting of Sub-Group of the International Working Party on the Reduction of Tariff Levels (GATT). Geneva, June 23.
11. British West Indian Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Kingston, Jamaica, June.
12. 7th International Conference of Safety in Mines Research. Buxton, England, July 7-12.
13. 1st International Congress of the International Diabetes Federation. Leyden, Netherlands, July 7-21.
14. 2nd International Congress of Physiology and Pathology of Animal Reproduction and of Artificial Insemination. Copenhagen, July 7-11.
15. 3rd Commonwealth and Empire Health and Tuberculosis Conference. London, July 8-13.
16. 6th International Congress of Animal Husbandry. Copenhagen, July 9-14.
17. 18th International Red Cross Conference. Toronto, July 23-August 9.
18. Special Session of Intersessional Committee of GATT. Geneva, July.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
29	5/3	Colombo Plan trainees from Pakistan meet the Prime Minister.
30	5/5	Presentation of Letter of Credence of Mr. Heitor Lyra as Brazilian Ambassador to Canada.
31	5/5	Ninth Meeting of the International Rubber Study Group to be held in Ottawa.
32	5/16	Instruments of Ratification exchanged between Canada and the United States for the convention on the operation of certain radio equipment or stations.
33	5/19	Membership of the Canadian Delegation to the Fourteenth Session of ECOSOC.
34	5/26	Notification regarding restitution or compensation for war claims against Japan.
35	5/30	Appointment of Mr. S. G. Chance as Chief of the Department of Administration in the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME).

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

**Economic Commission for Europe—Fourth Annual Report (14 June 1951-18 March 1952)*; 18 March 1952; document E/2187, E/ECE/150; 24 p.; 25 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 5.

**Report of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*; 7 April 1952; document E/2195; 26 p.

1. *Report of the Director-General on the Work of FAO 1950/51*; (E/2195/Add. 1) document C51/21; Rome, Italy 1951; 67 p.

2. *Programme of Work for 1952-53*; (E/2195/Add. 2) document C51/16; (Sixth Session, 19 November-7 December 1951); Rome 1951; 89 p.

3. *Report of the Sixth Session of the Annual Conference of FAO 1951*; (E/2195/Add.3); Rome, March 1952; 213 p. (English, French and Spanish).

**Report of the Commission on the Status of Women (Sixth Session, 24 March - 5 April 1952)*; 17 April 1952; document E/2208, E/CN.6/204; 15 p.; 20 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 6.

**Report of the International Civil Aviation Organization*:

1. *Report of the Council to the Assembly on the Activities of the Organization in 1951*; document E/2218 (7270, A6-P/1); Montreal, May 1952; 123 p.; 65 cents.

2. *Budget Estimates, 1953*; document E/2218/Add. 1 (7269, A6-AD/1); Montreal, May 1952; 64 p.

World Health Organization

International Sanitary Regulations — Proceedings of the Special Committee and the Fourth World Health Assembly on WHO Regulations No. 2; Geneva, April 1952; 443 p.; \$2.25; Official Records of the WHO No. 37.

Financial Report 1 January - 31 December 1951 (Supplement to the annual report of the Director-General for 1951 and Report of the External Auditor to the World Health Assembly); Geneva, April 1952; 81 p.; 50 cents; Official Records of the WHO No. 41.

Handbook of basic documents (Fourth Edition); Geneva, January 1952; 209 p.; \$1.00.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

**World Economic Report, 1950-51*—Report by the Secretary-General (Preliminary Edition); 4 April 1952; document E/2193; Chapters 1-7.

**Annual Report of the World Meteorological Organization to the Economic and Social Council*; March 1952; document E/2196; 38 p.

**Relief and Rehabilitation in Korea* (Report of the Secretary-General); 7 April 1952; document E/2197; 25 p.

**Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation* (Eighth Session) With reference to Standards of Living; 25 April 1950; document E/CN.5/267; 418 p.

Third report of Mr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, to the Security Council; 22 April 1952; document S/2611; 36 p.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Melbourne (83 William Street)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Casier Postal 373)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Séance)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (Galle Face Hotel)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.)
Colombia.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bogota (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida de las Misiones No. 17)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d’Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent).....	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken-3-C32)
“.....	Chargé d’Affaires a.i.	
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmanstrasse, 22)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbellimer Platz)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City No. 28, 5a Avenida Sud
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers)
Japan.....	Ambassador.....	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	“ (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta)
Poland.....	Chargé d’Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Kępa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent).....	Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103)
“.....	Chargé d’Affaires a.i.	
Puerto Rico.....	Trade Commissioner (Fisheries).....	San Juan (P.O. Box 3981)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)
Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)

Switzerland.....	Minister.....	Berne (Thunstrasse 95)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (43 St. Vincent St.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (211, Ayranci Baglari, Kavaklidere)
"	Commercial Secretary.....	Istanbul (Istiklal Caddesi, Kismet Han 3/4, Beyoglu)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24, Barclay's Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok)
"	Chargé d'Affairs, a.i.	
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
"	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
"	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
"	Consul.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
"	Trade Commissioner.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
"	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
"	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	New Orleans (201 International Trade Mart)
"	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (503, 120 Exchange Street)
"	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (8° Peso Edificio America)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69, formerly Moskovska)
*OEEC.....	Representative.....	Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Delegate.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
"	Permanent Delegate.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE SOVIET PRESS

IF THERE IS ANY FEATURE of the controlled Soviet press more characteristic than its bigoted interpretation of world news, it is its phenomenal dullness. Since this peculiarity is bound to seem the most salient to Canadian readers of a short survey of a Soviet citizen's daily newspaper fare, they should be warned at the outset against the natural but incorrect conclusion that the Soviet press is too boring to attract many readers. It has a tremendous number. The main daily newspapers are tacked up on bulletin boards in the parks of culture and rest, at convenient places along the streets, in public buildings, and elsewhere. Citizens who do not wish to buy a paper or who have come too late to get one at a kiosk, stand patiently perusing them in the park with almost as much care as the bureaucrat on the bench nearby, who devotes most of his lunch hour to absorbing every word of his four-page *Pravda*. While it is true that the appetite for print is almost insatiable in the Soviet Union, so that the publishing houses despair of keeping up with the demand for books, there are other reasons for the popularity of such unprepossessing newspapers. In the first place they have no competition. The entire press is controlled. Foreign newspapers are not permitted. Radio programmes from abroad are too effectively jammed to have many listeners. And in the second place, being controlled, they are authoritative. It is important for people in positions of any responsibility at all to scan the leading papers, and especially the local Communist Party papers, most studiously for indications of a shift in the Party line. The art of reading between the lines must have reached a high stage of development in a rather wide section of the Soviet reading public and doubtless lends to some of the duller items an interest incomprehensible to the uninitiated.

Large Number of Publications

Although all newspapers and magazines are rigidly controlled by the Soviet Government and the Communist Party, in spite of the guarantee of freedom of the press given in Article 125 of the Stalin Constitution, the number of separate publications is very large. The two leading daily papers are *Pravda* (Truth), organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and *Izvestiya* (News), organ of the Soviet Government, that is, of the Council of Ministers. *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* publish the major Party and Government pronouncements and give the approved line to lesser papers. Among these are the many regional papers as well as the official organs of various special groups in Soviet society. For example the Army and Navy each produce a daily paper, *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star) and *Krasny Flot* (Red Fleet); the trade union organization publishes a daily called *Trud* (Labour), and the Communist youth organizations, the Komsomols and the Pioneers, publish *Komso-molskaya Pravda* (Communist Youth Truth) and *Pionerskaya Pravda* (Pioneer Truth). *Sovyetski Sport* (Soviet Sport), *Literaturnaya Gazyeta* (Literary Gazette), *Uchityel'skaya Gazyeta* (Teachers' Gazette) and *Sovyetskoye Iskusstvo* (Soviet Art) are published several times a week by the appropriate ministries or official Soviet organizations set up to control these branches of activity. Moscow itself has two more papers of mainly local interest, *Moskovskaya Pravda* (Moscow Truth) and *Vechernaya Moskva* (Evening Moscow), the official organs of the Moscow municipal council and of the Moscow town council. There are, in addition, local newspapers in all large cities and in all the capitals of the member republics of the U.S.S.R.

On a typical day *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* contain about three pages of domestic news and about one page of foreign "news", the latter consisting mainly of despatches from correspondents of *Tass*, the agency responsible for Soviet press representation abroad. A selection of the main items of both domestic and foreign news in the two papers is usually repeated almost word for word in all other Soviet papers, although regional papers reserve some space for local news and the specialized

papers such as *Trud*, etc., devote a good deal of space to material in their particular fields.

Pravda of February 1, 1952, to take a specific example, devoted most of Page 1 to a letter addressed to Stalin from the workers and engineers of the Stalin Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine. After outlining what they had done in 1951 to raise production, they promised to produce even more goods in 1952 and ended by greeting "the great leader of the Soviet people—our beloved and dear Comrade Stalin". Letters to Stalin of this sort are almost a daily feature of the front pages of the principal newspapers. For weeks on end during the autumn most of Page 1 of *Pravda* is taken up with letters to Stalin from collective farms announcing that the harvest has been taken in successfully and that plans have been overfulfilled. On February 1 *Pravda* also published an editorial article entitled "Towards New Achievements in Agriculture", a routine exhortation to work harder and more efficiently, similar to innumerable other *Pravda* editorials addressed to all branches of Soviet economic and social life. *Izvestiya* on the same day had as its leading editorial a variation on the same theme called "For an Abundance of Agricultural Products". Every newspaper published in Moscow on February 1 featured the letter to Stalin from the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine, together with an editorial along the lines of those in *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*.

Foreign News Identical

The foreign news given to Soviet readers, usually almost identical in all papers, national or local, is of particular interest. There is remarkably wide coverage of all parts of the world by a large and obviously active network of *Tass* agents, and few events of international importance fail to get some mention. There is, however, relatively little "straight news". Most of the *Tass* or special correspondents' reports are essentially interpretative articles which present the events in a version consistent with the attitude and policies of the Soviet Government. This involves editing of the news both by omission and by distortion. To take *Pravda* of February 1 as an example again, there was a news item on "The Dollar Offensive against the Pound", from London, and from Paris, a report describing favourable French reactions to "The Successes of the Soviet Economy". From Pyongyang there was a *Tass* report of an alleged attack by American aircraft on the village of Munchon, using, it was claimed, explosive bullets filled with poison gas. A report from *Tass* in New Delhi on the "Penetration of American Capital into India" is a highly selective series of quotations from Indian newspapers, and the *Tass* despatch from Paris on the United Nations General Assembly then in session is headed "So-called 20-year United States Peace Programme is Attempt to cloak and justify the Aggressive Plans of the U.S.A."

Items of foreign news critical of the U.S.S.R. are published only to the extent necessary to give point to Soviet counter-charges. Such foreign criticism is usually presented in a distorted way calculated to make it as ineffectual as possible. The only foreign newspapers extensively quoted are the Communist organs, except for carefully-selected excerpts from other papers, usually out of context. Whenever any Western paper normally critical of the U.S.S.R. attempts in an objective way to see both sides of a particular issue, the Soviet press seizes on it, using some such formula as "even the Wall Street Journal could not deny that, etc.". The *Canadian Tribune* is normally cited as voicing the opinion of the vast majority of Canadians. The only extensive Canadian news published by *Pravda* in February, for example, was one column from the *Tass* correspondent in Ottawa on the programme of the Labour Progressive Party. The problem of dealing with foreign criticism faces Soviet editors constantly in connection with their reporting of sessions of the United Nations. The usual solution is to publish Soviet speeches in full and to give only short versions of speeches by non-Communist delegates, incorporating in these versions a great deal of derogatory comment. Sometimes Western proposals

are not published at all in the Soviet press, except to the extent that the nature of the proposals can be inferred from the full text of Mr. Vyshinsky's diatribes against them.

The only newspaper in Moscow which gives any relief from this deadly serious propaganda is *Vechnaya Moskva* (Evening Moscow). Although it too reprints a good deal of material from *Pravda* and *Izvestiya*, it does reserve space each day for a few lighter items. It is the only newspaper in Moscow which carries advertisements, almost all of the sort we call "classified" rather than commercial. Among the advertisements of February 1 were requests for qualified technicians of various sorts to work in industrial and construction organizations and a few announcements of services offered, one, for example, by a shipping and storage organization. There was an interesting list, headed "Rooms, Apartments, Cottages", of offers to exchange living accommodation, mainly single rooms or apartments of two or three rooms. In each instance, the exact number of square metres of space was carefully specified. A column of miscellaneous advertisements included offers to give English and guitar lessons, to sell a piano and to buy a Moskvich, the smallest Soviet automobile. There were a number of notifications of divorces (in six out of about thirty such notices, the two parties were listed as still having the same address), and a section containing announcements of the public defence of dissertations by students of Moscow institutions of higher learning. A law student at Moscow university, for example, was to defend his thesis on the "Lenin-Stalin Principle of Self-determination of Peoples and the Colonial Problem in International Law".

Canadian newspaper readers would be no less surprised by what is omitted from the Soviet press than by what is printed. In addition to the calculated omissions in the foreign news coverage already referred to, it should be noted that the Soviet press rarely reports accidents, scandals or crimes in the Soviet Union. That the Soviet people are not immune to human failings is occasionally emphasized by the publication of decrees announcing very severe penalties for criminal offences or of details of the investigation of corruption in some state enterprise. Thus the penalties which await anyone found guilty of misuse of state funds or public property are regularly brought to the attention of Soviet citizens. For this purpose the *feuilleton*, a little story with a moral, usually employed to administer a sharp rebuke to persons guilty of fraud or incompetence, is a favourite device of the Soviet press. Most papers contain at least one *feuilleton* per issue. *Pravda* of February 1 published a *feuilleton* exposing the ingenious way in which the directors of a certain factory had escaped the consequences of their incompetence by arranging the publication of a book which lauded their fine achievements.

When a conscientious Soviet reader has absorbed his *Pravda* and perhaps a local paper and one paper addressed to his particular trade or profession, he has still a wide choice of periodicals, most of them even more grimly didactic than the newspapers. There are specialized journals devoted to every branch of industry and agriculture and to every division of the arts and sciences. For example there are learned journals on history, economics and philosophy, which are employed, for the most part, in the conscious utilization of these disciplines on behalf of Soviet ideology. Somewhat less forbidding is *Ogonyok* (Little Fire), a very sedate Soviet equivalent of the American picture magazine. Its nearest approach to cheese-cake is an occasional well-clad and very buxom stakhanovite milkmaid. The one journal which does not require serious concentration from the reader is the famous *Krokodil* (Crocodile), a magazine of cartoons and satirical short stories. But even in *Krokodil*, while there are still many shrewd and amusing thrusts at domestic Soviet shortcomings, most of the cartoons are bitter, heavy-handed caricatures of foreign political leaders, and too many of the satires are overburdened with stolid Soviet morals.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Historic Documents

It was announced on June 30 by the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, that an application had been submitted by the Canadian Government to the International Joint Commission for an order approving the construction of works for the development of power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. The announcement stated further that the United States Government had submitted a concurrent application in Washington for approval of the works that would be undertaken by entities to be designated by Canada and the United States.

Agreement on the final details of the applications, it was stated, had been reached at a meeting in Washington, earlier the same day, between the Canadian Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, and the Acting Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. David K. E. Bruce. At this meeting, the Canadian Ambassador, Mr. H. H. Wrong, and the Acting Secretary of State had exchanged notes in which Mr. Wrong had reiterated the undertaking of the Canadian Government to construct the St. Lawrence Seaway when arrangements had been completed for the development of power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. The Canadian note had outlined the arrangements under which navigation facilities for a deep waterway from Montreal to the Great Lakes would be undertaken by Canada alone. These facilities, which were to be constructed as nearly as possible concurrently with the power development, would not, it was announced, require the approval of the International Joint Commission.

The texts of the Canadian application to the Commission and of the notes exchanged in Washington follow:

APPLICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA TO THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION FOR AN ORDER OF APPROVAL OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF CERTAIN WORKS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF POWER IN THE INTERNATIONAL RAPIDS SECTION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER

THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION

OTTAWA, ONTARIO

OTTAWA, June 30, 1952

Sirs,

1. The Government of Canada hereby submits to the International Joint Commission, under the provisions of the Boundary Waters Treaty of January 11, 1909, this application requesting that the Commission approve the construction of certain works, as described in Section 8 of this application, and the operation of such works under the conditions specified in Section 10 of this application, in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, giving consideration to such effects as the construction and operation of these works may have on the levels of water resulting therefrom to be maintained in Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.
2. (a) In addition to the works specified in Section 8 which are covered by this application and which are to be provided and maintained by entities to be designated by the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States of America, Canada will construct, maintain and operate all such works as may be necessary to provide and maintain a deep waterway between the Port of Montreal and Lake Erie;
- (b) Such deep waterway will be provided as nearly as possible concurrently with the completion of the power development works in the International Rapids Section as described in this application; and

- (c) In accordance with the standards contained in the proposed Agreement between Canada and the United States for the development of navigation and power in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin signed March 19, 1941, and the specifications of the Joint Board of Engineers, dated November 16, 1926, such deep waterway will afford a controlling channel depth of 27 feet with locks approximately 800 feet long, 80 feet wide and 30 feet over the sills.

3. This application is filed in contemplation of the filing of a similar application by the Government of the United States of America. It is requested that both applications be considered as in the nature of a joint application for approval of the construction of the works to be jointly undertaken by an entity to be designated by the Government of Canada and an entity to be designated by the Government of the United States of America.

4. The International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River is located in Canada within the Province of Ontario and in the United States of America within the State of New York. Throughout its length of approximately 48 miles from Chimney Point in the State of New York, downstream to the Village of St. Regis, New York, it is traversed by the international boundary which follows generally the thread of the stream and which forms a part of the boundary line between Canada and the United States of America.

5. The International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River since 1860 has an observed average flow of 237,000 cubic feet per second, with an aggregate fall of 92 feet. The total drainage area of the river at Cornwall, Ontario, is approximately 303,000 square miles, including 95,000 square miles of water surface. A suitable site is available at the foot of Barnhart Island near Cornwall, Ontario, and Massena, New York, for the development of the potential power of this section of the river. The water available would justify the installation of 2,200,000 horse-power of hydro-electric generating capacity with an average annual output of approximately 12,600,000,000 kilowatt-hours of energy. The St. Lawrence River is navigable throughout its entire length but navigation through the International Rapids Section, the Soulanges Section and the Lachine Section, which sections lie between Chimney Point, New York, and Montreal, Quebec, a distance of 115 miles, is effected by a series of canals and locks with a controlling depth of 14 feet, by-passing a series of rapids. (A map of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin, Exhibit 1, is attached and made part of this application.)*

6. The development of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River has heretofore been recommended by the International Joint Commission in its report dated December 19, 1921, and by the St. Lawrence Commission of the United States in its report dated December 27, 1926, and by the Canadian National Advisory Committee in its report of January 11, 1928, as an important stage in the progressive program for the development of the entire Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin.

7. The Canadian Temporary Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Committee (consisting of representatives of the Department of External Affairs, the Department of Transport, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario and the Quebec Streams Commission) and the United States St. Lawrence Advisory Committee (consisting of representatives of the Department of State, the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, the Federal Power Commission and the Power Authority of the State of New York) in a joint report dated January 3, 1941, recommended the various works to be constructed in connection with power development in the International Rapids Section. Since that time further study and planning have been done on the works recommended in the above report by several agencies including the Department of Transport, Canada, and the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, with the co-operation of other public agencies of Canada and the United States of America. (A plan showing the major works to be performed in the International Rapids Section of the St. Law-

* For technical reasons the maps and charts attached to these documents could not be reproduced.

rence River, Exhibit 2, is attached and made part of this application; a water profile map of the International Rapids Section, Exhibit 3, showing water levels in connection with the proposed works is attached and made part of this application.)*

8. This application requests approval of the construction of certain works jointly by entities to be designated by the respective Governments in accordance with the "Controlled Single Stage Project (238-242)" which was part of the Report of January 3, 1941, referred to in the preceding paragraph, containing the features described below and shown in Exhibit 2:

a. Channel Enlargements—Channel enlargements will be undertaken from above Chimney Point to below Lotus Island, designed to give a maximum mean velocity in any cross-section of the channel which will be used for navigation not exceeding four feet per second at any time, also between Lotus Island and Iroquois Point and from above Point Three Points to below Ogden Island designed to give a maximum mean velocity in any cross-section not exceeding two and one quarter feet per second with the flow and the stage to be permitted on the first of January of any year, under regulation of outflow and levels of Lake Ontario in accordance with Method of Regulation No. 5, as prepared by the General Engineering Branch, Department of Transport, Canada, dated Ottawa, September 1940. Downstream from the power-houses channel enlargements will be carried out for the purpose of reducing the tail-water level at the power houses.

Final locations and cross-section of these channel enlargements will be determined from further studies.

b. Control Facilities—Adequate control facilities will be constructed for the regulation of the outflow from Lake Ontario.

c. Power House Structures—The power-house structures will be constructed in the north channel extending from the lower end of Barnhart Island to the Canadian shore, and so located that one structure will be on each side of the International Boundary. Each power-house structure will include the main generating units to utilize economically the river flows available to it, with provision for ice handling and discharge sluices.

d. Dams and Associated Structures—A control dam will be constructed extending from Iroquois Point on the Canadian side of the river in an easterly direction to the United States mainland above Point Rockway.

A dam will be constructed in the Long Sault Rapids at the head of Barnhart Island.

Dykes and associated works will be provided as may be necessary in both the Province of Ontario and the State of New York.

All the works in the pool below the control dam will be designed to provide for full Lake Ontario level.

e. Highway Modifications—In both the Province of Ontario and the State of New York provincial and state highways, and other roads, will be relocated in those portions subject to flooding, and reconstructed to standards at least equal to those now in existence.

f. Railway Modifications—Such railway relocations as may be required as a result of the works herein described will be made in the Province of Ontario and the State of New York to standards at least equal to those now in existence.

* For technical reasons the maps and charts attached to these documents could not be reproduced.

g. Navigation Facilities—Provision will be made for the continuance of 14-foot navigation throughout the International Rapids Section during the construction period.

h. Flooded Areas—Lands and buildings in both the Province of Ontario and the State of New York will be acquired or rehabilitated as required. Inundated wooded areas will be cleared.

9. (a) The entity to be designated by Canada to construct the proposed facilities, shall submit to Canada for approval, prior to and during the progress of construction of the works, all detailed plans of the works, or of parts thereof, of such of these plans as Canada may require and such programs of construction as Canada may require, and before proceeding with the works shall obtain Canada's approval thereof in writing, and, such entity before making any change in the site or in the general or detailed plans which have been so approved, or in the works constructed or under construction in pursuance thereof, shall submit to Canada for approval, all plans of such proposed changes, or such of these plans as Canada may require, and before proceeding with the changes shall obtain Canada's approval thereof in writing. (It is understood that Canada's approval, as provided for above, will not be unreasonably withheld or delayed.)

(b) The applicant requests the approval of the International Joint Commission for the establishment by the two Governments of a Joint Board of Engineers, consisting of an equal number of representatives of Canada and the United States to be designated by the respective Governments for the purpose of reviewing, supervising and co-ordinating the plans, specifications and construction of the works specified above.

10. The works shall be designed, constructed, operated and maintained according to the following conditions:

(a) All main features of the project described herein shall be so planned, located, constructed and operated as to be adaptable to the improvement of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River for navigation purposes, to the aid and benefit of commerce and navigation, and to the preservation of the rights and interests of Canada and the United States in the waters of the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909. The works shall be operated and maintained in conformity with the requirements of the prior rights and interests of navigation on the St. Lawrence River and in such a manner as to protect the rights and interests of others engaged in the development of power in the River below the International Rapids Section. The maintenance and operation of the works on the Canadian side of the International Boundary shall be subject to the supervision of Canada.

(b) Upon the completion of the works and, if necessary, during the construction thereof, and subject to the provisions of paragraph (e) of this Section, the discharge from Lake Ontario and the flow through the International Rapids Section shall be regulated in accordance with Method of Regulation No. 5 as prepared by the General Engineering Branch, Department of Transport, Canada, dated Ottawa, September 1940, and shall be based on the Rule Curves forming part of that Method of Regulation. This Method of Regulation is designed to permit the lowering of the extreme high-water levels and the raising of the extreme low-water levels of Lake Ontario. Copies of these Rule Curves, with a description of the method of their application, are attached hereto as Exhibit 4.*

(c) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (e) of this Section, the flow through the International Rapids Section in any period shall equal the discharge from Lake Ontario as determined for that period in accordance with Method of Regulation No. 5 referred to in paragraph (b) of this Section and this flow shall be maintained uniformly throughout that period.

* For technical reasons the maps and charts attached to these documents could not be reproduced.

(d) A "Board of Control" (referred to hereinafter as the Board) consisting of an equal number of representatives of Canada and of the United States shall be established by the International Joint Commission. The duties of the Board shall be to ensure compliance with the conditions in regard to the regulation of the discharge from Lake Ontario and the flow through the International Rapids Section as set forth hereinbefore, and to carry out such other duties as may be delegated to it by the International Joint Commission.

(e) The Board may temporarily modify or change any or all of the restrictions as to flow and water levels as specified above in order to carry out experiments for the purpose of determining what permanent modifications or changes may be advisable, and after such experiments the International Joint Commission may recommend to the two Governments any modifications or changes considered advisable, and the two Governments, consistent with the provisions of paragraph (a) of this Section, may by exchange of notes make such modifications or changes permanent.

(f) Upon completion of the works, and subject to paragraph (e) of this Section, the works shall be operated initially for a test period of ten years, or such shorter period as may be approved by the International Joint Commission, with the water level at the power-houses held at a maximum elevation of 238.0, sea-level datum, and in the event that the Board considers that operation with the water level at the power houses held to a maximum elevation exceeding 238.0 would be advisable, the International Joint Commission may authorize operation at a maximum elevation exceeding 238.0.

11. The applicant requests approval of such allocation between the respective entities, as may hereafter be submitted, of the cost of constructing, maintaining and operating the works covered by this application.

12. In order to avoid unnecessary expense and the duplication of engineering investigations already made, the applicant will place at the disposal of the Commission engineering data relating to this project which it possesses at the date of this application and such engineering personnel as may be available to assist the Commission in the performance of its duties under this application.

13. Material and data indicating the urgent public need for hydro-electric power potentially available in the International Rapids Section and of the St. Lawrence River will be filed in support of this application in the course of the proceedings before the International Joint Commission.

14. In view of the increasing demand necessitating additional sources for the supply of electrical power in the Province of Ontario and the urgent need for immediate action, the applicant requests that, consistent with its rules of procedure, the International Joint Commission give priority to this application and expedite its consideration thereof and its action thereon, so that construction of the project may be undertaken at the earliest possible date.

Respectfully submitted,

(sgd) LOUIS S. ST. LAURENT

for the Secretary of State for External Affairs

NOTE FROM THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON TO THE
ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Sir,

June 30, 1952

1. I have the honour to refer to our exchange of notes of January 11, 1952, relating to the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. In my note to you, I informed you that the Canadian Government is prepared to proceed with the construction of the Seaway as soon as appropriate arrangements can be made for the construction of the power phase of the project as well.

July, 1952

2. I have been instructed by my Government to inform you that, when all arrangements have been made to ensure the completion of the power phase of the St. Lawrence project, the Canadian Government will construct locks and canals on the Canadian side of the International Boundary to provide for deep-water navigation to the standard specified in the proposed agreement between Canada and the United States for the development of navigation and power in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin, signed March 19, 1941, and in accordance with the specifications of the Joint Board of Engineers, dated November 16, 1926, and that such deep-water navigation shall be provided as nearly as possible concurrently with the completion of the power phase of the St. Lawrence project.

3. The undertaking of the Government of Canada with respect to these deep-water navigation facilities is based on the assumption that it will not be possible in the immediate future to obtain Congressional approval of the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Agreement of 1941. As it has been determined that power can be developed economically, without the Seaway, in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River and as there has been clear evidence that entities in both Canada and the United States are prepared to develop power on such a basis, the Canadian Government has, with Parliamentary approval, committed itself to provide and maintain whatever additional works may be required to allow uninterrupted 27-foot navigation between Lake Erie and the Port of Montreal, subject to satisfactory arrangements being made to ensure the development of power.

4. Canada's undertaking to provide the Seaway is predicated on the construction and maintenance by suitable entities in Canada and the United States of a sound power project in the International Rapids Section. The features of such a power project are described in Section 8 of the joint applications to be submitted to the International Joint Commission by the Governments of Canada and the United States. They are also described in the Agreement of December 3, 1951, between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ontario, forming part of the International Rapids Power Development Act, Chapter 13 of the Statutes of Canada, 1951, (Second Session), a copy of which is attached hereto. The Canadian Government wishes to make it clear that, even were the Seaway not to be constructed, Canada would not give its approval to any power development scheme in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River which omitted any of the features so described.

5. However, in order to ensure that construction of both the power project and the deep waterway may be commenced without any further delay and notwithstanding—

- (a) that the power-developing entities would be required, if power were to be developed alone, to provide for continuance of 14-foot navigation (such provision was indeed made in the 1948 applications by the Province of Ontario and the State of New York), and that the Canadian Government's commitment to provide concurrently a deep waterway between Lake Erie and the Port of Montreal does not alter the basic principle that any entity developing power in boundary waters must make adequate provision for the maintenance of existing navigation facilities, and
- (b) that, in view of the clear priority given to navigation over power by Article VIII of the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty, provision of channeling to the extent specified in the Annex to the 1951 Canada-Ontario Agreement referred to above is reasonable and in conformity with Canadian practice,

the Canadian Government is now prepared to agree—

- (a) that the amount to be paid to Canada, as specified in the agreement of December 3, 1951, between Canada and Ontario, in lieu of the construction by the power-developing entities of facilities required for the continuance

of 14-foot navigation, be excluded from the total cost of the power project to be divided between the Canadian and the United States power-developing entities, in consideration of the fact that actual replacement of 14-foot navigation facilities will be rendered unnecessary by reason of the concurrent construction of the deep waterway in Canada, and

- (b) that the authority to be established pursuant to the provisions of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Act, Chapter 24 of the Statutes of Canada, 1951 (Second Session), contribute \$15 million towards the cost of the channel enlargement which the power-developing entities must undertake in the St. Lawrence River, as set out in Para 4 of the Annex to the Canada-Ontario Agreement of December 3, 1951, and in Section 8 of the applications to the International Joint Commission, in consideration of the benefits which will accrue to navigation from such channel enlargement.

6. I understand that your government approves the arrangements outlined in this note and that it is further agreed, subject to the modifications outlined in the preceding paragraph, that the Government of Canada and the Government of the United States will request the International Joint Commission to allocate equally between the two power-developing entities the cost of all the features described in Section 8 of the applications to the International Joint Commission and in the agreement of December 3, 1951, between Canada and Ontario.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

H. H. WRONG

TEXT OF THE UNITED STATES REPLY TO THE CANADIAN NOTE

Excellency:

June 30, 1952

1. I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 30, 1952, in which you inform me that your Government, when all arrangements have been made to ensure the completion of the power phase of the St. Lawrence Project, will construct locks and canals on the Canadian side of the International Boundary to provide deep-water navigation to the standard specified in the proposed agreement between the United States and Canada for the development of navigation and power in the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin, signed March 19, 1941, and in accordance with the specifications of the Joint Board of Engineers, dated November 16, 1926, and that such deep-water navigation shall be provided as nearly as possible concurrently with the completion of the power phase of the St. Lawrence Project.

2. My Government approves the arrangements set forth in your note and, subject to the modifications there proposed and outlined below, agrees to request the International Joint Commission to allocate equally between the power-developing entities the cost of all the features described in Section 8 of the applications to the International Joint Commission and in the Agreement of December 3, 1951, between the Government of Canada and Ontario.

3. These modifications are:

- a) The amount to be paid to Canada, as specified by the Agreement of December 3, 1951, between Canada and Ontario in lieu of the construction by the power-developing entities of facilities required for the continuance of 14-foot navigation, be excluded from the total cost of the power project to be divided between the Canadian and United States power-developing entities, in consideration of the fact that actual replacement of 14-foot navigation facilities will be rendered unnecessary by reason of the concurrent construction of the deep waterway in Canada, and

- b) that the authority to be established pursuant to the provisions of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority Act, Chapter 24 of the Statutes of Canada, 1951 (Second Session), contribute \$15 million toward the cost of channel enlargement which the power developing entities must undertake in the St. Lawrence River, as set out in Section 8 of the Applications to the International Joint Commission and Paragraph 4 of the Annex to the Canada-Ontario Agreement of December 3, 1951, in consideration of the benefits which will accrue to navigation from such channel enlargement.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

DAVID K. E. BRUCE



—NFB

APPLICATION TO INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION SIGNED

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, signing the application of the Government of Canada to the International Joint Commission for an order of approval of the construction of certain works for development of power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. Standing, at his side is the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Wilgress.

CANADIAN SCIENTISTS REFUTE GERM WARFARE CHARGES

On June 27, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Garson, tabled in the House of Commons, a statement by Dr. W. H. Brittain, Vice-Principal and entomologist, Macdonald College, McGill University; Dr. A. W. Baker, Head of the Department of Entomology and Zoology, Ontario Agricultural College, and Dr. C. E. Atwood, Professor of Zoology, University of Toronto, concerning charges by Dr. James G. Endicott of Toronto that the United States forces in Korea had been waging bacteriological warfare. The text follows:

We have examined the transcript of speeches by Dr. Endicott and Mr. Malik in which charges were made of the practice by United States forces of bacteriological warfare in Korea and Northeast China. We have studied the article in which these charges were made in the Peiping Peoples' Daily of March 15, 1952. We have also carefully reviewed the mimeographed pamphlet "Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare" distributed by the Canadian Peace Congress . . .

The evidence offered falls into two categories: First, that of peasants, children and other biologically untrained persons such as Dr. Endicott, the "International Jurists", presided over by a professor of international law, and scientists trained in fields other than biology. Second, that reported to have been given by entomologists and bacteriologists.

With respect to evidence of the first type, Dr. Endicott and professors of physics, mathematics and international law are not much more capable of appreciating evidence in the field of biology than the "honest old farmers" and "bright-eyed children" from whom Dr. Endicott obtained much of his information.

Unquestionably over 50,000 distinct species of insect occur in Korea and Northeast China. No single entomologist anywhere in the world could know more than a small percentage of these. Statements by farmers that "these insects" have not been seen in the area mean nothing. In our respective institutions many times in the course of a year we have insects sent in with the statement that they must be "new" since no one in the community has seen them before. They always prove to be common insects well known to entomologists.

As an example of the extreme unreliability of lay evidence, we might cite an instance which occurred in northern Ontario. Parasitic flies were liberated, with considerable press publicity, in an attempt to control the forest tent-caterpillar. Some time later biting stable-flies, common insects throughout temperate regions, were unusually abundant. Local trappers and woodsmen, who had undoubtedly been bitten hundreds of times before by these insects, nevertheless declared that they were entirely new, and *must be* the "Mexican Horse Flies" introduced by the Government. Incidentally, the parasitic flies are completely incapable of biting. Examples like this could be multiplied indefinitely.

We have paid particular attention to the speeches of Dr. Endicott in Maple Leaf Gardens, May 11, 1952, and elsewhere. In an interview given in London, England, on April 29, 1952, Dr. Endicott said that he was not a "scientific or technical expert". Despite this statement, Dr. Endicott proceeds, in his various speeches and interviews, to give so-called evidence and make decisions thereon contrary to those which a trained biologist would make. In a Radio Peking broadcast, in English, on the Chinese International Service,

April 12, 1952, Dr. Endicott is reported to have said: "I have seen the germ-laden insects. In fact, I have caught some myself". Since Dr. Endicott acknowledges that he is not a scientific or technical expert", it is obvious that he could not know the insects which he caught nor decide whether or not they were "germ-laden". In other words, throughout his testimony, Dr. Endicott has either drawn conclusions which he is incompetent to make or has accepted hearsay evidence the credibility of which will be disproved later. Furthermore, Dr. Endicott has made statements which are contrary to the data submitted by the "Commission of the Medical Headquarters of the Korean Peoples' Army on the use of Bacteriological Weapons". These data are included in the pamphlet "Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare" distributed by the Canadian Peace Congress, of which Dr. Endicott is Chairman. For example, in his address in Maple Leaf Gardens, May 11, 1952, speaking of "huge numbers of insects" appearing at various times and alleged to have been dropped by United States aircraft, he made the statement that "all were infected". The Commission mentioned above reports on January 29, 1952: 80 specimens of insects, ticks and spiders examined — 2 specimens infected; on February 13, 1952, 78 specimens of insects and spiders examined — 1 specimen infected. In both cases all other specimens were reported by the Commission as not carrying disease germs. Dr. Endicott's statement is obviously in conflict with the evidence distributed by his own organization.

Dr. Endicott repeatedly refers to the "excellent health service" maintained by the present Chinese Government. It is interesting to note that in the Peiping Peoples' Daily of February 25, 1952, an account was given of extensive epidemics of disease raging in several provinces of China with accompanying criticism of the public health service as negligent or incompetent. In the face of this, Dr. Endicott makes the astounding statement that "any epidemics that there may be in China today are not the result of natural causes nor of neglect on the part of the Chinese authorities".

Statements of Dr. Endicott quoted above are at variance with the published records of the Chinese and North Koreans themselves. Other statements indicate an almost unbelievable credulity. For example, we quote two paragraphs from Dr. Endicott's Maple Leaf Garden speech of May 11, 1952:

When I met Mr. Liu Wen-Shiu, he told me that if I was to go to the edge of a certain field I might still find some of the spiders which had escaped the decontamination squad, which had been hastily mobilized locally and which had set fire to the infected spots with straw. Sure enough, I found spiders after a search and placed them in a bottle with the help of medical forceps. As I was leaving Mr. Liu Wen-Shiu's house I met three little boys and asked them: Did you find any insects? They said that they had and drew particular attention to the flies which they had found on a nearby pond—flies that they had never seen before. The pond (used for cattle and for watering vegetables) had been covered with ice at the time.

Dr. Endicott states that he arrived in Northeast China during the first week in April. This was some weeks later than the dates on which insects were reported to have been dropped. (Latest date in "Documentation" March 4, 1952). Despite this he accepts the evidence of small boys with respect to something they claimed to have seen some time before, and places great emphasis on his own collection of spiders made a month after the date on which they are alleged to have been dropped.

Small boys could find insects on almost any farm pond in the temperate zone at the time of the year in question. Anyone should realize that these children were completely incapable of knowing whether or not they had seen these insects before. As for spiders, anyone could go to the edge of a field at

that time of the year and with or without "medical forceps" find spiders in numbers.

What might be referred to as the scientific type of evidence is that appearing in the pamphlet "Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare" distributed by the Canadian Peace Congress and the story, with illustrations, appearing in the Peiping Peoples' Journal of March 15, 1952.

These accounts are put forward as proof of the practice of bacteriological warfare by the United States forces.

Most of these accounts have to do with charges of the dropping of insects by United States aircraft. With respect both to the text and to the photographs, identification of practically all these insects is very vague from an entomologist's point of view. It is difficult for us to believe that trained entomologists could not identify these insects much more accurately than has been done in these documents — at least with respect to the main groups in which they occur.

There is no evidence that the insects referred to or illustrated are not native to the region.

Insects referred to very vaguely, as "flies" with "long wings", "small heads", etc. might be any one of a number of insects which normally emerge at the season of the year in question throughout the temperate zone. We cannot imagine any trained entomologist referring to them in terms given in the text.

The following paragraph from the "Documentation" is a good example of this highly unscientific vagueness: "On March 3, flies of unusual appearance, crowded in one spot about one yard square, were found at Ko Eup, Jan Shan Myen, Soochen Goon, South Pyoengan Province. They were still alive though lying on the snow at 10 degrees below zero centigrade. The head of the fly was smaller than a Korean fly's, the wings closed, the body longer than that of the familiar fly". This implies that there is only one common kind of fly in Korea, whereas any entomologist would know that there are many hundreds. In addition to the vagueness in identification of insects, the "Documentation", entomologically, contains many inaccuracies and misleading statements. For example, reference is made to "Chironomus or helomyzid flies". Not only are these not the same but they belong to very different groups of flies. Mosquitoes, said to have been found in late winter or early spring about buildings, are spoken of as being evidence of foreign introduction. Over-wintering mosquitoes may be found in buildings during the winter throughout the temperate zone. Numerous other examples of misleading statements could be cited from the "Documentation".

What one would presume to be the cream of the evidence has been selected for the pictorial representation in the Peiping Peoples' Daily. This has been copied by many journals throughout the world.

Four pictures of insects were published. Number One apparently represents a pile of dead flies which cannot be positively identified but which cannot be considered any evidence of bacteriological warfare. Number Two is a mosquito with wings removed. It belongs to the genus *Aedes* but is not a type known to carry disease. Number Three shows two species of stone flies, one with long wings and one with short. These appear in the "Documentation" both by name and suggestion and are described in the Peiping Peoples' Daily as "poisonous insects which could fly, crawl and swim". Stone flies can neither bite nor sting, are not poisonous and cannot carry human diseases. Moreover, certain types, including long-winged and short-winged forms, as shown in the picture, are called "winter stone flies" because they emerge from streams while ice and

snow are still present. These occur throughout the north temperate zone. It is obvious that they could be expected to be found in Korea and Northeast China under the conditions described in the "Documentation". Number five represents a member of the order Collembola, a springtail; some of these small leaping insects are so common on snow that they are referred to as "snow fleas". It is certainly to be expected that they would be found on snow in Korea and Northeast China. They are quite incapable of carrying human diseases. The Rickettsia organisms referred to in the "Documentation" are commonly found in insects of a great many kinds but only a few are of significance in human disease and the Rickettsia of springtails is not one of these.

Most of the insects and spiders referred to could be found on snow in fields or about ponds and streams early in the spring in temperate climates. When whole communities are turned out to search for insects, as mentioned, it is certain that they would be found and also that most of them would appear new to the searchers who had never had occasion to observe them before.

A picture of early-spring insect occurrence such as described could be demonstrated by an entomologist in many places in the temperate zone. Some kinds of spiders, snow fleas (Collembola) chironomids ("Documentation" page 12) and the long-winged and short winged types of stone flies could be found on snow all within a few feet of each other and without the intervention of enemy agents.

Several references are made to the occurrence of fleas. If these records are authentic, the fleas were either collected from their hosts directly or on leaving their hosts soon after their death. Much is made of plague infection in a few fleas. On the basis of surveys in various countries one would expect to find plague endemic in the fleas of Korea and China. In fact a higher rate of infection than 1 in 13, as stated would be expected.

In this statement we have not dealt with the bacteriological evidence because it is not in our field and also has been completely answered by Dr. Rene Dubos, a bacteriologist of international repute, connected with the Rockefeller Institute. Regarding a picture of bacteria, in the series noted above, his general conclusion was that the pictures represent an amateurish attempt at "scientific fakery"; that none of the bacteria were correctly named and that none of the bacteria they were supposed to be could be carried by insects.

In conclusion, none of the evidence submitted could be accepted as scientific proof since in no cases, apparently, were tests made of insects or materials known to be of local origin in order to determine if they carried disease germs. To an entomologist, in all cases, where identification is certain, the insects referred to are obviously casual collections of local forms.

We have shown that certain of the insects, etc., referred to could be expected to be found normally in an active condition in Korea and Northeast China in early spring and that no theory of bacteriological warfare is required to explain their presence. The others belong to groups which it has been scientifically demonstrated are inactive at the reported temperatures. Indeed some of them would survive for only a few minutes.

Wholesale "conditioning" of insects to low temperatures as charged has never been achieved.

POSTDOCTORATE FELLOWSHIPS IN THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL LABORATORIES

On the first of April 1952, seventy postdoctorate research fellows were at work in the laboratories of the National Research Council of Canada. They had come from thirteen countries and had received advanced training in 31 universities. They form a cosmopolitan group which has had a very stimulating influence on post-war research activities in the National Research Laboratories.

Before the Second World War, the National Research Council awarded, to Canadians only, a few postdoctorate fellowships tenable in its laboratories and an occasional fellowship for study abroad. The last fellowship held in the Council's laboratories was awarded in 1941 and the fellow resigned midway in the year, to take a salaried position on the Council's staff.

Programme Expanded

After the War, the Council gave consideration to an expansion of its postdoctorate fellowship programme, and, as a result, a limited number of overseas fellowships have been awarded annually. At about the same time the practice of awarding fellowships tenable for postdoctorate research in the Council's laboratories was resumed on a very much enlarged scale and with a much broader purpose. The War had brought much of the normal activity in universities throughout the world to a standstill, and, even where physical damage was not excessive, the normal freedom to exchange ideas, common in pre-war academic life, had been almost eliminated. With the end of the fighting in Europe, plans were made to rebuild institutions that had been destroyed and to restore libraries and equipment. Appeals for money, books, periodicals and equipment were very numerous. In such an atmosphere the plan for postdoctorate research fellowships, open to nationals of all countries including, of course, Canada, was conceived.

The National Research Council had built up excellent facilities for research in certain fields of scientific effort. There were on the staff a number of young scientists who were anxious to do fundamental research. In addition there were a few, not quite so young, whose work had begun to attract international recognition before the War and who were determined to return to their first interests. Consequently the plan to bring a limited number of young scientists into the laboratories to do fundamental research, side by side with members of the Council's staff, had a very strong appeal. The benefits, of course, have not all been on one side. Keen young scientists have brought to Canada a diversity of training, experience, and ideas that has proved invaluable in stimulating research within each laboratory-group.

The plan started in 1947 and was first publicized by correspondence between members of the Council's staff and workers in similar fields who were known to them personally, or through exchange of publications and correspondence on subjects of mutual interest. Later, announcements were prepared and distributed to universities and research institutions throughout the world.

At the Commonwealth Scientific Conference in 1946, a plan to exchange students and scientific workers between Commonwealth countries was recommended. The Colombo Plan has been formulated since then, and UNESCO plans for scientific exchange have also been developed. Canada has made, and is making, contributions to both of these, as part of the Commonwealth and United Nations plans, but the postdoctorate fellowship scheme of the National Research Council is solely Canadian

in origin and operation. Apart from the mutual benefits already mentioned, the scheme is tangible recognition and repayment of a debt that Canada has owed for many years. For the first time the movement of scientists for training is into Canada rather than out.

Since 1947 just under 1000 applications have been received, and about 230 awards have been made. So far, 128 of these have been accepted. Those for 1952-53 are still pending. Ninety-four of these awards have been renewed for further periods ranging from one month to one year. The fellows who have been appointed represent 20 countries and nearly 60 universities.

Until the present year, 1952, all of the awards have been made for fundamental research in chemistry and physics in the Council laboratories in Ottawa and Chalk River. This year, however, a limited number of awards in biochemistry and microbiology were announced. These are to be held in the Council's Prairie Regional Laboratory at Saskatoon. Competition for these has attracted many applicants, and the total number of applications for fellowships for 1952-53 exceeded 360, about 140 more than the total for 1951-52.

While the majority of the fellows have, upon completion of their work under the awards, returned to their home countries, a few have joined the staffs of Canadian universities and research institutions and some venturesome individuals have married Canadian girls.

The fellowship programme is described in a booklet issued annually by the Awards Office of the National Research Council. It includes an account of the work being done in Council laboratories where fellowships may be held and reference-lists of publications resulting from the investigations. It is distributed with announcement posters and application-forms in September, and awards are usually announced during the following April. The booklet and other information pertaining to the fellowships may be obtained by writing to the Secretary, Laboratory Awards Committee, National Research Council, Ottawa.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Canadian Contribution to United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees

Since the end of 1948 some 900,000 refugees who have lost their homes and livelihood as a result of hostilities in Palestine have existed principally on relief provided by the United Nations, supplemented by private contributions from all over the world. Because of its central role in creating the State of Israel the United Nations has recognized, in a number of resolutions, its responsibility for the refugee problem and has consistently endeavoured to find a satisfactory solution for it.

Accordingly, in January of this year the General Assembly accepted, by a vote of 49 to 0 (the Soviet bloc abstaining) the "Blandford Plan" (named after John Blandford, the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees or UNRWAPR) for the relief and rehabilitation of Palestine refugees. It calls for the expenditure over a three-year period of \$50 million U.S. for relief on a diminishing scale and \$200 million U.S. for the integration of the refugees into the lives of countries surrounding Palestine. Of this total \$77 million was the estimated requirement for the first year ending June 30, 1952 and of this amount the sum of \$67 million was received by way of contributions. For the following two years \$128 million will be required for the first year and \$55 million for the second year. Acceptance of the Plan is without prejudice to the rights of refugees to ultimate repatriation or to compensation whenever a political settlement between the Arab States and Israel makes this possible. The Blandford Plan appears to be well framed to achieve the maximum success possible in the circumstances in that disturbed area.

To meet with success the Agency not only requires adequate funds; the active co-operation of the countries in which the integrated programme is to be carried out must be secured. There are many indications that these countries are, in fact, giving the Agency a considerable degree of practical co-operation in the execution of its programme.

The Canadian Government has felt it necessary and desirable to contribute support, both moral and material, to the work of UNRWAPR for a number of reasons. First there are humanitarian reasons which are clear when the picture of hundreds of thousands of displaced Arabs without permanent homes or occupations is considered. Second, the United Nations has an admitted responsibility for the welfare of these refugees, and Canada as a member of the United Nations should bear its share of the responsibility. A third and equally important reason for Canadian participation in the work of UNRWAPR is that the continued existence of the great social and economic distress created by the refugee problem constitutes a threat to the stability of one important area of the world and consequently of the whole world.

The Government has therefore recommended, and Parliament has approved, that for the Agency's fiscal year July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953, Canada should contribute to the Agency an initial sum of \$600,000 and should, at a later stage, contribute a further substantial amount if other countries with responsibilities similar to those of Canada contribute in like degree, and if local conditions indicate that the operations of the Agency have a good chance of success. Provision for the initial contribution is included in the supplementary estimates for 1952-53.

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), following instructions of the General Assembly, has shifted its emphasis from post-

war emergency feeding to long-range programmes in under-developed countries designed to assist governments in developing their own child health and welfare services. These programmes fall under the following main headings:

- (1) Maternal and child welfare, which includes
 - (a) supplies and equipment to set up maternal and child welfare centres, particularly in rural areas;
 - (b) training programmes to provide local personnel to operate the centres;
 - (c) mass health campaigns against diseases which particularly affect children, e.g., tuberculosis, yaws, malaria and other insect-borne diseases.
- (2) Nutrition programmes, which include
 - (a) assistance in establishing child feeding programmes as demonstration projects;
 - (b) assistance in milk processing to insure larger supplies of safe indigenous milk.

UNICEF continues to provide emergency assistance as it is required. Recent examples are emergency food supplies following the Italian floods, the Philippine typhoons, during the droughts in Madras and Northern Brazil, and assistance to the Palestine refugee programme.

All health programmes are developed with the co-operation and technical approval of the World Health Organization. The Food and Agriculture Organization assists similarly in nutrition and milk processing, and the United Nations Department of Social Affairs is consulted in welfare matters.

All programmes require considerable effort on the part of the receiving governments. Except in emergencies, help is given only to long range government plans in which the recipient government contributes at least as much as UNICEF, and in many cases, considerably more. There must also be some assurance of the intention of the recipient governments to continue the programmes when UNICEF aid ends.

One of the most useful aspects of UNICEF work is that it is a supply organization and can accompany its technical advice with sufficient supplies to initiate a programme and place it on a sound operating basis. In view of the efforts which have to be made by each government requesting assistance and the time required to work out satisfactory programmes, there is, however, a practical limit to the rate at which worthwhile projects can be undertaken.

The present target budget is \$20 million for the year ending June 30, 1953. Allocations for the year ending June 30, 1952, have amounted to \$18.8 million. At the April meeting of the Executive Board, allocations of \$8,600,000 (included in the \$18.8 million above) were voted for 55 programmes in 39 countries and territories as well as for Palestine refugee children. In the health programmes the benefits will reach:

Anti-tuberculosis vaccination campaigns	- - -	16,400,000 people
Yaws, syphilis and bejel campaigns	- - -	3,035,000 people
Anti-malaria and other insect-control campaigns	-	7,245,000 people
Whooping cough, diphtheria and other immunizations		200,000 people

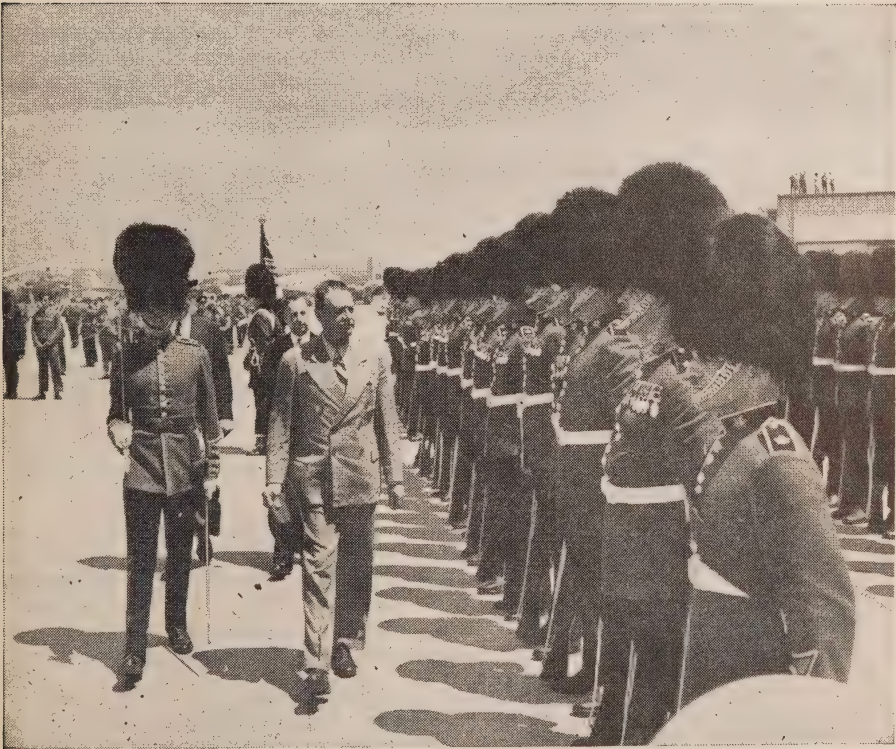
Moreover, nearly one million children will benefit from special feeding programmes.

Canada has been a member of the 26-nation Executive Board since UNICEF began and has held the chairmanship for 1951 and 1952. The Government has made the following contributions:

(in U.S. dollar equivalents)

1947-48	-	-	-	-	\$5,300,000.
1949	-	-	-	-	977,000.
1950	-	-	-	-	546,000.
1951	-	-	-	-	470,000.
TOTAL					\$7,293,000.

The Canadian Government has recommended and Parliament has approved a contribution from Canada to UNICEF of \$500,000 for 1952. This contribution is roughly of the same order as was given in each of the preceding two years and indicates the hope of the Canadian Government that during 1952 the work of UNICEF may be continued on approximately the same scale as in previous years.



—Capital Press

FORMER GOVERNOR GENERAL RETURNS TO OTTAWA

The United Kingdom Minister of Defence, and former Governor General of Canada, Earl Alexander, inspects the Governor General's Foot Guards during his visit to Ottawa following his recent trip to Korea.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

(The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.)

North Atlantic Treaty

Approval of Protocol for European Defence Community

On June 17, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, made the following motion:

That it is expedient that the Houses of Parliament do approve the protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty, signed at Paris on May 27, 1952, extending the guarantees of Article 5 of the Treaty to the European Defence Community, and that this House do approve the same.

Speaking on this motion, Mr. Pearson said, in part:

. . . As I reported to the House on May 27, representatives of the member countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization signed on that day in Paris a protocol which extended to the newly formed European Defence Community the guarantees under Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. It is this protocol which is of immediate concern to us today and for which I am to ask the approval of Parliament . . . Article I of the protocol reads as follows:

An armed attack (i) on the territory of any of the members of the European Defence Community in Europe or in the area described in article 6 (i) of the North Atlantic Treaty, or (ii) on the forces, vessels or aircraft of the European Defence Community when in the area described in Article 6 (ii) of the said Treaty, shall be considered an attack against all the parties to the North Atlantic Treaty, within the meaning of Article 5 of the said Treaty, and Article 5 shall apply accordingly.

Article II of the protocol reads as follows:

The present protocol shall enter into force as soon as each of the parties has notified the Government of the United States of America of its acceptance and the Council of the European Defence Community has notified the North Atlantic Council of the entry into force of the treaty setting up the European Defence Community . . .

At the beginning I should like to emphasize that whatever action is taken by the Government in respect of ratification of this protocol, the protocol does not come into effect until it is ratified by all the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Therefore, even if action were taken at an early date by the Government of Canada, the protocol itself would not be effective until it had been ratified by all the members and until the European Defence Community treaty was also in effect . . .

It is true that the acceptance and the coming into effect of this protocol do extend the obligations which Canada has undertaken under the North Atlantic Treaty to the Federal Republic of Germany. That of course is a very important development indeed . . . The proposed European Defence Community includes only one member which is not already a signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty, and that is the Federal Republic of Germany. But though the protocol does represent an extension of our obligations, I suggest that the extension is more theoretical than real because in the North Atlantic Treaty there is . . . Article 6, which provides that the guarantee of mutual assistance shall come into effect when an armed attack is made on the forces,

the vessels or the aircraft of any of the parties when in or over these territories or any other area in Europe in which occupation forces of any of the parties were stationed on the date when the treaty came into effect.

That means that we are already under obligation to come to the assistance of the NATO forces stationed in Western Germany. If this protocol comes into effect it will extend that obligation from an attack on forces of occupation in Germany to an attack on Western Germany itself. It is a further step, and I think a valuable step, in the development and the reaffirmation of collective security and collective action which is the best preventive of war in the present circumstances . . .

It is, I am sure, clear to all of us that over the continent of Europe today hangs the threat of aggression the driving force of which is a compound of Russian imperialism and Communist ideology. Even with that threat facing us, it is not easy to banish memories of the appalling results of German armed might in the service of a totalitarian regime. There are few European countries today in which the material and spiritual wounds of the Second World War have had time to heal completely.

National economies, which with the help of the Marshall Plan and other assistance have been gradually returning to something like normal conditions after the destruction of war, have had once more to shoulder the added burden of large-scale rearmament. It is heartening, therefore, . . . to see that, in spite of these trials of the body and spirit, men have been found who realize that the battles of the past should not determine the policy of the future and who realize also the urgent necessity of . . . uniting Europe for peace on the only basis on which this can be done.

. . . In any scheme for European integration the position of Germany is of central importance. This is abundantly evident from the efforts which have been made and are still being made by the Western nations to secure the support—and by the Soviet bloc to secure the submission—of the Germans. Germany lies in the very heart of Europe and it is not surprising that Western policy in general, and indeed United States policy in particular, regards German participation as essential to the effective defence of Europe. This I suggest should be the easier now that the long feud between France and Germany has lost much of its reality in a world where the important divisions are no longer inter-European—and the old-fashioned balance of power concepts are based on larger than national considerations.

So, the nations of Europe which are still free to choose—and they are not all free to choose—are realizing, in spite of neutralist sentiment in certain countries and certain quarters, how important it is for their survival that they unite as Europeans in the face of this common menace and common danger. This process of European integration seems often painfully slow to those of us who watch it from across the Atlantic Ocean. To the Europeans themselves I often suspect it must seem immoderately hasty.

It is not my purpose to recount all of the steps taken in recent years toward the unification of Europe. They are well known to all of us but it is perhaps not always realized that there have been so many. Because the urgent necessity of avoiding a third world war has filled the minds of free men, particularly in North America, we have under-estimated the enormous strides which have been taken in the last few years toward the solution of complex European problems, many of which have persisted throughout generations.

This progress has been made in spite of deep-rooted, understandable nationalist feelings and traditions and serious political difficulties such as the legitimate desire of some nations to retain their economic and political association with countries outside Europe. It follows, I think, from these considerations that the integration of Europe will be a gradual process achieved through the creation of supranational authorities with limited but definite powers in certain specific fields—such as the coal and steel authority under the Schuman Plan and the Benelux Convention. This functional approach has proved to be more acceptable to the nations concerned than the theoretical approach of those who want to establish a formal federation at once. European unity then, I suggest, must grow and not be imposed. It must be a voluntary and constructive union—not anything like a shotgun marriage.

The European Defence Community treaty, by associating the Federal Republic of Germany with the defence of Europe, is one far-reaching step toward this more closely integrated Europe. The EDC treaty, like the Schuman Plan, is the result of a bold idea for the solution of a major European problem—the return of Germany to the community of free and democratic nations. It takes its place in a complex of agreements all of which show this same trend toward Europeans coming together.

As so often in the past, it was on this occasion the keen and imaginative political intelligence of the French leaders which gave birth to many of the ideas which have helped to create this more closely united Europe. Nobody would deny that at the present time the necessities of defence and economic recovery are the most compelling incentives toward this unity; but beyond the community of interests in military and economic matters there are amongst these free European states a common culture and common traditions which cannot be overlooked by a group of nations for which individual and moral values are at least as important as material ones.

Germany then as I see it is the key to the solution of these European problems. Because of her geographical location and the size and the industry of her population, Germany—even a divided Germany—is likely to be a vital factor for better or for worse in European politics for many years to come. The events of a few weeks ago in Paris and Bonn and the repercussion of these events in points as far distant as Berlin and Tokyo, have outlined the importance which the Communist world attaches to what is often referred to in the press and elsewhere as the struggle for Germany. Two blows in that struggle were struck for the west in Bonn and Paris on May 26 and May 27 last.

The first of these blows was the signing on May 26 in Bonn by the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, the United States and France on the one hand, and by the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany on the other, of an agreement which comprised a convention on relations between the three powers and the Federal Republic of Germany, three related conventions and a number of accompanying instruments . . .

These contractual agreements which were freely negotiated and not imposed replace the occupation statute; they abolish the Allied High Commission, and they bring the Federal Republic of Germany into the family of free nations. They provide for the stationing of foreign forces in Germany to assist in the defence of the West and for the reservation by the former occupying powers of their rights in Berlin and over matters affecting Germany as a whole, in particular the problems of unification and the eventual peace treaty which of course are not solved by this peace contract. These restrictions on the complete freedom of the Federal Republic of Germany were made necessary by the peculiar nature of the problem of according to the Federal Republic rights over its external and domestic affairs while preserving the means of conducting negotiations with the Soviet Union on German unification and on the final peace settlement. Article 4, Section 4, of the peace contract is important and I would like to read it and one or two of the other more important sections.

Article 4 reads:

The Federal Republic will participate in the European Defence Community in order to contribute to the common defence of the free world.

Article 5 provides for the proclamation by the three Western powers of a state of emergency in the Federal Republic, should the Federal Republic and the European Defence Community be unable to deal with the situation which is created by an attack on the Federal Republic or Berlin, subversion of the liberal democratic basic order, a serious disturbance of public order or a grave threat of any of these events.

Article 7 is very important. Its first section states the agreement of the three powers and the Federal Republic that the essential aim of their common policy is a peace settlement for the whole of Germany, freely negotiated between Germany and her former enemies. It also defers all frontier questions to an eventual peace settlement. In the light of the recent Soviet notes on unification and a peace treaty, I need

hardly underline the capital importance of these declarations. If the intention of this article, which I have just read, is that a unified Germany will have the rights and be bound by the obligations conferred on the Federal Republic by this agreement and by the European Defence Community treaty, then this article is in effect the expression of a hope that a unified Germany would continue to throw in its lot with the West.

I am aware that sceptics will point out that in the event of unification and peace treaty discussions, there will be a new partner to any agreement, namely the Soviet Union, which would not necessarily—that I know is an understatement—subscribe to the present accords. Moreover, an all-German government would not be the same as the Government of the Federal Republic at the present time and might, therefore, insist that the contractual agreements would have to be re-negotiated. This important possibility which is very much in our minds, is perhaps foreshadowed by Article 10 which provides for the review of the terms of the convention on relations and the related conventions:

(a) upon the request of any of the signatory states, in the event of the unification of Germany or the creation of a European federation; or

(b) upon the occurrence of any other event which all the signatory states recognize to be of a similar fundamental character.

. . . The second important event, as I have already indicated, was the signing in Paris on May 27 of the treaty establishing a European Defence Community. By the provisions of this treaty, the Governments of France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the Federal Republic of Germany have agreed to set up a European Army, purely defensive in character, which will be under the operational command of the North Atlantic Treaty. This new treaty seeks to ensure the security of the states which have signed it . . .

The signing of these two sets of agreements is, I think, a tribute to the sense of political reality and the spirit of reasonable compromise shown by the statesmen and their expert advisers, who have brought the negotiations to a successful conclusion after many months of difficult and delicate discussions. It would, however, be rash to express any easy optimism on the final results, merely because these arrangements have been signed. Both the agreements I have mentioned will have to be ratified by the governments whose representatives signed them, and the road to ratification may not be a short or an easy one. There is as yet no European army except on paper, and there are stiff political struggles ahead both on the international plane and within the countries which are members of the European Defence Community, before these arrangements will be of any effect on the international plane. The activities of the Soviet Union and its Communist agents in other countries on the subject of Germany and the recent agreements bear witness by their scope and violence to the growing strength of Western defence, and the impression this strength and unity has already made, as well as to the vital importance which the Soviet Union attaches to the coming into effect of these arrangements.

There has been . . . a lively exchange of diplomatic notes between the Soviet Government and the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. In their first note on March 10 of this year, the Russians put forward a draft peace treaty which was obviously designed to appeal to all shades of opinion in Germany, and to delay the conclusion of the contractual agreements and the European Defence Community treaty. That latter design, of course, was not achieved. These Russian proposals concerned reunification, the withdrawal of occupying forces, the rehabilitation of ex-Nazis—many of whom are now joining the Eastern German army—the abolition of all trade restrictions on Germany, the granting to Germany of national—not international—defence forces, and the granting to Germany of permission to produce armaments on a large scale. In other words, in these Russian proposals there was something for nearly every German. On the other hand, under the same proposals, the reunified Germany was not to be free to enter into alliances, and its territory was not to include the former German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line. Finally, a four-power conference was to meet at once to settle all these questions.

In their replies to these Soviet proposals the three Western governments have taken what I think to be the sensible line, that while the door must not be shut on negotiations with the Soviet Union on this matter, there can be no question of a four-power conference—of which the allies already have had some unhappy experiences—until the Soviet proposals have been subjected to searching inquiry and until their real meaning can be ascertained. With this in mind the three governments have concentrated, in dealing with this problem, on the basic question of free elections throughout Germany, and the consequent formation of an all-German government, free both before and after the peace treaty to enter into associations compatible with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. The insistence of the three Western powers, in dealing with these, and subsequent Russian proposals, has been on unity with freedom and peace with security. I believe that is a sound attitude to adopt.

Nevertheless, no matter how insincere the Soviet proposals may seem to us, they have a dangerous appeal to German nationalism since they appear on the surface to offer a definite programme of unification which cannot fail to attract Germans to whom unification, I suppose, stands above almost everything else at the present time. For this reason, I venture to express the hope that too much time will not elapse between the receipt of Soviet notes on Germany and the dispatch of the Western replies. The longer the interval, the greater the chances which the Soviet proposals, however specious they are, will have to work on public opinion in Germany and elsewhere. I think it would be unwise . . . and indeed unnecessary to allow the Soviet Union to win propaganda victories in this field. I think the West should also be prepared to counter Soviet offers in a positive way and not spend too much effort on pointing out the hollowness and the insincerity of those offers.

To most Germans the desire for unification goes extremely deep, and it is a desire that is going to be achieved by one means or another. But I believe that more and more Germans will realize that a neutral Germany would be in grave danger of becoming an enlarged East Germany, and that their best hope for an eventful peaceful unification of their country lies in the integration of the Federal Republic and ultimately of all Germany with the Western defence system. This grave step, however—and it is a grave step—may seem to many observers to involve risks and to involve also the protracted division of Germany. There is no doubt that in lining up behind this policy we are taking a calculated risk . . .

What are the alternatives to it? Should we suspend any consideration of Germany's association with the West? Should we suspend such things as the European defence treaty and this peace contract until a scheme for unification and a peace treaty has been worked out with the Russians and their friends, on the basis they have put forward, which includes a national German army, the pardoning of all Nazis, and German neutrality, with all foreign troops withdrawn—the Russian troops presumably to Poland and at least some of the Western troops presumably across the Atlantic. Should we support that proposal as an alternative to the proposals which we have before us today? That alternative has commanded some support in circles which are certainly not allied with Communism. Quite apart from the danger of a neutral Germany, with complete control of its own forces and rearming in its own way without restriction, and quite apart from the danger of that kind of Germany working with the East, if we followed that course it would also wreck the patient and intelligent work of the North Atlantic countries and the Adenauer Government, and it would lay Germany open to uncertainty, confusion and, I suggest, danger.

The policy now proposed frees Germany but includes her in the European system. Her rearmament will be defensive and international; and I hope that both this defensive and this international character of German rearmament will be stressed. I hope also that our policy of rearmament within the European Defence Community will not be taken to mean that we are going to be inflexible in our approach to the larger and ultimate problem of a unified Germany with a peace treaty to which the U.S.S.R. must subscribe, because inflexibility and negotiation in matters of this kind are incompatible. The Western aim has been—and should, I suggest, continue to be—a slackening of world tension followed by a reasoned, calm and firm endeavour to end the cold war. Our hope remains, as it must, that eventually we may enter upon

an era of peace for which men everywhere so ardently long; and they include millions of men in the Soviet Union itself.

The agreements signed at Bonn and Paris and the Western replies to the Soviet notes have shown the Soviet Union that the period of fear is over and that the West now stands firm against the encroachments of the police state.

There will be difficulties ahead, especially during the period when ratification is being discussed. But it should not be beyond the capacity of Western statesmen to overcome those difficulties. I believe that there is now a real prospect of European integration not merely on a continental basis but within the developing North Atlantic community—a community which is not designed to be exclusive in character or to replace the United Nations but rather to insure that the magnificent vision of the United Nations is not destroyed from within.

I am not blind—nor do I think any of us are—to the danger of a restored and a rearmed Germany, but I believe that within the European Defence Community this restoration and this rearmament can be brought to serve not the ends of totalitarian aggression—which it has served in the past—but the ends of peace in Europe and in the world. It is in that hope . . . that I submit for the approval of this House the North Atlantic Treaty protocol which is before us.

Korea

Koje Incident

On June 19, describing a reply received from the United States Government to a note from the Canadian Government regarding the dispatch of a company of Canadian infantry for duty on Koje Island,* Mr. Pearson said:

The United States Government states its appreciation of the importance attached by the Government of Canada to the maintenance of Canadian forces as a unit, and the feeling underlying Canada's traditional position in this matter, and therefore, the United States Government desires to meet the wishes of the Canadian Government in so far as is practicable without endangering the United Nations military effort in Korea. This friendly assurance is welcomed and the qualification is understood and quite acceptable, as it was, of course, never our intention that the natural desire to keep Canadian forces together under Canadian command should be permitted to endanger the United Nations military effort in Korea.

Armistice Negotiations

Replying on June 13 to a question by Mr. M. J. Coldwell (CCF, Rosetown-Biggar) regarding the armistice negotiations in Korea, Mr. Pearson spoke, in part, as follows:

There is no foundation to the suggestion that the negotiators for the United Nations Command may withdraw from the truce talks. The negotiators for the United Nations Command have put forward a package proposal for the solution of outstanding differences over the armistice. The Communist negotiators have subjected the United States officers who are acting for the United Nations Command to considerable abuse to serve the ends of their own propaganda and the United Nations negotiators have therefore recently taken the reasonable position that the main sessions might well be recessed from time to time until the Communists are ready to make proposals which are constructive, not merely abusive.

Nevertheless it is the view of the Canadian Government, and this is shared by other governments concerned, that if the armistice talks are finally broken off, that should be clearly the responsibility of the Communists. In saying this I do not mean

* See *External Affairs*, June issue, Pages 223-4, under "Use of Canadian Troops at Koje Island."

to suggest that we are not conscious of the gravity of the situation in Korea because of the build-up of Communist military forces in recent months.

The negotiation of a military armistice has, by agreement, been entrusted to military officers on both sides. In accordance with the general outline of a plan for settling the Korean war contained in the supplementary report of the cease-fire group which was approved by the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations on January 13, 1951, political discussions as such are not to be held until an armistice has been arranged and the fighting has ceased. I admit that the political content of these armistice discussions has now become significant. Whether, however, the machinery on the United Nations side for conducting them should be modified, or whether, indeed, an effort should be made to move the discussions from Korea itself, is another question on which I would not wish to express any opinion at this time.



—*Capital Press*

AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER VISITS OTTAWA

The Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Menzies, right, calls on the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, during the course of his recent four-day visit to Ottawa.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Mr. M. Cadieux was posted from NATO Defence College, to the NATO Delegation, Paris, France, effective June 1, 1952.

Mr. F. G. Hooton was posted from OEEC Delegation, to the NATO Defence College, Paris, France, effective June 1, 1952.

Mr. R. Campbell was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Ankara, Turkey, effective June 6, 1952.

Mr. Allan C. Anderson was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Mexico, effective June 12, 1952.

The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs: Mr. W. E. Bauer (May 27, 1952); Mr. P. E. J. Charpentier (May 27, 1952); Mr. G. C. Cook (May 27, 1952); Mr. Jean-Marie Gaeten Dery (May 28, 1952); Mr. R. M. Lithgow (May 27, 1952); Mr. N. E. Currie (June 10, 1952); Mr. J. R. Ploude (June 10, 1952).

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Doctor Juan Manuel Alvarez del Castillo, Ambassador, Embassy of Mexico, June 12.

His Excellency Sadao Iguchi, Ambassador, Embassy of Japan, June 17.

His Excellency Dr. Luis Esteves Fernandes, Minister, Legation of Portugal, June 20.

Mr. Guillermo Mackintosh Derqui, Counsellor, Embassy of Argentina, May 28.

Mr. Raymond Treuil, Commercial Counsellor, Embassy of France, June 2.

Rear-Admiral Erling G. Hostvedt, Principal Military Attaché and Naval Attaché, Legation of Norway, Residenc in Washington, D.C., June 14.

M. R. S. Chhatari, First Secretary, High Commission for Pakistan, June 19.

Mr. Phillip B. Dahl, Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, June 19.

Commander R. A. Tamber, Assistant Naval Attaché, Legation of Norway. Residence in Washington, D.C., June 30.

Dr. Caldeiro Coelho, First Secretary, Legation of Portugal, June.

Departures

His Excellency Augustin Nores Martinez, Ambassador, Embassy of Argentina, relinquished his duties, June 4. Mr. Guillermo Mackintosh Derqui, Counsellor of the Embassy, will be Chargé d'Affaires ad interim pending arrival of a successor.

Mr. Pierre Queille, Commercial Counsellor, Embassy of France, June 1.

Rear Admiral P. J. E. Jacobsen, Principal Military Attaché and Naval Attaché, Legation of Norway, June 13.

Mr. Edgar Enrique Perez Colman, Second Secretary, Embassy of Argentina, June 20.

Mr. Raul A. Buccino, Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, June 20.

Commander R. M. Sars, Assistant Naval Attaché, Legation of Norway, June 30.

Mr. César A. de la Fuente, Counsellor, Embassy of Peru, June.

His Excellency the Honorable Stanley Woodward, Ambassador, Embassy of the United States of America, left on a visit to Europe, June 22. Mr. Don. C. Bliss, Minister at the Embassy is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Vicomte du Parc, C.V.O., Ambassador, Embassy of Belgium, left for holidays in Belgium, June 20. Mr. Alain de Thysebaert, Counsellor at the Embassy is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Sean Murphy, Ambassador, Embassy of Ireland, left on a visit to the United States, June 23-July 8. Mr. John O'Brien, Secretary at the Embassy is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Daniel Steen, Minister, Legation of Norway, left for holidays in Norway, June 21. Mr. Sven N. Oftedal, Press Counsellor at the Legation is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

CONSULAR

Recognition was granted to:

Mr. Jean Mauge, Consul, Consulate of France at Toronto, June 2.

Mr. Jaime Alzamora, Honorary Vice-Consul, Consulate General of Peru at Montreal, June 7.

Mr. Philip G. Cottell, Vice-Consul, Consulate of the United States of America at Victoria, June 7.

Mr. Joseph Edmond Arsenault, Honorary Consular Agent of France at Charlottetown, June 12.

Dr. Anselmo Mena, Consul General, Consulate General of Mexico at Montreal, June 14.

Mr. Hogan F. Buford, Vice-Consul, Consulate General of the United States of America at Vancouver, June 21.

Mr. Bartel Menage, Honorary Vice-Consul, Consulate of the Netherlands at Winnipeg, June 27.

Departures

Mr. Paul Martin, Consul, Consulate of France at Toronto, end of May.

Mr. Thomas B. Wenner, Consul, Consulate General of the United States of America at Montreal, June 5.

Dr. Francisco Villagran, Consul General, Consulate General of Mexico at Montreal, June 14.

Mr. G. Edward Reynolds, Vice-Consul, Consulate General of the United States of America at Toronto, June 15.

Mr. Arnaldo Caviglia, Vice-Consul, Consulate of Argentina at Halifax, June 20.

Mr. José Alberto Caballero, Vice-Consul, Consulate of Argentina at Vancouver, June 20.

Mr. Ernesto A. Nogués, Consul in charge, Consulate General of Argentina at Montreal, June 20. Mr. Vincente Ayestaran, Vice-Consul is in charge until appointment of a titular.

Mr. Laurence C. Frank, Consul General, Consulate of the United States of America at Winnipeg, June 20. Mr. Mulford A. Colebrook, Consul, is in charge until appointment of a titular.

Mr. Richard P. Butrick, Consul-General of the United States of America at Montreal, was absent May 28-June 30. Mr. Albert W. Scott, Consul, was in charge of the Consulate General.

Mr. George J. Haering, Consul General of the United States of America at Toronto was absent from June 11-June 21. Mr. Adrian B. Colquitt, Consul was in charge of the Consulate General.

Doctor José R. Hernandez Lebron, Consul General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa, was absent on holidays in his country, June. Consular matters were referred to the Consulate General at Montreal.

The Government of Argentina has decided to close its consulates at Vancouver and at Halifax. In the future, the Consulate General of Argentina at Montreal will have jurisdiction over Canada.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of June 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new standing international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in June

1. 13th Universal Postal Congress. Brussels, May 14—Head of Delegation: W. J. Turnbull, Deputy Postmaster General; Delegates: J. L. A. Gagnon and H. N.

Pearl, Post Office Department; A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels; Secretary: Miss C. E. Bingleman, Post Office Department.

2. *Resumed Session of the Conference on Settlement of German External Debts.* London, May 19—Head of Delegation: G. G. Crean, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Delegates: A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; C. L. Read, Department of Finance.

3. *14th Session of Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).* New York, May 20 Representative: J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternates: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York; J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Dr. C. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare; Dr. F. G. Robertson, M.P.; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; Advisers: G. B. Summers, J. H. Warren, Miss B. M. Meagher, Department of External Affairs; S. Pollock, Department of Finance; Adviser and Secretary: A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

4. *6th Session of ICAO.* Montreal, May 27-June 12—Head of Delegation: C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO; Delegate: H. A. L. Pattison, Canadian Member on Air Navigation Commission of ICAO; Advisers: S. Pollock and M. G. Clark, Department of Finance; J. A. Irwin, Department of External Affairs.

5. *10th Session of Executive Board of WHO.* Geneva, May 29-June 3—Dr. O. Leroux, Department of National Health and Welfare.

6. *Annual Meeting of International Whaling Commission.* London, May 28-June 6. G. R. Clark, Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries.

7. *19th Session of the Committee on Commodity Problems of FAO.* Rome, June 3-7. Representative: Dr. G. S. H. Barton, formerly of the Department of Agriculture.

8. *15th Session of the Conference of the Committees of International Offices of Documentation on Military Medicine.* Liege and Brussels, June 3-7. Lt. Col. R. D. Barron, Canadian Army, Germany.

9. *35th Session of the International Labour Conference (ILO).* Geneva, June 4-28.—Head of Delegation and Government

Delegate: M. M. MacLean, Assistant Deputy Minister of Labour; P. Goulet, Assistant to the Deputy Minister of Labour; Advisers to Government Delegates: C. A. L. Murchison, Unemployment Insurance Commission; Dr. E. A. Watkinson and J. W. Willard, Department of National Health and Welfare; B. M. Williams, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva; Employer Delegate: H. Taylor, Toronto; Advisers to Employer Delegate: J. A. Brass, Montreal; H. W. Macdonnell, Toronto; A. C. Ross, Ottawa; T. W. Smith, Montreal; Worker Delegate: M. Swerdlow, Montreal; Advisers to Worker Delegate: R. Hamel, Asbestos, P.Q.; J. G. McLean, Ottawa; Secretary to the Delegation: H. T. Pammett, Department of Labour.

10. *15th Session of the Council of FAO.* Rome, June 9-14—Representative: Dr. G. S. H. Barton, formerly of the Department of Agriculture.

11. *21st General Assembly of the International Commission of Criminal Police.* Stockholm, June 9-12—Inspector W. H. Kelly, R.C.M.P., Liaison Officer, London.

12. *3rd Session of Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movements of Migrants from Europe (PICMME).* Washington, June 10—Head of Delegation: C. E. S. Smith, Director of Immigration; Delegates: E. H. Gilmour, Canadian Embassy, Washington; S. Pollock, Department of Finance; Adviser: P. W. Bird, Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

13. *7th Joint Session of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body.* Geneva, June 16 — Col. C. H. L. Sharman, Canadian Member, Narcotic Drugs Commission.

14. *6th Meeting of the South Pacific Air Transport Council (SPATC).* Nandi, Fiji, June 19—Delegates: A. D. McLean, Air Transport Board; J. R. Robertson, Department of Transport; G. A. Scott, Director of Bureau of Transportation Economics; Adviser: W. V. Riley, Superintendent of Pacific Air Lines.

15. *Meeting of Advisory Committee on United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA).* New York, June 25. Representative: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

Conferences to be held in July and August

(The inclusion of the name of a conference or of an international meeting in the following list is merely for information. It does not necessarily follow that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate or, if so, that the invitation has or will be accepted; the dates are tentative.)

1. *7th International Conference of Safety in Mines Research.* Buxton, England, July 7-12.
2. *1st International Congress of the International Diabetes Federation.* Leyden, the Netherlands, July 7-21.
3. *2nd International Congress of Physiology and Pathology of Animal Reproduction and of Artificial Insemination.* Copenhagen, July 7-11.
4. *3rd Commonwealth and Empire Health and Tuberculosis Conference.* London, July 8-13.
5. *6th International Congress of Animal Husbandry.* Copenhagen, July 9-14.
6. *1st Session of the Commission for Maritime Meteorology (WMO).* London, July 14.
7. *3rd Meeting of Sub-Group of the Intersessional Working Party on the Reduction of Tariff Levels (GATT).* Geneva, July 15.
8. *18th International Red Cross Conference.* Toronto, July 23-August 9.
9. *International Jurists Congress.* West Berlin, July 25-August 1.
10. *Special Session of Intersessional Committee of GATT.* Geneva, July.
11. *8th General Assembly of the International Geographical Union.* Washington, August 8-15.
12. *6th British Commonwealth Forestry Conference.* Ottawa, August 11-September 13.
13. *6th International Grassland Congress (FAO).* State College, Pennsylvania, August 17-23.
14. *Inter-Governmental Conference for the Adoption of the Universal Copyright Convention (UNESCO).* Geneva, August 18-September 6.
15. *Special Committee to Study Further the Question of the Methods and Procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations for Dealing with Legal and Drafting Questions.* New York, August 26.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
36	17/6	Presentation of Letters of Credence of Mr. Sadao Iguchi as Japanese Ambassador to Canada.
37	20/6	Programme of the visit to Ottawa by the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Robert Gordon Menzies.
38	20/6	Presentation of Letter of Credence of Dr. Luis Esteves Fernandes as Portuguese Minister to Canada.
39	26/6	Reference made to the International Joint Commission concerning the water levels of Lake Ontario.
40	30/6	Application submitted to the International Joint Commission for approval of the construction of works for the development of power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

CANADIAN FLOUR FOR GREECE

GREECE is the only European state whose armed forces have fought and won an active campaign since the Second World War to prevent their country from being transformed into a satellite of the Soviet Union. It is because of the determination of the Greek people and their readiness to continue for over a decade to live under trying war conditions rather than yield that Greece is still a member of the community of free nations today.

No Respite

The Greek people were accorded almost no respite between their liberation from German and Bulgarian occupation in the autumn of 1944 and the outbreak of that internal conflict in December of the same year which was to continue in one form or another until September 1949. Communist elements in various parts of the country fought to overthrow the duly constituted government which had the backing of the majority of the people, and during the period of guerrilla warfare large areas, particularly in the north, were devastated repeatedly. Some 700,000 persons fled from the affected areas to other localities in Greece as refugees. In addition many, including thousands of children, were taken by guerrillas to Communist-dominated countries across the northern frontier. Large areas of Northern Greece were left almost desolate.

After the defeat of the guerrilla forces in September 1949, the so-called "internal refugees" began to return to their devastated villages and neglected fields. With government aid and the assistance of E.C.A., supplemented by contributions from voluntary organizations, the refugees set to work with a few draft animals and simple tools to restore their homes and to make the soil productive once more. The task proved an extremely hard one, since in some areas the devastation had been almost complete and many villages, reached only by mountain trails, were almost completely cut off from the outer world. By the end of 1951 the flocks on which the villagers depended for a large part of their food supply stood at only one-fifth to one-third of the pre-war level, which itself had not provided a standard of living comparable to that of other countries of Europe.

Crop failures in 1951 proved a major disaster for many of the northern villagers who had harvested a first straggling and meagre crop in 1950 and had counted heavily on obtaining something approaching normal yields in 1951 in order to get through their second winter at home. Canadian voluntary organizations, including the Canadian Red Cross Society, the Greek War Relief Fund and the Canadian Save the Children Fund, approached the Canadian Government asking for emergency aid in the form of a substantial shipment of wheat for the relief of villages whose inhabitants were already reduced to living on herbs and faced the possibility of death by starvation before the 1952 crop could be harvested. The Canadian Ambassador to Greece, the E.C.A. Mission in Greece, the Near East Foundation and others confirmed that many of the villagers would starve during the coming months unless food supplies reached them soon. Meanwhile the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada, whose executive director had made a personal survey of conditions in northern Greece in July and August 1951, had already embarked on a campaign to raise as much as possible in the form of voluntary contributions to provide bread for Greece. (By the end of April this organization was able to report that a total of 650 tons of flour had been so contributed for distribution in Greece under its own auspices to selected villages.)

Help from Canada

On February 19, 1952 an Order-in-Council was passed by the Committee of the Privy Council with a view to contributing to the relief of starvation in Greece. Taking note that the existence of famine conditions in Northern Greece had been

fully substantiated, it provided that a gift of 500,000 bushels of No. 5 wheat should be made by the Government to the Canadian Red Cross Society, which in turn should call for tenders from mills in Western Canada for the milling of the wheat before its shipment to Greece. Parliament subsequently approved the expenditure of \$855,000 to cover the cost of the wheat to the Canadian Government.

The strictly Canadian part of the task was carried out rapidly with the co-operation of the Canadian Red Cross Society, the Canadian Wheat Board, and the flour mills, by whose joint efforts 206,315 hundred-pound sacks of flour were made up. The sacks were of white cotton suitable for later use as clothing. They were branded in washout inks with the insignia of the Red Cross and the name of Canada in English and Greek letters. The flour was enriched with vitamin B₁ according to the customary Canadian standard. Some 330 freight cars were required to move the 10,000 tons of flour to the seaboard at Portland, Maine, where the Greek War Relief Association of the United States arranged for the loading of the greater part of the cargo aboard the S.S. *Ocean Navigator* early in April and its transportation to Greece, the cost of ocean freight (some \$250,000) being reimbursed later by the Mutual Security Administration of the United States Government.

To mark the co-operative nature of the enterprise, some eighty representatives of interested bodies attended send-off ceremonies at Portland on April 8 arranged by the Greek War Relief Association of the United States. Among those in attendance were Mr. Alexander LaFleur, Honorary Vice-Consul of Canada at Portland, who spoke briefly on behalf of the Canadian Government, Mr. S. A. Bjarnason of Toronto, the Assistant National Commissioner of the Canadian Red Cross Society, and Mr. Basil Salamis of Montreal, Secretary of the Greek War Relief Fund of Canada. At the water-front the cargo of the S.S. *Ocean Navigator* was blessed by the Most Reverend Michael, Archbishop of the North and South American Diocese of the Greek Orthodox Church. The ship sailed three days later. The overflow cargo was carried on the S.S. *Lindenwood Victory*, which sailed on April 19 from New York.

Distribution Arrangements

Meanwhile, in Greece, arrangements were being made for the reception of the flour and its rapid distribution to villages where the need was greatest. Here again a number of agencies worked together to make the operation a success. The general lines along which they would proceed were established in a preliminary consultation with the Canadian Ambassador to Greece. Detailed arrangements for distributing the flour were made later.

On the arrival of the S.S. *Ocean Navigator* at Salonika the Canadian Ambassador declared that title to the cargo was transferred to the Greek Red Cross Society. The latter had already arranged for expenses of unloading, warehousing, transportation and distribution of the flour to be met in the first instance through the Agricultural Bank of Greece, reimbursement being made later by the Government. The Departments of Social Welfare and Supply both gave assistance in handling the flour. Amounts required in various districts were estimated on the basis of reports from various agencies, particularly the Greek Red Cross Society, the United States Mutual Security Administration and the Greek Department of Welfare. Only mountain villages were served, on the assumption that their needs were the greatest and that villagers in the valleys and plains would have readier access to other sources of supply. The nomarch or reeve and the priest of each village drew up lists of local inhabitants who were in need. These lists were turned over to Greek Red Cross Society representatives who identified each recipient at the distribution centres before turning over the flour to be taken away.

The actual distribution took place in centres which could be reached by the flour trucks. In these centres there congregated in advance villagers who had come

with their horses and mules and donkeys, some from as far as 20 miles away, though in most cases the distance was somewhat shorter. The strongest of the villagers and the sturdiest of the animals were selected to bring home the flour available for the whole community. For each needy person whose name appeared on the lists supplied to Red Cross Society workers a three-month ration of 50 pounds of flour was allotted in the hope that this would see the villagers through the most critical period until their 1952 harvest was gathered.

The unloading of the *Ocean Navigator* at Salonika was made the occasion of a religious service on the quay in the Free Zone on May 2, when the Minister-Governor of Northern Greece, the Bishop of Salonika, the Mayor, the Military Commander of the district, the Secretary-General of the Department of Social Welfare, the President and Secretary-General of the Greek Red Cross Society, a representative of the Greek War Relief Association of the United States and many other persons representing regional and municipal bodies were present, in addition to Ambassador and Mrs. Magann who represented Canada. The service was followed by speeches in which it was recalled that Canada had been the first country to send food to Greece during the occupation. The absence of restrictive conditions in the impending distribution of the flour was also mentioned more than once with appreciation.

The first distribution took place at Edessa, some 55 miles northwest of Salonika. Here Ambassador and Mrs. Magann found about 200 villagers from Flamouri and Sotira assembled, along with Red Cross Society workers who were prepared to check the names of heads of families for whom the flour was taken away. Approximately 700 bags, containing rations for 1,400 persons, were handed over in this first distribution but not until all present had taken part in a religious service and ceremonies of welcome and listened to speeches of appreciation. On May 5 the Canadian Ambassador and Mrs. Magann attended similar ceremonies at the village of Kratero, thrice destroyed in the past 40 years, which now stands again, three-quarters rebuilt, in its position a mile from the Yugoslav border and eight miles from the border of



—Ioannis Marianos

DISTRIBUTION OF FLOUR AT KRATERO

Religious services and ceremonies of welcome marked the distribution of flour at Kratero, Greece, a village situated a mile from the Yugoslav border and eight miles from the border of Albania.

Albania. Here 500 sacks of flour were distributed after ceremonies marking the partly religious, partly festive nature of the occasion. In the same manner the operation of distributing Canadian flour to mountain villages continued in the Florina and Kastoria districts. Later in May, distributions took place to villages in Epirus on the western slopes of the Pindus range. The Canadian Ambassador and Mrs. Magann, driving northward to attend the distributions here, were tendered unexpected receptions in centres along their way, and were asked to convey to the Canadian Government the thanks of the Greek people for help given to their fellow-countrymen farther north. At Ioannina, the capital of Epirus, church bells were rung and streets were decorated with a surprising number of Canadian flags, many of them of local manufacture.

The distributions in Thrace took place during the month of June. In the same month, also, a smaller ration was distributed to the inhabitants of four villages in the island of Mytilene where destitution had followed the failure of olive crops in two successive years.

On April 30 the Greek Prime Minister, General Plastiras, who had been confined to his room for some months, invited the Canadian Ambassador to call on him. He asked Mr. Magann to transmit to the Canadian Government his personal expression of deepest gratitude for the gift of Canadian flour. Canadians, he said, had earned the affection of the Greek people by keeping thousands from starvation and illness during and after the war. They had continued their interest without imposing restrictive conditions and were always concerned with measures to improve the lot of the poor and suffering.

Message from Greek Parliament

On June 2 the Speaker of the Greek Parliament wrote to the Canadian Ambassador in the following terms:

Your Excellency,

At a session of the Greek Parliament on May 27, 1952, the Acting Prime Minister of the Government, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sophocles Venizelos, as also Messrs. Phokion Zaimis, Minister of Welfare, Kosmas Alexandrides, Deputy of Serres, Panagiotis Kanellopoulos, Deputy of Athens, D. Manentes, Deputy of Kozani and other speakers, expressed their gratitude and the thanks of the Greek people, and of the Parliament, to the Government of your country, and the noble and brave Canadian people for the valuable assistance to the Greek population, in donating gratis 11,000 tons of flour, a gesture demonstrating once more the generosity and courtesy of the friendly Canadian people.

Attached are excerpts of the official minutes of Parliament. I would ask you kindly to transmit to your Government and the noble Canadian people the feelings of the Greek Parliament, to which I add my own personal thanks.

Please, Mr. Ambassador, accept the expression of my highest esteem. I am,

Yours very truly,

D. B. CONTIKAS.

In the extracts from the debate of May 27 enclosed with this letter there was the record of an explanation made by the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Venizelos, and the Minister of Welfare, Mr. Zaimis, regarding the basis on which the distribution of flour had been made. 120,000 bags of flour unloaded at Salonika had been for the use of persons in Northern Greece while the remainder, unloaded at Piræus, were destined for Northwestern Greece and other parts of the country. It had been the wish of the Canadian Government and the Canadian Red Cross Society that the Greek Red Cross Society should make itself responsible for the distributions in



CANADIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVES THANKS

The Canadian Ambassador to Greece, Mr. Magnan, is shown above being thanked by a blind man and his wife on the occasion of the distribution of flour to inhabitants of four villages on the island of Mytilene.

Greece. The Canadian Parliament and the Canadian people should be assured that this intention had been carried out and that the Greek Government had not interfered in any way with the distribution. The Ministry of Welfare had arranged, however, at the request of the Greek Red Cross Society, for credits to cover distribution expenses, without charge to the recipients of the flour, and the Ministry of Social Welfare, through the competent Minister of Supply and Agricultural Bank of Greece, had made the transportation of the flour possible.

The operation described above extended over a period of more than six months from the time it was first proposed until it was successfully completed. By its means—that is to say, through the action of the Canadian Government and the co-operation of official bodies and voluntary organizations mentioned in this brief review—the Canadian people contributed to the welfare of some 400,000 individual Greeks in an area where hard work and self-help are deeply ingrained traditions, but where the untoward circumstances of the times have forced them to depend temporarily on outside aid for their very survival.

STALIN AND THE LINGUISTICS CONTROVERSY IN THE U.S.S.R.

On May 9, 1950 *Pravda* published an "editor's note" to the effect that, in connection with the unsatisfactory state of Soviet linguistics, the editors considered it "essential to organize an open discussion in *Pravda* in order, through criticism and self-criticism, to overcome the stagnation in the development of Soviet linguistics and to give correct direction to further scientific work in this field". It was announced that *Pravda* would devote two pages weekly to articles on questions of linguistics. The first contribution came from Professor Chikobava of the Stalin State University of Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, and was an unexpected attack on the linguistic theories of the late Nicolai Yakovlevich Marr. Marr, born in 1864 in Georgia, was the son of a Scottish father and a Georgian mother. He was already a prominent scholar in the field of philology at the time of the revolution and when he died in 1934 he had adapted himself successfully to the new regime and had developed what he believed to be a Marxist theory of linguistics. Like many philologists, Marr was attracted by the mystery of the origin of language and in his later years evolved the theory that all languages were a development from four primitive sounds, *sal*, *ber*, *yon*, and *rosh*. Although this theory, like his Marxist theory of linguistics, has been ridiculed, he is still respected for his important contribution to the study of the languages of the Caucasus.

Chikobava Attack Unexpected

Chikobava's attack on Marr was unexpected because Marr had been set up as a kind of minor deity of Soviet science. Like Lysenko's in the field of biology, his work was regarded as having a monopoly of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist virtue. He was supposed to have rescued the study of linguistics in the U.S.S.R. from the false doctrines of bourgeois philosophy, and it was customary for any article on the subject to begin and end with recognition of the writer's great debt to N. Ya. Marr. In January 1950 his memory was honoured in Moscow at a special gathering of Soviet scholars. On this occasion the leading students of linguistics made speeches extolling his genius and delivered sharp attacks on those philologists who still stubbornly refused to accept the new doctrine.

In many branches of Soviet art and science there have been post-war "purges". Musicians, writers, biologists, economists, philosophers and others have been given a new "party line" involving denunciation of established leaders in each of these fields. Such purges were usually directed against so-called bourgeois elements in science and decadent capitalist tastes in the arts. In the field of philology this process had worked in favour of Marr's doctrines and of those scholars who regarded themselves as his disciples, probably because Marr had repudiated most traditional internationally-accepted linguistic theory. One of the chief points of Marrist philology is, briefly, that languages are a class "superstructure" in a society, and rest on that society's economic and class base. Thus, according to the Marr school, a bourgeois society spoke a bourgeois language, and when the bourgeois base of society was liquidated, its superstructure, including the language, was also removed and replaced by a new superstructure, which included a new socialist language. As a corollary to this was the belief that in the development of languages, sudden upheavals sometimes take place similar to revolutions in the ideological field.

Stalin Enters Controversy

As *Pravda's* "free discussion" proceeded, it became clear that Marrism was no longer to enjoy its preferred position in Soviet science. Although one or two of the

articles supported Marr, notably that of Meshchaninov, Marr's closest student and the dominant man in Soviet linguistics during the Marrist regime, the balance was already strongly anti-Marr when on June 20 J. V. Stalin entered the controversy with an article entitled "Regarding Marxism in Linguistics". The intervention of political leaders in academic debates of this sort is a familiar feature of Soviet life. The Central Committee of the Communist Party and, in particular, the late Andrei Zhdanov, played a decisive part in the biology and philosophy discussions, but Stalin himself had not for many years published a contribution to a controversy of this sort.

His article begins on a modest note:

A group of youthful comrades has suggested to me that I express my opinion in the press on linguistic problems, particularly where Marxism in linguistics is concerned. I am not a linguist and, of course, I cannot fully satisfy the comrades. As for Marxism in linguistics as well as other social sciences, I am directly concerned with this. I have therefore consented to reply to a number of questions asked by the comrades.

He then proceeds to demolish the Marr school of thought in linguistics. To the first question, "Is it true that language is a superstructure over a base?" he answers "No, it is not true", and elaborates on this by defining the "base" of society in Marxist terms as "the economic system of society at a given stage of its development" and the superstructure as the "political, religious, artistic and philosophical views of society and their corresponding political, legal and other institutions". If the base of society is changed, corresponding changes result in the superstructure. In this respect, language clearly differs from superstructure since, for example, in the U.S.S.R. the same Russian language which served Russian capitalist and bourgeois culture today serves the socialist system. He gives an equally categorical negative to the second question, "Is it true that language has always been and remains of a class nature; that a single, non-class language common to a whole society and a whole people does not exist?". A characteristic touch in the answer to this question is a reference, in the third person, to himself as an authority: "When Stalin said. . .". In answering a third question, "What are the characteristic features of a language?" he gives an outline of the basic propositions from which a correct Marxist science of language is to be created.

His response to the final question, "Was *Pravda* right in opening a free discussion of linguistic problems?" is of particular interest since it reveals vividly the unhappy consequences of an authoritarian regime in a field of scientific study. He says:

The discussion has made it clear, first of all that both in the center and in the republics a regime has dominated in linguistic bodies not typical of science and men of science. The slightest criticism of the state of affairs in Soviet linguistics, even the most timid attempts to criticize the so-called 'new teaching' in linguistics were persecuted and stifled by the directors of linguistic circles. Valuable scholars and research workers in linguistics were removed from their positions and reduced in status for criticism of the heritage of N. Ya. Marr and for the slightest disapproval of his teaching. Linguists were moved up into responsible positions not according to their qualifications in the field but as they gave unconditional recognition to N. Ya. Marr's teaching.

His next words seem to give some hope of a return to academic freedom and have been widely quoted by Soviet writers in every field of arts and sciences:

It is universally recognized that no science can develop and prosper without a struggle of opinions, without free criticism. But this universally recognized rule has been ignored and trampled upon most unceremoniously. A self-contained group of infallible leaders has developed which has begun to ride roughshod and behave in the most arbitrary manner after guaranteeing itself against any possible criticism.

However, it is apparently easier for Stalin to expound this excellent doctrine than for Soviet scholars to apply it and no bold spirit has yet tried to employ "free criticism" or the "struggle of opinions" against, for example, the Lysenko regime in biology.

After Stalin's contribution on June 20, the discussion continued in two additional issues of *Pravda*, on June 27 and July 4. All further articles were decidedly anti-Marrist and all now cited Stalin's "contribution of genius" as the starting point for serious linguistics. Among the final contributions on July 4 were short letters from Meshchaninov and one or two others who had written in support of Marr before Stalin's intervention. They humbly recognized their mistake and did not indulge in any "struggle of opinions". Stalin elaborated on his *Pravda* article in four letters to various "comrades" first published in *Bolshevik* No. 12 of 1950 and *Bolshevik* No. 14 of 1950. A comment on "formalism" in the first of these letters may have been encouraging to writers and artists who have been attacked for this vice:

N. Ya. Marr and his 'students' accused of formalism all the philosophers who do not share the 'new teaching' of N. Ya. Marr. This, of course, is not serious and is unintelligent . . . I feel that 'formalism' was fabricated by the authors of the 'new teaching' for facilitating the struggle with their opponents in linguistics.

His reply to a letter from a certain Comrade Sanzheyev began with a little joke about the Soviet bureaucracy:

Esteemed Comrade Sanzheyev:

I am replying to your letter very belatedly, since the Central Committee apparatus referred it to me only yesterday.

Speculation on Stalin's Intervention

There has been much speculation about the reason for this personal intervention by the supreme Soviet leader in what might seem a very academic controversy of interest only to a narrow circle of professional philologists and teachers. Whatever the explanation, it is at least certain that the question must have been regarded as one of the greatest importance if so weighty an authority as Stalin himself was needed to "smash the old regime in linguistics". The Marrists had made use of their dominant position in the field not only to tyrannize over the language teachers of the whole country but also to line their own pockets. One of them was cited in the press as holding seven salaried administrative posts simultaneously and spending his time interfering with the work of others to the neglect of his own philological research. Students writing theses for advanced degrees, especially in comparative linguistics, had long been hampered in their work by the necessity of conforming to the Marrist theories and the impossibility of getting them accepted if they did not. What was more serious, however, and perhaps one of the main reasons for Stalin's intervention, was that all language studies, including Russian, were being adversely affected right down to the elementary grades. For instance, a directive from the Ministry of Education forbade any teacher to take a single sentence for grammatical analysis; instead, he must take a passage of not fewer than three or four sentences and have the students analyze it semantically. As a result of such doctrinaire interference, there was an alarming decline in the standard of spelling and composition in Russian itself, and the better teachers in many parts of the country were seriously worried.

An article in the January 1951 issue of the Soviet journal *Questions of Philosophy* by A. Mordinov, lends support to the view that urgent practical needs of Soviet society, in particular the gradual Russification of non-Russian minorities, may have brought on the controversy and may have led Stalin to take part in person. Mordinov pointed out that Marr's theories found almost no acceptance outside the Soviet Union

and their application within the U.S.S.R. led to incredible confusion. He described the great difficulties created by the attempt to introduce thousands of Russian political, philosophical and technical terms into primitive languages with grammatical and phonetic systems quite different from Russian. The completely unsuccessful Marrist approach was to try to introduce these words in their exact Russian form rather than by some "natural" process of assimilation. It is important to note that Mordinov is criticizing only the method of enriching minority languages from Russian, not the principle that the minority languages must develop solely through "co-operation" with Russian. Mordinov made this quite clear by asserting that "one of the most important questions of Soviet linguistics is the question of the tremendous beneficial influence of the great Russian language on the development of the national cultures and languages of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R." He referred to a new relation in the U.S.S.R. of mutual co-operation between languages and cultures, with the Russian people and their language and culture playing the leading role, and added that the development of the native languages was assured through knowledge of Russian and could not proceed if Russian were not mastered. In conclusion Mordinov referred to Stalin's teaching that:

Mankind will arrive at a single language and a single culture under communism through the maximum development, the flourishing of the national languages and cultures under socialism. The experience of building the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., national in form and socialist in content, fully confirms this inspired statement by our leader and teacher . . . National differences and languages will begin to die out only at the third stage of the world dictatorship of the proletariat when socialism enters into the daily lives of the peoples, when the nations become convinced, through practical experience, of the advantages of a common language over national languages.

What language is to become the universal tongue is not specified, but from the tone of Mordinov's article it can only be inferred that this destiny has been assigned to Russian.

Results of Intervention

Immediately after Stalin's intervention in the linguistic dispute, things began to happen, as they are wont to do, very rapidly, not to say precipitately, in the practical sphere. Marr's name was dropped from the title of the Marr Institute of Linguistics, although it was retained, in recognition of his more permanent contributions to linguistic studies, for which Stalin gave him full credit, in other institutions with which he had been connected. Meshchaninov, the leading Marrist, was replaced as director of the Institute by Vinogradov, a philologist with a high reputation in Western Europe, who for consistently opposing the Marrists had been labelled by them a "bourgeois cosmopolitan" and prevented from holding a post commensurate with his abilities and attainments. If Stalin's support of Vinogradov aroused any suspicions of bourgeois cosmopolitan tendencies in the leader himself, they have not been expressed in print. Meshchaninov, who is a well-known authority on the Finno-Ugrian languages, was retained on the staff of the Institute under Vinogradov. It was immediately apparent that new textbooks would be required to replace the repudiated Marrist textbooks throughout the entire educational system of all the Soviet republics, and work on this enormous task was started at once. Teachers who had been thoroughly indoctrinated in the pernicious Marrist theories required re-education and the machinery for this was rapidly set in motion.

In the two years which have passed since *Pravda's* debate was held, Soviet scholars in every field of study have been busy applying Stalin's views on philology to their various subjects. Almost every article in any learned journal now includes an expression of the writer's great debt to Stalin's work on linguistics. The academic and artistic world of the U.S.S.R. would clearly like to believe (and may well feel

that it has reason to hope, from unmistakable signs that the more ludicrous extremes of "anti-formalism" in music and the theatre are already being quietly abandoned) that there will be an increasingly wide application of Stalin's final words on the subject:

The pedants and Talmudists view Marxism and its individual conclusions and formulas as a collection of dogmas which 'never' change, in spite of the changed conditions of society's development. They think that if they learn these conclusions and formulas by heart and begin to quote them here and there, then they will be able to solve any questions whatsoever, figuring that the memorized conclusions and formulas suit them for all times and countries, for all of life's contingencies. But only those people can think this way who see the letter of Marxism but not its essence, who memorize the texts of Marxist conclusions and formulas but do not understand their content.

Marxism is a science of the laws of the development of nature and society, a science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, a science of the victory of socialism in all countries, a science of the building of communist society. Marxism, as a science, cannot stand still; it develops and perfects itself. In the course of its development Marxism cannot help but be enriched by new experience, by new knowledge; consequently, its individual formulas and conclusions must change with the passing of time, must be replaced by new formulas and conclusions corresponding to new historical tasks. Marxism does not recognize immutable conclusions and formulas obligatory for all epochs and periods. Marxism is the enemy of all kinds of dogmatism.

It would be rash to conclude that this is a call for a free and fearless give and take of ideas in Soviet intellectual life, and Soviet readers would probably not interpret it in this way. The Marxist view on a particular subject may be changed to suit new conditions, but this is for the Party or Stalin himself to decide. When the Party decision is made, the new interpretation is imposed no less dogmatically than was the old. Stalin's words are perhaps a warning to the Party itself to avoid pedantry and dogmatism, which give rise to errors in judgment harmful to Soviet society because there is no escape from them until a new Party pronouncement is issued.



NORTH OF SEVENTY-FOUR

(This is the first of two articles by a member of the Department of External Affairs who recently visited the Arctic.)

The Canadian Arctic, according to the popular phrase, is Canada's last frontier. It is a frontier in the sense that it is on the edge of the unknown. It is undeveloped. The men who go north, though living in a world of "gadgetry" which the frontiersmen of the last century never knew, have something of the same spirit of dedication on which the western reaches of the continent were dependent for their development. Whether the Arctic is a frontier in the sense that its little communities are the forerunners of a new island of civilization may be a doubtful proposition, but the growing importance of the Arctic to life in the south is unquestionable.

The interest which the Arctic holds is almost entirely scientific, and a number of Canadian stations have been established throughout the north for scientific purposes. These communities are dotted lightly across the top of the map of Canada. In a sense, they start at Fort Churchill, for it is an important base of supply serving the scattered world of the Canadian Arctic.

To Canadians living in the comfortable latitudes of the main cities, Fort Churchill, at 58° N., seems a remote settlement. But Fort Churchill, which lies not far from where the northern boundary of Manitoba touches Hudson Bay, is an old established community with a history longer than Ottawa's. Two centuries ago Fort Churchill was an important trading post for the Hudson Bay Company and the centre of military power guarding the approaches to what is now central Canada. Today, Churchill is as cold and far away as ever, but it is 600 miles below the Arctic Circle; and to the men who live in the real Arctic, it looks like southern civilization.

The Real North

By any standard, Resolute Bay, on Cornwallis Island at 74° N., is certainly remote from settled Canadian life. It is a third of the way from the Arctic Circle to the Pole, north even of the land where the Eskimos dwell. Its climate is harsh. Yet even Resolute Bay with its well-equipped airfield, its good living quarters and its cluster of comfortably-furnished buildings seems like civilization to the men who live in the lonely isolation of the remote weather-stations 500 miles back in the empty Arctic wilderness.

Churchill has a scheduled air service, and even rail service, to the south. But it is only twice a year that aircraft provide a link between civilization and the remote weather stations on Mould Bay, Isachsen, Alert and Eureka. Each spring and each autumn, the RCAF flies its North Stars from Montreal through Churchill and Resolute, out to the farthest outposts of Canadian civilization; at about the same time planes of the USAF are flying from Thule in northern Greenland to bring men and supplies to two other Canadian weather stations at Alert and Eureka. Each summer, ships of the United States Navy and Coast Guard make their way to Resolute. If ice conditions are favourable, they may reach one or two of the smaller settlements, but no one can ever count on this. The air-lifts are the real life-line of the remote weather stations, and perhaps it is the spring air-lift which is psychologically the more important. The North Stars which fly to the distant Arctic stations in April, just a day out of Montreal, break the monotony of the long, dark winter. They bring in new men to replace the veterans; they carry food, supplies and equipment for the summer projects; they fly in the scientists — botanists, geodesists and astronomers — who have come to explore one of Canada's richest scientific frontiers.

The important men of the Arctic are the meteorologists and their associates who man the outposts within a few hundred miles of the Pole. Almost all other activities in this part of the world are designed to support the meteorological programme or are dependent upon the weather men. The RCAF brings in the men, their food, their equipment, even their houses and working buildings. Radio operators are on duty to transmit their information south, where it is used to predict the weather in every part of North America, and, indeed, in Europe and the Eastern Hemisphere. Scientists who go to the Arctic to learn about Arctic life, the characteristics of frozen ground, the shape of the earth or the nature of the aurora borealis are all dependent on the weather stations for their operations.

Six years ago, there was little activity of any kind in the Canadian Archipelago north of Lancaster Sound. The weather-stations did not exist. The area was inadequately mapped. Little was known about life in the Canadian Arctic, and even less about those scientific problems to which the Arctic yields so many answers. Then in 1947, Canada and the United States worked out a joint programme of Arctic weather-stations. It was a five-year programme in the course of which five stations were established through the joint efforts, and for the joint use, of both countries. The U.S. Weather Bureau was as anxious as the Department of Transport's Meteorological Division to establish reporting stations in the Arctic, since weather from the Pole does not stop at the Forty-Ninth Parallel. The United States Navy provided ships on which Canadian and United States officials penetrated as far as navigation would allow in search of sites for the tiny but important new scientific communities. The United States Air Force bore the responsibility for "airlifting" the men and supplies to places which ships could not reach. The plans so carefully made on paper on the basis of the available information had to be changed in the face of Arctic realities. The main station had to be placed some hundreds of miles east of the intended location and was eventually put at Resolute on Cornwallis Island. That was on August 31, 1947. Winter was fast approaching, and the men and ships worked round the clock for days to put ashore the supplies and shelters to sustain life for the long months until ships and aircraft could reach the spot the next year. Two years later, the RCAF took over an airstrip near the station, and now Resolute is the focal point for all activities in the Canadian Arctic.

Starting the Chain

It was on Easter Sunday of 1947 that the first landing was made at Eureka on Ellesmere Island. Supplies were moved in by air from Thule in Greenland in temperatures from 30° to 50° below zero. Heavy aircraft, landing on the thick ice, were able to discharge their cargo so efficiently that two trips a day were made until the station was established, with sufficient supplies to last 400 days. All this unloading and the construction of temporary buildings were completed by five men who managed, at the same time, to start their weather observation programme.

In April 1948, Isachsen was established by air on Ellef Rignes Island from an ice strip at Resolute. In the first ten days from the beginning of the operation, 84 tons of supplies, which had been flown in, were stored by the nine men who were originally on the staff of the station. Such is the sense of urgency in the Arctic.

Mould Bay was established about the same time on Prince Patrick Island, 500 miles west of Resolute. In a single day during that initial operation six airlifts of supplies were flown in — everything from tinned vegetables to a tractor for the eventual construction of an airstrip.

The station at Alert, the northernmost post office in the world, was established in 1950. The beginnings of this station provide a fascinating story of human courage and endurance. Two years before, a tractor, with fuel and other supplies, was cached

on the beach by an ice-breaker. On Easter Sunday, 1950, a survey party and the three men who were to start the station were landed by a ski-equipped aircraft. Their first task was to make an airstrip so that planes might land on wheels with the food and supplies to preserve life and allow the business of weather-reporting to proceed. To make an airstrip it was necessary to get the tractor working after it had been buried for nearly two years in the Arctic ice. There was an anxious half hour, until, to the relief and perhaps astonishment of all, the motor turned over. The station survived and is now one of the most valuable links in the Arctic chain. Today, one of the three men who went on that first expedition is back at Resolute, still inseparable from the Arctic.

U.S.-Canada Joint Effort

The stations were established as a joint effort of Canada and the United States, and so they remain in operation. Canada provides half the staff; the officer in charge of each station is a Canadian; the buildings are provided by Canada, and the main responsibility for the airlifts is Canadian. The United States provides the remainder of the staff and most of the scientific equipment, as well as the ships for the sea-supply mission which each summer works its way north with heavy supplies. It is an important exercise in mutual co-operation.

The staff of the meteorological stations and of the RCAF station at Resolute are the main permanent residents of the Arctic archipelago. Up there it is, for the most part, too far north even for the Eskimos who lived here once but moved away. The Eskimos, however, are without the benefit of rockwool insulation, triple layers of sealed glass, modern oil-heating and running hot water. It is not an easy life for the permanent residents, but those who live it seem to find it rewarding.

Elsewhere in the Arctic there is a chain of RCMP posts whose members have established well-known traditions for the preservation of law and order and of service over hundreds of thousands of square miles of Canadian territory. Although the RCMP has had a longer association with the Arctic than any other Canadians (except the Eskimos), they are to be found mostly in the area of greater native population on the northern fringes of the mainland and in the lower eastern archipelago. Their work is not primarily scientific, but their knowledge of Arctic conditions has been of tremendous help to those whose duties are farther north. Few Canadians realize the service which members of the RCMP have rendered in the Far North, not only to the natives in the area but to the country as a whole.

Apart from the meteorological staff, the airmen and the police, there are other important workers in the Arctic. At Resolute there is a station operated by the Department of Transport to study the ionosphere — to see, in effect, what happens to radio waves as they bounce about above the atmosphere. A seismologist at the same place is collecting valuable data on earth tremors. There are frequent visits from members of the Dominion Observatory staff seeking valuable information on the shape of the earth (which is slightly flat near the poles) by taking measurements of the force of gravity.

These are the men who come to Canada's farthest Arctic to live and work as permanent residents. Permanent residence means usually at least one year. But some of these people are old-timers, who have come back of their own choice for term after term: these have succumbed to the lure of the North. Other important work is done by the visitors, the so-called "tourists". Some have merely to take a few scientific readings, and their work is completed in a few days. Others stay for the two or three week duration of the airlift, but many more remain for the entire summer season. These people are temporary residents, not because of any reluctance to endure the conditions of the Arctic for a longer time, but because they have an important job back home, whether in Ottawa or in some other part of the continent,



—Phillips

IONOSPHERIC STATION AT RESOLUTE

An Ionospheric station, used to study electro-magnetic effects in the upper atmosphere, at Resolute. A Finnish steambath may be seen in the left foreground.

and the work which they do in the Arctic merely supplements it. Nearly all the so-called tourists are Arctic enthusiasts; some of them have returned year after year, and, in fact, seem to exist through the winter months in anticipation of the next journey north. Some are hard put to it to explain why they like to come to the Arctic; others will not even admit that they do, but the fact remains that they come back season after season.

The interests of the visiting scientists are strangely varied. Geodesists bearing cases of fragile and complicated equipment travel as far as possible into the unknown to take bearings. With the most accurate available scientific instruments they are trying to determine the precise location of points on the map the location of which may now be known only within a radius of a score of miles. The Canadian Arctic has been thoroughly mapped by aerial photography. This mass of aerial photographs, however, can be of real use only if there are certain accurately determined reference points to make a pattern of the whole photographic survey. It is the job of the geodesists to establish such references. Hence, by pin-pointing only a few widely separated places they are able to give the map makers that vital information necessary to prepare final and accurate maps for tens of thousands of square miles.

Among the most active of the Arctic enthusiasts are the naturalists. One scientist from the Department of Agriculture of Canada flies north thousands of miles each summer in search of Arctic insects. Another, from the National Museum of Canada, is concerned with Arctic flora and fauna. He will astonish the newcomer with his coloured photographs of Arctic flowers of unsurpassed beauty and delicacy. The researches of these zoologists and botanists are by no means academic. Some of the information they gather has a direct bearing on their work in more temperate climates.

Their findings will often be useful to Government officials responsible for the welfare of native populations in the Far North.

Some of the visitors have an extremely tough job ahead of them. Airstrip mechanics go in each summer to improve the landing facilities serving the weather stations. The very short construction season requires an almost superhuman effort by men and machines. The delicacy of the earth covering over the permafrost demands the most exacting care. During the weeks when these men work there is little night and little rest. They have the satisfaction of doing an extremely important job, for on their efforts depends the safety of air crews and the staffs of the northern weather-station. These airstrip mechanics maintain the only means of physical communication with the outside world.

A young dentist came north on the airlift. He had long been hoping to get this job and was delighted that he was now able to make the journey. His clinic at Resolute weather-station was in a room which served as laundry, ironing-room and sometimes barber-shop. The chair for his patients was on a platform constructed by the barber. (The barber, of course, was a regular member of the staff of the weather-station who merely volunteered for his extra tonsorial duties.) Although the dentist's clinic may have seemed very different from his modern Toronto office, all his equipment which was provided by the Canadian Army was of the best.

These then are the activities of the Canadian Arctic — from weather reporting to botany, from airstrip construction to dentistry. It is still a frontier and it may be so for decades to come, but it is gradually opening frontier and the people of all Canada stand to gain by the work of its pioneers.

(The second of the two articles will appear in the September, or early issue of "External Affairs".)

WORK OF A CANADIAN IMMIGRATION OFFICE ABROAD

Week after week throughout 1951, the Canadian newspapers continued to announce the arrival of groups of immigrants by sea at Halifax, Quebec and Saint John and by air at Dorval and Malton. Early in the year it had become evident that this was to be a remarkable twelve months in the annals of Canadian immigration.

The full extent of the movement was revealed by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mr. Walter Harris, when, addressing the National Advisory Committee on Manpower in February of the present year, he stated that more than 194,000 immigrants had entered Canada during 1951. The significance of this announcement for the Canadian economy was indicated by press treatment of the subsequent release of the year's immigration statistics.

During 1951, the United Kingdom contributed 31,370 immigrants to the total of 194,391. Germany, Italy and the Netherlands led the countries of the continent with 32,395, 24,351, and 19,130 respectively. Indeed, the 1951 figures for all countries for immigration to Canada showed an increase over those for 1950.

Not an Overnight Development

The sudden acceleration in the tempo of migration to Canada was not an overnight development. It was the culmination of extended negotiations with foreign governments concerning the relaxation of currency restrictions and emigration of their citizens and with transportation companies to arrange for additional shipping space. It capped a steady re-adjustment of the machinery of immigration away from restrictions made necessary by the depression of the Thirties and by the Second World War toward a more generous operation. It was intimately related to the formation in 1950 of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, which assumed the immigration activities of the former Department of Mines and Resources and linked these to the citizenship activities formerly handled by the Department of the Secretary of State, as well as the activities of the Indian Affairs Branch, another section of the old Mines and Resources Department.

But above all else, perhaps, it reflected the labour of more than 100 Canadians, permanently stationed at the 18 Canadian immigration offices abroad or with the immigration teams operating out of Canadian offices in Europe, who had actually grappled with the most important problem in the whole immigration scheme—the human factor. In common with the overseas representatives of the Department of External Affairs, these Canadian immigration officers carried out their duties far from the limelight of Ottawa. But it was they who actually came to grips with the problems of immigrants.

There are four immigration offices in the United Kingdom—at London, Liverpool, Glasgow and Belfast—and one at Dublin, Ireland. These five offices come under the jurisdiction of the Superintendent of Canadian Immigration Services, London. On the European continent, immigration facilities are provided at Stockholm, Oslo, Copenhagen, Paris, Brussels, The Hague, Berne, Rome, and Athens.

In addition, Canadian Government Immigration Missions are located at Linz, Austria, and at Karlsruhe and Hanover, Germany. During 1951, the Austrian office was located at Salzburg; the change to Linz was made several months ago. The examination of immigrants at other European points is carried out by members of Canadian diplomatic missions.

While the great majority of overseas immigrants come from the British Isles and the continent of Europe, immigrants also come to Canada from many other countries. To deal with these, inspection facilities exist at the offices of the Canadian High Commissioners in the principal Commonwealth countries and at Canadian missions in other non-European countries. Immigrants from the Far East are examined at the immigration office in Hong Kong.

Duties of Officers

The duties of immigration officers stationed overseas involve, in the main, answering enquiries regarding migration to Canada, handling applications for admission, examination of prospective immigrants to ensure that they come within the admissible classes and granting of visas for travel to Canada.

In carrying out these basic duties, however, immigration officers must adapt themselves to conditions that vary from country to country. For instance, throughout 1951, teams operating out of Karlsruhe made regular trips to Ludwigsburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, interviewing would-be immigrants from among Displaced Persons who had not yet been able to take advantage of the International Refugee Organization programme. In Italy, immigration teams made regular calls at Naples and Genoa. Special teams were also despatched temporarily to Berlin and Rastatt, Germany, to Bordeaux and to the free territory of Trieste.

Officers stationed permanently at the offices and missions on the continent were swamped throughout the year by applications for admission to Canada. When they opened their offices in the morning they would be confronted with long lines of people hoping to be accepted as immigrants, whom they would spend the day examining.

They had to satisfy themselves that the applicants, in addition to meeting the standard of character required, would be able to make their way in Canada in some field of employment in which the Canadian supply was not sufficient to meet the demand, or, alternatively, had sufficient funds to maintain themselves until they should be established or had friends or relatives who would guarantee to support them when they arrived in Canada.

In the United Kingdom, specially trained officers, in addition to holding many office interviews, travelled extensively, speaking to groups of people interested in migrating to Canada and showing films and film-strips outlining life in Canada and indicating opportunities for employment in various skills. In several other countries, it was not possible for this extension work to be carried on, and consequently the full burden of describing Canada and answering the many questions about such varied topics as income-tax rates, social services, education facilities, climate, and cultural activities fell upon the visa officers. These were, of course, helped considerably by the supply of literature made available to them from the Editorial and Information Division of the Department, but they had, nevertheless, to devote much of their time simply to answering questions asked by prospective immigrants.

Working in close co-operation with the immigration officers were medical officers posted to overseas duty by the Department of National Health and Welfare to ensure that immigrants who could otherwise comply with the regulations of the Immigration Act measured up to the high standard of health demanded of prospective new Canadians. Eighteen of these officers, including four administrative officials, were stationed in the United Kingdom, with 27 others located in the various other overseas offices. In several offices, including those in the United Kingdom, immigrants could undergo complete medical examination, including X-rays of the chest. Medical officers, too, accompanied the various teams processing Displaced Persons and made the necessary examinations on the spot.

The United Kingdom and continental immigration staff, numbering approximately 110 during 1951, of whom approximately 80 were officers authorized to issue visas, held personal interviews with more than 900,000 persons during 1951, and sent out more than 1,000,000 letters in response to requests for information and to applications received. In addition, well over 300,000 medical examinations were conducted by doctors stationed at the immigration offices.

During 1951, 232,004 persons were completely "processed" for emigration to Canada. In other words, they had been thoroughly checked as to admissibility, had met the medical standard, and had received their travel visas.

The Director of the Immigration Branch has declared that no one who had not visited one of the Canadian immigration offices in Europe could have an adequate conception of the complexity of the problems encountered by his overseas staff or of the pressures under which they carried out their duties. To these devoted workers, he added, should go much of the credit for the success of the Canadian immigration programme during 1951.

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—NFB

THE CANADIAN EMBASSY, 72 AVENUE FOCH, PARIS

July 12 marked the 70th anniversary of Canadian representation in France. The original agency, through a series of transformations, became the present Embassy. The Paris office reported at first to the Department of Secretary of State but was transferred to the control of the Department of External Affairs in 1913 thereby becoming the first post abroad to be placed under the latter Department supervision. Major-General George P. Vanier has been head of the mission since 1938.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Tunisian Question*

On June 20, 1952, in a joint communication to the Secretary-General, thirteen African and Asian states — Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, the Lebanon, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen — requested that a special session of the General Assembly be summoned to give urgent consideration to the Tunisian problem.

The communication of the thirteen states and its annexed memorandum recalled that no action had been taken on a letter in January from the Prime Minister of Tunisia to the President of the Security Council, and that in April the Security Council had refused to include the Tunisian question on its agenda, although eleven African and Asian countries had requested it to do so. It was further asserted that the situation in Tunisia had continued to deteriorate since April, and that in spite of the hopes expressed by some members of the Council at that time, no negotiations between the French and the Tunisians had taken place. The message concluded that the refusal of the Security Council to entertain the Tunisian question had created profound and far-reaching repercussions and that a further delay by the United Nations in giving the problem the attention it demanded would seriously impair the authority of the Organization as a forum for the discussion and peaceful settlement of international problems.

A communication from the Acting Secretary-General transmitting the request of the thirteen states was sent to all member nations on the day the request was received. Rule 9 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly provides that a special session of the Assembly shall be summoned if a majority of member states concur in the request within thirty days of the date on which the Secretary-General forwards his communication. In addition to the thirteen sponsoring states, ten member nations — Bolivia, Byelorussia, China, Czechoslovakia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Poland, the Ukraine, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia — had concurred by July 20, the final date for replies to be received. Twenty-seven states — Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, Turkey, the Union of South Africa, the United States, the United Kingdom and Uruguay — did not favour the summoning of a special session. Two states — Thailand and Ethiopia — formally abstained on the issue, while eight states — Argentina, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Israel, Liberia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela — did not reply to the Secretary-General's communication. As the necessary majority of thirty-one states did not concur in the request, a special session was not called. The Canadian reply, which was delivered on July 16, expressed the view that circumstances did not warrant the convocation of a special session at that time.

*For background information on this subject see *External Affairs* Volume IV, No. 5 of May, 1952, pp. 186-7.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT OVERSEAS AWARDS

The Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. Pearson, announced on August 1 that the Government of Canada had made arrangements to use part of the blocked balances now standing to its credit in France and the Netherlands to provide fellowships and scholarships for Canadians to do advanced work and study in those two countries. It is hoped that the plan will be extended a little later on to include Italy. The sums of money standing to Canada's credit in these three countries are the result of agreements made by Canada to accept payment in local currencies in settlement of Canada's claims in respect of civilian relief supplies furnished at the end of the war. In the agreements with the Governments of France, the Netherlands and Italy, provision was made that the payments in local currencies may be used, among other things, for educational and cultural purposes.

The Royal Society of Canada has undertaken the responsibility of nominating the candidates and will establish appropriate selection committees. Candidates, whether for fellowships or scholarships (outlined below) should make application to the Awards Committee, Royal Society of Canada, National Research Building, Ottawa. The National Research Council and the Department of External Affairs will provide facilities to deal with problems of foreign travel and for payments from blocked currency accounts.

The awards will be of two kinds:

(a) Fellowships of a value of \$4,000.00 for twelve months will be awarded for advanced study in the arts, humanities, social sciences, and professions. In addition, travel expenses both ways from a North American port will be provided from the blocked currencies. Candidates must be over 30 years of age and must already have established reputations in their field of study, their art or their profession.

Fellows will not be required to register at any institution or school but must submit a precise plan of the research or advanced work they propose to undertake. The purpose of the Fellowships is to give Canadian men or women of proven ability an opportunity to spend a year abroad devoting their time to whatever program will be of most benefit to them and to Canada. In exceptional circumstances Fellowships may be renewed for not more than one year.

(b) Scholarships of a value of \$2,000.00 for twelve months are intended for advanced students in the humanities, social sciences and sciences. Applicants must have received Master of Arts degree or its equivalent from a university of recognized standing. Travel expenses from and to a North American port will also be paid. Candidates will be required to supply an outline of the courses they propose to follow and they must undertake to become enrolled at an educational institution of recognized standing.

The stipends will be adjusted in accordance with the cost of living in the country in which the award is held, so that holders of Fellowships and Scholarships will receive amounts that will give them the Ottawa equivalent of \$4,000.00 or \$2,000.00 as the case may be. Travel expenses will be provided to cover the cost of ocean fare at the tourist rate from a port of embarkation in North America and rail fare from the port of landing to the destination in Europe. Similar grants will be made for the return journey but no provision has been made to supply Canadian funds for travel in Canada or for other expenses here. Payment of the awards will be made monthly through the Canadian Embassy in the country where the award is held. The first payment will be made as promptly as possible after the arrival of the Fellow or

Scholar in the country in which he is to work. It has also been decided that two-thirds of the travel expenses of wives who accompany their husbands will be paid; but no travel expenses will be granted for children. Fellows and Scholars will normally travel in ships of the nationality of the country in which they propose to study; reservations must be arranged through the Awards Committee and cannot be made privately.

For this first year of the scheme's operation it is proposed to award only a limited number of Scholarships and Fellowships, probably not more than ten. If, however, the scheme turns out to be successful, it is hoped to increase the number of awards very considerably for subsequent years.



CANADA - CEYLON STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The Department of External Affairs announced on July 12 that the Governments of Canada and Ceylon had agreed on a Statement of Principles for the co-operative economic development of Ceylon under the Colombo Plan. This agreement is similar to that entered into by Canada with India and Pakistan on September 10, 1951.

The principles were confirmed by an exchange of notes in Colombo on July 11.

As part of its programme of economic aid to Ceylon, Canada will undertake this year a fisheries development and research project. The Government of Ceylon rates this project as of the highest priority and the detailed plan has been worked out by a Canadian fisheries expert, Mr. D. M. Haywood, who has himself been serving in Ceylon for the past year, under the Colombo Technical Co-operation Programme, as consultant to the Minister of Fisheries. The project will entail the provision of fishing boats and equipment and small demonstration plants for ice-making, cold storage, canning and drying, as well as the services of experienced Canadian fishermen and technicians who will be needed to train Ceylonese personnel. This will be an all-Canadian project, designed to develop the fishing resources of Ceylon and thus increase its food production.

Other economic development projects for Ceylon are under consideration.

The text of the Statement of Principles follows:

COLOMBO PLAN

Statement of Principles agreed between the Government of Canada and the Government of Ceylon for Co-operative Economic Development of Ceylon.

The Governments of Canada and Ceylon, together with other governments, took part in London in 1950 in drawing up the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia. The Governments of Canada and Ceylon now desire to co-operate for their mutual benefit, and in particular for the achievement of the purposes of the Colombo Plan, by promoting the economic development of Ceylon. Therefore the Governments of Canada and Ceylon now wish to establish agreed principles under which economic aid from Canada will be provided to Ceylon for the purposes of the Colombo Plan, and according to which supplementary agreements may be made to cover specific programmes.

The Governments of Canada and Ceylon agree to the establishment of the following principles:

1. All economic aid supplied by the Government of Canada to the Government of Ceylon under the Colombo Plan shall consist of goods and services in accordance

(Continued on p. 296)

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Raoul Bibica Rosetti, Ambassador, Embassy of Greece, July 21.

Mr. Serguei Boukine, Attaché, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, June.

Colonel Mayhue D. Blaine, Air Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, July 3.

Mr. Olegario Andrés Rodriguez, Press Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, July 10. (Residing in Montreal)

Mr. Frderico Mould, Counsellor, Embassy of Peru, July 11.

Mr. Naoshi Shimanouchi, Press Attaché, Embassy of Japan, June 16.

Mr. Yoshio Kimura, Attaché, Embassy of Japan, June 16.

Doctor Juan Vela Monet, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Cuba, July 22.

Lieutenant Colonel William L. Tudor, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, July 23.

Departures

His Excellency Nicolas Anissas, Ambassador, Embassy of Greece, July.

His Excellency P. O. de Treschow, Minister, Legation of Denmark, July 15. Mr. Anker Svart, Second Secretary is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Colonel Frederick A. Pillet, Air Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, July 2.

Mr. A. Eugene Frank, Second Secretary, Embassy of the United States of America, July 11.

Mr. Luis Ibarguen, Second Secretary, Embassy of Mexico, July 14.

Colonel Robert W. Strong Jr., Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, July 22.

His Excellency Sean Murphy, Ambassador, Embassy of Ireland, resumed direction of the Embassy on his return from a vacation in the United States, July 9.

His Excellency Dr. Werner Dankwort, Ambassador, Embassy of Germany, left for holidays, July 17. Dr. J. F. Ritter, First Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Mohammed Ikramullah, High Commissioner, High Commissioner's Office for Pakistan, left on a visit to the United States, July 2. Mr. R. S. Chhatari, First Secretary is in charge of the office.

His Excellency Doctor Luis Esteves Fernandes, Minister, Legation of Portugal, left Ottawa to reassume his duties as Ambassador of Portugal in Washington, July 4. Dr. G. Caldeira Coelho is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency A. H. J. Lovink, Ambassador, Embassy of the Netherlands, will be absent till August 10. Mr. M. J. Van Schreven, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Mr. Angel Miguel Araujo, Labour Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, has been promoted to Labour Secretary, July 7.

Mr. José Oswaldo de Meira Penna, Second Secretary, Embassy of Brazil, was promoted to First Secretary, July.

The Embassy of Peru has moved its Chancery to the Official Residence at 539 Island Park Drive.

Mr. Leonid F. Teplov, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, left on a holiday, July 27. Mr. Roudtchenko, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires.

CONSULAR

Recognition was granted to:

Mr. M. I. Abdel-Wahab, Vice-Consul, Consulate General of Egypt at Ottawa, July 17.

Mr. Alberto Venegas Tamayo, Consul General, Consulate General of Colombia at Toronto, July 3.

Mr. Jorge Figueroa, Consul General, Consulate General of Argentina at Montreal, July 30.

Departures

Doctor A. Sevenster, Consul General, Consulate General of the Netherlands at Montreal, July 1. Mr. Varekamp is temporarily in charge of the Consulate General.

Miss Eva Taylor, Vice-Consul, Consulate of the United States of America at Ottawa, July 25.

Doctor José R. Hernandez-Lebron, Consul

General, Consulate General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa, resumed the direction of the Consulate General on his return from holidays in his country, July 16.

The Consulate General of the Dominican Republic at Montreal has moved its offices to

3201 Forest Hill Avenue, apartment 4, Montreal 26, P.Q. The new telephone number is ATLantic 8140.

Mr. B. B. Dubiński, Honorary Consul, Consulate of Paraguay at Winnipeg, relinquished his duties July 22.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of July 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new Standing International Bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in July

1. *13th Universal Postal Congress*. Brussels, May 14-July 12. Head of Delegation: W. J. Turbull, Deputy Postmaster General; Delegates: J. L. A. Gagnon and H. N. Pearl, Post Office Department; A. C. Smith, Canadian Embassy, Brussels; Secretary: Miss C. E. Bingleman, Post Office Department.
2. *Resumed Session of the Conference on Settlement of German External Debts*. London, May 19 — Head of Delegation: G. C. Crean, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Delegates: A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; C. L. Read, Department of Finance.
3. *14th Session of Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)*. New York, May 20 — Representative: J. Lesage, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Secretary of State for External Affairs; Alternates: D. M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York; J. Sinclair, M.P., Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Finance; Dr. G. F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare; Dr. F. G. Robertson, M.P.; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; Advisers: G. B. Summers, J. H. Warren, Miss B. M. Meagher, W. F. Stone, Department of External Affairs; S. Pollock, Department of Finance; Adviser and Secretary: A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
4. *10th Session of the International Wheat Council*. London, July 1 — Delegate:
5. *7th International Conference of Safety in Mines Research*. Buxton, England, July 7-12 — Representative: Dr. H. D. Smith, President of the Nova Scotia Research Foundation, Halifax.
6. *2nd International Congress of Physiology and Pathology of Animal Reproduction and of Artificial Insemination*. Copenhagen, July 7-11 — Dr. K. Rasmussen and Dr. A. R. G. Emslie, Department of Agriculture.
7. *3rd Commonwealth and Empire Health and Tuberculosis Conference*. London, July 8-13 — Dr. H. A. Robertson, Overseas Immigration Medical Service, London.
8. *6th International Congress of Animal Husbandry*. Copenhagen, July 9-14 — Dr. K. Rasmussen, Dr. A. R. G. Emslie and J. G. Lefebvre, Department of Agriculture.
9. *1st Session of the Commission for Maritime Meteorology (WMO)*. London, July 14 — Delegate: K. T. McLeod, Department of Transport.
10. *3rd Meeting of Sub-Group of the Inter-Sessional Working Party on the Reduction of Tariff Levels (GATT)*. Geneva, July 15 — Delegate: G. H. Glass, De-

partment of Finance; Alternate: B. M. Williams Permanent Delegation of Canada to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva.

Alternates: Dr. K. C. Charron, Department of National Health and Welfare; S. A. Freifeld, Department of External Affairs.

11. *18th International Red Cross Conference.* Toronto, July 23 - August 9. Observers: Head of Delegation: Dr. G. D. W. Cameron, Deputy Minister of National Health; S. M. Scott, Department of External Affairs; Lt. Col. J. C. A. Campbell, Department of National Defence;

12. *International Jurists Congress.* West Berlin, July 25-August 1 - Hon. Mr. Justice R. L. Kellock, Justice J. W. Estey, Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court of Canada, and Hon. Mr. Justice J. T. Thorson, President of the Exchequer Court of Canada, Leonard W. Brockington, Q.C.

Conferences to be held in August and September

(The inclusion of the name of a Conference or of any International Meeting in the following list is merely for information. It does not necessarily follow that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate or, if so, that the invitation will be accepted; the dates are tentative.)

1. *8th General Assembly of the International Geographical Union.* Washington, August 8-15.
2. *6th British Commonwealth Forestry Conference.* Ottawa, August 11-September 13.
3. *6th International Grassland Congress (FAO).* State College, Pennsylvania, August 17-23.
4. *Inter-Governmental Conference for the Adoption of the Universal Copyright Convention (UNESCO).* Geneva, August 18-September 6.
5. *Special Committee to Study Further the Question of the Methods and Procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations for Dealing with Legal and Drafting Questions.* New York, August 26.
6. *3rd Session of the General Assembly of the International Union for the Protection of Nature.* Caracas, Venezuela, September 3-9.
7. *Intersessional Committee Meeting of GATT.* Geneva, September 4.
8. *Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.* Ottawa, September 8.
9. *13th International Horticultural Congress.* London, September 8-15.
10. *3rd Session of the Chemical Industries Committee.* Geneva, September 9-20.
11. *Special Conference to Complete 3rd Party Aircraft Damage Convention to Replace Rome Convention of 1933 (ICAO).* Rome, September 9.
12. *6th Meeting of Directing Council of the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau.* Havana, September 10-24.
13. *2nd Session of the Statistics Division of ICAO.* Montreal, September 16.
14. *Congress of International Society of Haematology.* Mar del Plata, Argentina, September 21-26.
15. *2nd Session of the Committee on Improvement of National Statistics of the Inter-American Statistical Institute.* Ottawa, September 29-October 10.
16. *International Council for the Exploration of the Sea.* Copenhagen, September 29-October 7.
17. *World Tobacco Organization.* Amsterdam, September or October.
18. *3rd Session of Executive Committee of World Meteorological Organization (WMO).* Geneva, September.
19. *International Geological Congress.* Algiers, September and October.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

International Monetary Fund—Annual Report 1951; 21 January 1952; document E/2169; 158 pp.; (Washington, U.S.A.)

**Report of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East* (Eighth Session), 29 January—8 February 1952; 19 March 1952; document E/2171, E/CN.11/342; 41 pp.; 40 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 3.

**Economic Commission for Latin America* (Fourth Annual Report, 17 June 1951—14 February 1952); 21 March 1952; 29 pp.; 25 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 2.

**Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and the Press* (Report of the Fifth Session, 3 March to 21 March 1952); 31 March 1952; document E/2190, E/CN.4/Sub.1/176; 15 pp.; 20 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 4A.

Supplements to World Economic Report, 1950-51:

a) *Recent changes in production*; April 1952; document E/2193/Add.1, ST/ECA/14/Add.1; 120 pp.; \$1.00; Sales No.: 1952.II.C.1.

b) *Summary of recent economic developments in Africa*; April 1952; document E/2193/Add.2, ST/ECA/14/Add.2; 49 pp.; 50 cents; Sales No.: 1952.II.C.2.

c) *Summary of recent economic developments in the Middle East*; April 1952; document E/2193/Add. 3, ST/ECA/14/Add. 3; 99 pp.; \$1.00; Sales No.: 1952.II.C.3.

**Commission on Narcotic Drugs—Report of the Seventh Session, 15 April to 9 May 1952*; 15 May 1952; document E/2219, E/CN.7/240; 27 pp.; 25 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 8.

**United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund—Report of the Executive Board, 22-24 April 1952*; 7 May 1952; document E/2214, E/ICEF/198; 64 pp.; 60 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 7.

Resolutions of the Tenth Session of the Trusteeship Council, 27 February-1 April 1952; 8 April 1952; document T/976; 32 pp.; 30 cents; Trusteeship Council Official Records: Tenth Session, Supplement No. 1 (Bilingual).

**Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1951 and Report of the Board of Auditors*; New York, 1952; document A/2123; 40 pp.; 40 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 6.

**United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund — Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 31 December 1951 and Report of the Board of Auditors*; New York, 1952; document A/2124; 28 pp.; 30 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 6A.

**Catalogue of Economic and Social Projects 1952* (No. 3); 24 April 1952; document E/2200; 151 pp.; \$1.50; Sales No.: 1952.II.D.2.

Sixth Report of the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations; Geneva, 12 June 1952; document E/2240; 286 pp.

**Social Commission — Report of the Eighth Session (12-29 May 1952)*; 2 June 1952; document E/2247, E/CN.5/287; 27 pp.; 25 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 9.

**Economic Measures in Favour of the Family*; 31 March 1952; document ST/SOA/8; 175 pp.; \$1.25; Sales No.: 1952.IV.6.

**Commodity Trade Statistics, 4th issue, January-December 1951*; New York, June 1952; document ST/STAT/SER.D/10; 351 pp.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

**Report of the International Refugee Organization*; 23 April 1952; document E/2211; 38 pp.

**Prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities* (Report by the Secretary-General); 23 May 1952; 36 pp.; document E/2229.

**Current information on Urban Land Policies* (A preliminary report); 15 April 1952; document ST/SOA/9; 263 pp. (Department of Social Affairs).

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to the General Assembly; 29 May 1952; document A/2126; 43 pp.

**Expanded programme of Technical Assistance — Fourth Report of the Technical Assistance Board to the Technical Assistance Committee*; 8 May 1952; document E/2213 (Vol. I, 150 pp.; Vol. II, 329 pp.)

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

**The problem of Statelessness* (Consolidated report by the Secretary-General); 26 May 1952; document E/2230, A/CN.4/56; 206 pp.

**Full Employment — Implementation of Full Employment Policies* (Replies of Governments to the full employment questionnaire covering the period 1951-1952); 20 June 1952; document E/2232 (246 pp.) and addenda.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
41	8/7	Extension of the Canada-United Kingdom Tax Agreement for colonial territories to British Guiana and St. Lucia.
42	10/7	Appointment of Mr. Escott Reid as High Commissioner for Canada in India.
43	12/7	Announcement of the Canada-Ceylon agreement on a Statement of Principles for the co-operative economic development of Ceylon under the Colombo Plan.
44	17/7	Announcement of the transfer of Mr. W. D. Matthews, Canadian Minister in Washington, to be Minister to Sweden and Finland; and the transfer of Mr. T. A. Stone, Canadian Minister to Sweden and Finland, to be Ambassador to the Netherlands.
45	21/7	Presentation of Letter of Credence of Mr. Raoul B. Rosetti as Ambassador of Greece to Canada.
46	22/7	Canadian Delegation of Observers to the XVIII International Red Cross Conference in Toronto.
47	22/7	Appointment of Mr. H. O. Moran as Ambassador of Canada to Turkey.
48	25/7	Appointment of Mr. C. S. A. Ritchie as Acting Deputy Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs.
49	29/7	Text of the Statement by Mr. Churchill announcing the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference to be held in London in November.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 52/19—*Asia and the International Situation*, an address by the Administrator of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Nik Cavell, made to the Ottawa Women's Canadian Club, May 21, 1952.

No. 52/20—*Israel's Answer to Racial Persecution*, a speech by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at a meeting of the Jewish community of Toronto, on June

1, 1952, sponsored by the Jewish National Fund in the interests of the Forests of the Martyrs.

No. 52/22—*Canada and the United States: Distinctions and similarities*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, to the Alumni Association of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass., June 9, 1952.

No. 52/24—*Canada and Western Security*, an address by the Secretary of State for

External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, at Quebec City, June 8, 1952.

- No. 52/25—*Some Aspects of International Trade*, an address by the Governor of the Bank of Canada, Mr. Graham Towers, to the Investment Dealer's Association of Canada annual meeting, at St.

Andrew's-by-the-Sea, N.B., June 13, 1952.

- No. 52/26—*Post-War Canada and International Trade*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made at the Conference Governors, Houston, Texas, June 30, 1952.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 52/18—*Canada's Federal Programme for Health Research*, an address by the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Paul Martin, to the 72nd Annual Meeting of the Ontario Medical Association, at Hamilton, Ontario, May 21, 1952.

- No. 52/21—*Present Status of Priorities and Controls in Canada*, a speech by the Co-ordinator of Materials, Department

of Defence Production, Mr. H. H. Saunderson, delivered to the 81st Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, in Toronto, May 29, 1952.

- No. 52/23, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, to the National Council of Seaman's Agencies, at Montreal, June 11, 1952.

CANADA-CEYLON STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

(Continued from p. 290)

with specific programmes agreed upon from time to time between the two governments. Similarly, agreement will be reached on the methods of procurement and transfer.

2. In order that Canadian aid may cover different types of projects, different forms of financing may be used; in particular, Canadian aid will be available on either a grant or a loan basis, depending on the nature of each specific programme and the uses to which the goods and services supplied under it are put.

3. The particular terms of each specific programme will be a matter for agreement between the two governments, subject to the following general provisions:

(a) Grants: In any specific programme under which goods financed by grants from the Canadian Government are sold or otherwise distributed to the Ceylon public "counterpart funds" will normally be set aside. The Ceylon Government will set up a special account for these funds and will keep separate records of the amounts placed in the account in connection with each specific programme. It will pay into this account the rupee equivalent of the Canadian expenditures on goods and services supplied under any such programme. The Government of Ceylon will from time to time report to the Government of Canada the position of this account and will supply a certificate from the Auditor General of Ceylon. The two governments will from time to time agree on the economic development projects in Ceylon to be financed from this account.

(b) Loans: For the specific programmes which are agreed to be appropriate for financing by means of loans the terms of the loans will be determined by the two governments. These terms will relate primarily to the commercial character of the particular project in question, to its anticipated earnings, and to its anticipated effects on the foreign exchange position of Ceylon.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS CONFERENCE IN TORONTO

THE International Red Cross is at the moment probably the most widely representative international organization in the world. Like the United Nations, it embraces all races, creeds and ideologies. More hospitable than the United Nations, it invited to its eighteenth quadrennial Conference in Toronto this summer nearly all those countries, like Italy, Japan, the two Germanies and the two Koreas, which the United Nations cannot agree to admit. More than this, the Red Cross Conference welcomed the simultaneous presence of rival delegations claiming to represent the Chinese Republic; for some days the Chinese Communists and Nationalists sat together in the same council hall. This may have been the first appearance of an official Communist Chinese delegation in the West. The names of 51 governments and of 58 national Red Cross Societies appear in the official list of delegations. There have been many more important conferences in Canada; perhaps there have been more picturesque ones (though not many); there have been very few which were watched with wider or more attentive interest.

The point at issue at Toronto was whether a humanitarian movement whose value had, by any objective test, been proved through two world wars could survive as a universal institution in the midst of existing international tensions. If the answer proved to be "no", the International Red Cross, although it would remain an eminently useful organization among states friendly to one another, would cease to serve the main purpose for which it was created, that is, the carrying on of humanitarian work across battle-lines; either the hardships of war would be materially aggravated for those directly in the path of the fighting or governments and humanitarian bodies would have to find some generally acceptable substitute for the Red Cross.

The significance of this issue and of the partial resolution of it in Toronto was probably not grasped by those who followed the Conference casually in the press. Although the Red Cross is the best known of all humanitarian movements, its unique and bizarre constitutional structure and its relations with governments are understood by few even of its own members.

Structure of IRC

The International Red Cross is like a building consisting of two substantial wings joined by a considerably less substantial connecting structure. The newer and more densely populated wing comprises the national Red Cross Societies, together with the League of Red Cross Societies into which the national societies are federated. National societies claim to contain one hundred million members and as one million of these are Canadians it is reasonable to assume that most readers of this article need no explanation of their activities. The League (which dates only from 1919) is, like its constituent societies, a "voluntary" (that is, non-governmental) organization. Its purpose is to assist the national Red Cross Societies in their humanitarian activities and, so far as may be proper and practical, to co-ordinate their work when it transcends national boundaries. The League is the guardian and exponent of the traditions of the Red Cross in time of peace.

The balancing wing of the International Red Cross structure is the International Committee of the Red Cross, variously spoken of as the "Committee", the "International Committee", or the "ICRC". This, the older part, is approaching its centenary. At full strength, it contains exactly 25 members. When its membership falls below this number, the members themselves decide who shall fill the vacancies. All 25 members are, and must be Swiss. They are for the most part persons of substance,

either in the Swiss economy, or in Swiss political or civil life. The International Committee is thus in no sense international in its composition, an important point to remember.

The Committee, like the League, is a "voluntary" organization. As will be seen, it is recognized by most governments but is neither a governmental nor an inter-governmental body. Unlike the League, the Committee functions chiefly in time of war; it exists because war persists. It was created to mitigate the hardships caused by war and especially to help those suffering from the immediate effects of fighting. In particular, it has successfully sponsored international treaties for the protection of the sick and wounded, of prisoners of war, and, most recently, of civilians overrun by the fighting. These treaties, taken collectively, are commonly spoken of as the "Geneva Conventions". Most countries of the world are, in greater or less degree, now bound by some or all of these covenants. Further, particular functions are assigned to the International Committee itself in the carrying out of some of these treaties. For example in Canada, during the Second World War, a representative of the ICRC (a Swiss) constantly visited enemy prisoners of war and internment camps and performed for the inmates such acts of mercy as were stipulated in the Geneva Conventions or otherwise agreed upon with the enemy. Similarly, representatives of the ICRC (also Swiss) visited Canadian prisoners of war and internees in German hands. The ICRC assisted in the exchange of prisoners, the delivery of letters, news and parcels, and many other activities.

Thus, while the International Committee is a non-governmental agency, and in fact fiercely defends its independence, its usefulness depends nevertheless upon its recognition by governments and their willingness to allow it to exercise behind and across battle-lines the privileges and duties which the treaties envisage. Without the support, or at least the tolerance, of governments, the Committee cannot function, and, without the Committee or some adequate substitute, the hardships of war may be increased for millions of combatants and non-combatants and will be immensely intensified for many thousands of the most unfortunate. It is this Committee which, with very fair success in the South and with no success in the North, is now trying to do its job in Korea.

Same Humanitarian Aim

How do such different bodies as the League and the Committee manage to work together? The basic answer is, of course, that, as they have the same great humanitarian aim, there is a good deal of give and take between them. The constitutional answers are that the executive organs and the secretariats of the two bodies are interlocked at various levels and that they have a common "supreme governing body" called the International Red Cross Conference – the body which has just completed its eighteenth session. In the intervals between the quadrennial sessions of the Conference there exists a Standing Commission of the Conference and, in practice, a good deal of Red Cross policy-making is in the hands of the "three presidents" – the executive heads respectively of the Standing Commission, the International Committee, and the League.

Another matter requiring explanation is the presence of governments at the sessions of the supreme governing body of a non-governmental organization. It is only at the quadrennial Conferences that governments participate in the activities of the International Red Cross. The Statutes of the Conference call for invitations to all those governments (or the *heirs* of those governments) which have *signed* (not necessarily ratified) *any* (not necessarily the most recent) of the Geneva Conventions (the first of which dates back to 1864). This broad rule lets in pretty nearly anybody, the more readily since the traditions and spirit of the Red Cross movement are universal and hospitable. Thus, there was no doubt of the admissibility to the Toronto Conference of the Cominform nations and other Communist states, or, to cite an

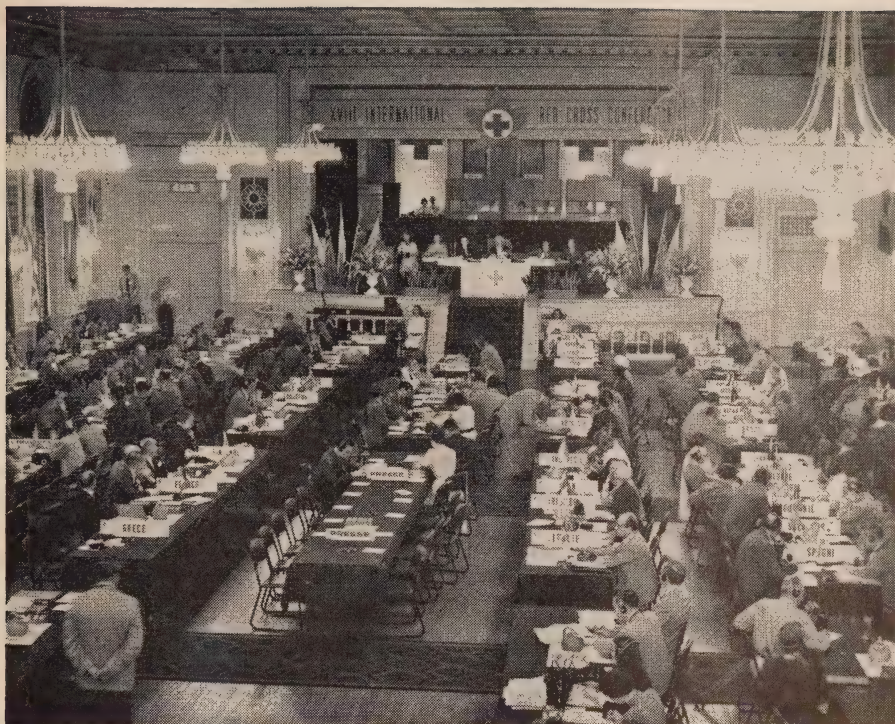
example of another sort, of the delegates from both North and South Korea, although these two states were fighting one another. There would have been no objection by the great majority of delegates to the simultaneous attendance of the Peking and the Formosan delegations, each claiming to represent the whole of China. In fact, the Formosan delegation withdrew about the fifth day of the Conference on the stated ground that the "puppet regime" of Peking had turned the Conference into a forum of political propaganda.

Canadian Delegation

The Delegations of the Governments of Canada, the United Kingdom, the United States and most of the "old" Commonwealth countries attended as observers rather than as voting members. For Canada, at least, the reason was the rather special status of government delegates in the Conference (as just explained); it seemed inappropriate either that a government which entered into the counsels of the Red Cross only once in four years should try to influence its decisions, or that a government should, by formally indicating in a vote its opinions of certain decisions, appear to bind itself to supporting those decisions. The Canadian Red Cross Society, as the host of the Conference, was, of course, represented by a large number of its ablest members — and very able they proved to be. The Canadian Government delegation, partly by way of compliment to a movement which Canadians agree to be of extreme value, was perhaps larger than its activity required. It was headed by Dr. G. D. W. Cameron, Deputy Minister of Health, and contained four other senior officers from the Departments of External Affairs, National Health and Welfare, and National Defence. Mr. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare, and Mrs. Martin acted as host and hostess at a reception given by the Government. The Governor General of Canada formally opened the Conference, Mr. John A. MacAuley of Winnipeg, Past Chairman of the Central Council of the Canadian Red Cross Society was elected Chairman of the Conference. The presence of the delegates from the U.S.S.R., Communist China, North Korea, and other Communist countries gave the Conference its chief interest both to the general public and to those more immediately interested in the humanitarian and political aspects of Red Cross work. Two principal questions, one of which has already been suggested, were generally asked before the sessions opened. First: would the Communists, by reading themselves out of the International Red Cross, split the movement and thus seriously impair its usefulness? Secondly: how far and how successfully would the Communists use the Conference to carry their propaganda to America and elsewhere?

It turned out that the Communists did not read themselves out of the Red Cross. They made no attempt to split the movement countrywise — *horizontally* as it were. They did attempt to split it *vertically* and to destroy half of it. That is, while giving full support to the League of Red Cross Societies and its activities the Communist delegations waged constant war on the International Committee of the Red Cross, sought to discredit it as much as possible and announced that they would themselves have no truck with it. They claimed first (and accurately) that the Committee was not an international body; from this they argued that the Committee ought not to be entrusted with the international responsibilities it claimed — an illogical deduction, since the best kind of body to work across battle lines in a world war is one which is neutral and *not* international.

Next, the Communists charged (falsely) that the Committee was the creature directly of the Swiss Government and indirectly of "imperialist aggression". Again, they charged (falsely) that the Committee had been pro-fascist in the Second World War. Finally (and still falsely) they said that the Committee's attitude toward the Korean war was not impartial or energetic or well-intentioned. These were the ostensible reasons why the Communist delegations, representing the important Communist governments of the world, refused to agree to the International Committee perform-



—Photographic '49

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS CONFERENCE

A general conference view of the 18th International Red Cross Conference held in Toronto, July 23-August 9.

ing in Korea or elsewhere the functions for which it was created; why they rejected specific suggestions that Communist charges in Korea should be investigated by the ICRC, and why they refused to accept any of the articles in the Constitution of the International Red Cross (which came up for revision at this Conference) assigning powers and duties to the International Committee. The Communists have not, so to speak, “de-recognized” the International Committee, as they still acknowledge its existence as a component of the International Red Cross, but they have clearly indicated that they wish the Committee to have no functions and no powers.

This appears to be the present situation. The Communist states have expressed their unwillingness to allow the International Committee, which, through two World Wars, has been one of the two chief instruments for mitigating the hardships of war (the other is the institution known as the “Protecting Power”) to fulfil its proper function of mediating in these matters between enemy states. This circumstance could prove tragic should the area of present hostilities increase. To discuss the reasons behind those given by the Communists is not within the scope of this article. The reader, if acquainted with the behaviour of the Russians towards prisoners during and after the Second World War and with current negotiations in Korea, can doubtless make a pretty good fist at this enquiry for himself.

The debates on the International Committee were characterized by a measure of subtlety in method and a degree of uncertainty in result. This can scarcely be said of the propaganda efforts of the Communist delegations, which were tedious, unimaginative, unskillful and of very little local effect. They were directed generally against the United States and centered on Korea, perhaps in a vain effort to estrange

from the United States the delegations of other United Nations states having forces in Korea. The allegations were familiar ones and the evidence equally familiar. There were charges of bacteriological warfare, of murder, cruelty and various atrocities toward prisoners of war and of indiscriminate bombing of civilians. A great majority of the Conference, while expressing disbelief in the allegations, showed no disposition to whitewash the United Nations Command. Tradition, constitutionality, loyalty to the International Committee and plain common sense indicated that the proper authority within the Red Cross to investigate the charges was the International Committee; and this was clearly the desire of the Conference. The Communists, having evidenced their unwillingness to accept an enquiry by the Committee, and the Committee having — surprisingly and rather dramatically — disavowed any claim to unique jurisdiction on this field, the Conference, while reaffirming its confidence in the Committee, reached no more specific recommendation than that the parties concerned should agree upon a form of enquiry acceptable to all. From this innocuous resolution nobody dissented. The Conference declared its own inability, constitutionally and in justice to the parties, to examine “evidence” offered to it by certain Communist delegations. This “evidence” was made available to the press and proved to be that which has been already highly publicized.

In the political art of drafting, amending and voting upon resolutions the Communists were less adept than they normally are at the United Nations. The lesser Communist delegations and the Chinese communists too obviously waited for the nod from the Russian delegation, and the Russians lacked sufficient adroitness to take advantage of the inexperience in political warfare of the International Red Cross leaders. It was, indeed, the non-politically minded amateurs of the Western Red Cross delegations who by giving repeated evidence of their intense and sincere desire to use the Conference for no other than humanitarian purposes and to preserve the universal character of the Red Cross, won the propaganda battle on the floor. The series of resolutions finally put on the record, while not apt to influence the course of events profoundly, honestly reflects the views of nearly all delegates from outside the Iron Curtain and (one sometimes felt) even a considerable number of those within the Communist fold, had they but dared to say so.

Conference Activities

This article has said, and will say, very little about the non-political aspects of the Toronto meeting. To the lay observer, at least, the purposes of the quadrennial Conferences in normal times appear to be to legitimize decisions already largely agreed upon in the executive bodies, to make and renew acquaintanceships within the movement and to refresh and strengthen, by mutual consultation and exhortation, the spirit and traditions which underlie Red Cross activities. The Conference also renewed the elected membership of its Standing Commission. The Commission consists of two nominees of the International Committee, two nominees of the League and five members elected by the Conference, sitting as individuals not as representatives either of Red Cross societies or governments. The five members elected at Toronto are respectively citizens of Brazil, France, India, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States. The Conference accepted the invitation of the Indian Red Cross Society to hold its next meeting in India. Instead of, as normally, “accepting” the reports of the national societies, the Conference “received” them and directed that they be filed; this was because of a reference in the report of the Communist Chinese Red Cross Society to “germ warfare started by the American Government”. Reports of the various financial committees were accepted; there was, rather surprisingly no discussion of the financing of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Several resolutions concerned the work of the Junior Red Cross; there were resolutions on: reading as therapy for mental cases, relief to children, famine relief, disaster relief, legal assistance to refugees and voluntary services. On the health side, the highlight of the Conference was a symposium on manual methods

of artificial respiration. As a result of the discussions it was decided that the Holger-Nielsen method was superior to most others and should be introduced into basic first aid instruction.

Politics entered into the discussion of a different set of resolutions. An example was the resolution on the prohibition of atomic weapons. Communist delegations advocated unconditional prohibition; the great majority of delegations favoured the resolution finally passed, which urged governments to agree, within the framework of general disarmament, to a plan for international control ensuring prohibition. The Conference urged governments to ratify the four Geneva Conventions of 1949 (so far only 20 states have done this), and to ratify without reservations the Geneva Protocol of 1945 prohibiting bacteriological weapons. Other resolutions urged the release of persons still detained as the result of the Second World War and requested the parties engaged in hostilities in Korea to permit the International Committee of the Red Cross to carry out its conventional role for the protection of prisoners of war; the Communists, of course, opposed this.

Two circumstances of the Toronto Conference, especially pleasing to Canadians, are still to be mentioned. First, the arrangements made by the Canadian Red Cross Society for the comfort and entertainment of the delegates and for the business of the Conference drew unqualified praise from all delegations, without exception. The second circumstance was that for three weeks there were in Toronto several score of visitors who were generally hostile to the institutions Canadians cherish and were intent upon making as much mischief as they could, if not expressly for Canada at any rate for those with whom Canada is now in alliance and to whom Canada is by tradition and policy friendly. These visitors included representatives of the states whose aggression in Korea Canadian forces are now opposing in the field. It says a good deal both for the political awareness of our people and for their spirit of tolerance and fair-mindedness that no complaints or protests were made in the press or elsewhere against the presence in Canada of visitors of this type or against the complete liberty of movement and the very wide freedom of speech and publication permitted them while here.



HOW IS NATO DOING

An address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at the Directors' Luncheon on International and Health Day, Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, September 2, 1952.

... There is a very real connection between health — personal, national and international — and the relations between states. Was not the loss of one of Napoleon's most important battles due to the fact that the Emperor had eaten something at breakfast that disagreed with him, so that he was not at his physical best that fateful day? There are numberless other occasions where the bad health of an individual — from Caesar's fits to Pitt's gout — has played its part in the determination of the destiny of millions.

On the national sphere no people can progress politically, economically or in any other way, if, collectively, they are an unhealthy group. Every civilized government (and some whose claim to civilization we have the right to question) recognize this. The relation between health and poverty has been established beyond doubt as has the relation between poverty and social unrest, political disturbance and the acceptance of the sordid and debasing doctrines of Communism.

It has also been recognized that, in the field of health, as in so many other fields, national action is not enough. So we have increasing co-operation between states in this field — notably through the World Health Organization, where so much beneficial and humanitarian work is being done without benefit of headlines — without benefit also of the co-operation of single Cominform state.

All this health progress — on all levels — is fine and encouraging provided that we so order our international affairs that nations do not become vigorous and healthy merely to fight each other.

As the representative of Israel put it recently at the Fifth World Health Assembly:

Should we promote health only to provide more people for slaughter in battles and wars? Should we fight against infant mortality only to spare the children to be murdered later on by bombs and starvation? Medical men can only be promoters of peace. Our work would be quite meaningless if it were not based on the conviction that the destination of man is life and creation, not death and destruction.

It is not only medical men who must believe in and act on this philosophy. It is today burned into the souls of all of us. Our deepest hopes and our most terrible anxieties centre round the question of peace or war in the atomic age. There are other problems of course, of which may seem closer to home, like taxes and the cost of steaks or the stupidity of those who govern us. But that of peace between peoples transcends everything, now that "science has been harnessed to the chariot of destruction", and we realize that war might be the end of all.

A poll was taken in Canada the other day by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. I confess that my feeling about polls is that which I have about pills, they can be very useful if taken in moderation and with care. But I certainly agree with the result of this poll which showed that 22 per cent of those who were asked "What is the greatest single problem facing the government?" replied "War and defence", while the next group, only 8 per cent were worried more about the high cost of living.

How, then, are we doing in the effort to prevent war? Has there been any fundamental change in the nature and urgency of the menace that faces us?

The answer to the last question is "no". The danger to peace and the threat to freedom remain as immediate and as menacing as ever. There may be an easing of

the situation here or a deterioration there; in Western Europe some of the feeling of imminent crisis and danger has disappeared; in Asia it has increased. But the menace of Soviet imperialism exploiting the doctrine of revolutionary Communism, with its conscious agents in the members of every Communist party in the world, including the one in Canada — that menace remains. We should never forget for one moment that we are facing the cruellest, most-powerful, best-organized conspiracy in all history. But this doesn't mean that the conspiracy will inevitably erupt in World War Three. It may or it may not. The decision is not primarily and directly in the hands of the free world. It is in the minds of the conspirators of Moscow. Our duty — we who are free — is to do what we can to convince them that if they make the wrong decision they will meet a powerful and united resistance by the free world, and one which gives them no chance of success. By so doing, we can influence powerfully the decision against aggressive military action.

This organization of resistance to aggression should be, and one day, we must hope, will be through the United Nations. At the moment, this is not possible and so today our most effective agency for building up our collective strength to preserve the peace is NATO.

It was, I think, in this room on September 2, 1947, many months before the North Atlantic Treaty was actually signed, that I ventured to say:

If forced, we might make special security arrangements within the United Nations, inviting all those member states to participate in them who are willing to build up an agency within the Organization which would have the power which the whole Organization does not possess under the Charter . . . If it is desired to work out a special arrangement for collective security to include those democratic and freedom-loving states who are willing to give up certain sovereign rights in the interests of peace and safety, why shouldn't it be done? Especially as any arrangement of this kind would have to be consistent with the Charter of the United Nations.

Well, it has been done through the signature of the North Atlantic Treaty and the establishment of a strong organization of co-operating states under that Treaty.

Recently, I think the feeling has developed that the high hopes that have been placed on NATO for our collective defence and the building of an enduring structure for co-operation between the member governments are not being realized.

On the one hand, there are those who think that we have — by our decisions at Lisbon — imposed impossible military targets on the various governments and that the effort to achieve them is resulting in economic weakness and social and political division — the very result that the forces of Communist imperialism hope for. It is charged by some that in NATO we are subordinating economic and political co-operation to exaggerated and excessive military plans and preparations. Others are genuinely worried because NATO, which now has a permanent home, a permanent organization and a permanent Council in Paris, is not developing as it should in the non-military field; that the big powers are making their own decisions and ignoring NATO in the process.

On the other hand, there are those who, remembering the capacity of Soviet Russia to set in motion at any moment a military machine that could overrun and crush the forces of Western Europe, are anxious and impatient because our defence plans are inadequate and we are taking too long in putting even these inadequate plans into operation.

It is, of course, easy and wishful to comfort ourselves by merely repeating that everything is fine with NATO, in its defence of the peace and its promise of the future. This, however, is not good enough. Continuous and vigilant examination of the operations of representative and executive international bodies is as important as it is in national governmental agencies. NATO, subjected to such an examination —

and this is being done continuously by the member governments — gives no reason for complacency or complete satisfaction. On the other hand, it gives no ground for despair or exaggerated pessimism or for revising our view that the establishment and the progress of this coalition is a major achievement in the history of our times and that its growing strength and, equally important, its unity of purpose and action are the strongest deterrents against aggression at the present time. When we hear criticisms that NATO is concentrating too much on military defence and not enough on building the Atlantic community, we should remember that, to Moscow and its satellites and slaves, NATO stands as the greatest obstacle — by its unity as much as its strength — to the achievement of their aggressive ambitions. Against it they have levelled their biggest guns of abuse and attack.

Of course, NATO is still far from perfect as an agency for international co-operation between its members. In the short period of its existence, it has not managed to make as much progress as we would like in the field of economic and social and political integration. But this — in contrast to the defence job — is a long-range programme and no one who has examined the matter seriously has ever had any illusions about the time and effort that would be required to realize our oft-repeated statement that NATO must be more than a military alliance. The impatience of well-meaning people because the course of national historical development has not been reversed overnight at times makes me impatient. Nor do I believe that the Kremlin and all it stands for has yet made it possible or wise for NATO to convert some of its shields into ploughshares.

Admittedly, political and social co-operation among NATO'S members must be pursued and progress must be made here if the coalition is to be strong and enduring. This applies also to trade and economic relationships. Defence co-operation and economic conflict are difficult to reconcile. It should, in fact, be a first objective of the NATO members to reduce and remove the obstacles to the freest possible trade between themselves and, equally important, between themselves and the rest of the free world. A restrictive and controlled trading-area within NATO would put a great strain on the cohesion and unity of the group for other purposes. Equally unfortunate would be the adoption of such ring-fence policies as the basis of the relationship between NATO countries and other free democracies. When we talk about developing and strengthening NATO economic co-operation we do not, I hope, mean that kind of co-operation.

The most urgent and immediate problem, however, remains defence against aggression. This should — I am myself convinced — still be given first priority over other NATO plans; all the more because it embodies a short-term objective. We have the right to hope that when this objective is reached — but only then — we can devote more of our NATO time, energy and resources to constructive non-military policies which can be pursued while we maintain the level of defensive strength necessary until international political developments make its reduction possible. And "maintaining" should not require as great an effort as "building".

What progress, then, are we making in the building up of defence and deterrent forces — adequate for this purpose — and no more than adequate?

Well, NATO'S strength has been steadily increasing. Canada, by sending a Brigade Group and fighter squadrons overseas, has contributed to that increase and thereby to the strengthening of our hope for peace. Not only have NATO forces under arms been increased, essential airfields are being constructed and put into use; training programmes have been got under way. Communications services and other facilities are being developed and modern equipment is now coming from the assembly lines. Finally, a supreme command for all NATO forces in Europe has been organized. If the worst should happen, and war be forced on us — because that is the only way it could come about — NATO forces in Europe could now give a much better account

of themselves than they could a year ago. But they are not yet strong enough to give assurance that the initial assault could be successfully resisted. NATO members — especially the European members — have the right to that assurance, all the more because in the military and strategic and technical circumstances of today the land defence against and the air counter-attack to the initial assault may be decisive. Forces in being and the power immediately in reserve may decide the issue.

The minimum defence required to meet such an initial shock was agreed on at Lisbon, though there can never be fixed and final decisions in these matters. The Lisbon programme was not one that could, I think, fairly be attacked as militaristic, or unrealistic, having regard to the danger which made defence necessary. Furthermore, it was a firm programme for 1952 only, the figures for 1953 and 1954 were for planning purposes only, subject to revision later in the light of political and economic considerations.

Fulfilment of this 1952 Lisbon programme has not been easy. Some unforeseen shortages in equipment have developed. Some members have encountered more serious economic and financial difficulties than expected. But every member is making an honest effort to meet its objective by the end of the year and I think that substantial success will have been achieved by that time. An English weekly of very high repute, the *Economist*, which has never uncritically accepted the Lisbon decisions, had this to say the other day about the progress in implementing those decisions:

The suggestion which is now being heard that the Lisbon plans are millstones around the necks of the Atlantic allies is inaccurate and unfair; there is full provision in them for revision and second thoughts, and no justification for unilateral action by member governments.

Even more important is the fact that the short-term plans which were agreed at Lisbon have turned out to be remarkably accurate. By the end of this year, General Ridgway will have a number of divisions not far short of the fifty he was promised; if there is a deficiency of a few divisions it will be in reserves rather than in front-line formations. How well trained the latter are will be shown in the manoeuvres about to begin in Germany. In aircraft the total number of machines available will be only a few hundred short of the 4,000 planned. The work on bases, communication lines and headquarter systems has made remarkable progress. There are not enough men and weapons on the spot to make Western Europe impregnable — but no one ever thought there would or will be. The military purpose is to confront any Russian threat in Central Europe with powerful delaying action; the political purpose is to remove from the minds of western statesmen the fear that they can nowhere in the world act firmly and boldly for fear of exposing Western Europe to a threat that could not be resisted. Both those purposes must remain unchanged so long as the present diplomatic deadlock continues, and nothing has occurred this year in Europe to suggest that anything more than a slight easing of tension is likely.

This is, I think, a good short statement of NATO'S plans, purposes and achievements, though it may be somewhat optimistic on the realization of the 1952 force totals.

As to the future, we must as a first necessity bring to 100 per cent completion the Lisbon 1952 programme as quickly as possible. That is the minimum requirement. Beyond that, the NATO agencies are already examining the position with a view to making proposals — and there could be no more difficult task than this — which will reconcile risks, requirements and resources. When this review is completed — late this year — decisions — vitally important decisions — will again have to be taken by governments through their ministerial representatives on the NATO Council.

Those decisions will have to balance military, economic and political factors. This is about the most difficult balancing act in history and I have no illusions that the result will satisfy everyone. There will be those who will say that we are taking

criminal risks in accepting inadequate force targets and in our slow timing. There are others who will argue that we are playing the Communist game by accepting military demands to impose on some at least of the member states crushing burdens which will create economic distress and social division and which are not justified by the threat to peace which faces us.

I suppose the best solution will be found — as is so often the case — somewhere between these extreme views.

Certainly this is no time to panic into extreme and unbalanced military preparedness. But it is also no time to relax the necessary effort we have begun or to deceive ourselves that the crisis has passed. Such self-deception is all the easier as the bills for protection come in and are reflected in our taxes.

NATO, by its resolve, its unity and its growing power, is now the strongest shield we have against aggressive attack, and before too long, it will provide the protection which may make possible the negotiation with some chance of success of the differences that now so dangerously divide the world.

This, then, is no time to falter or to hesitate, but one for determined and intelligent effort to finish the immediate job ahead of us. Then — but only then — can we look forward to a peace which means more than the absence of declared war — and progress which means more than better bombs and bigger guns.



—National Defence

CANADIAN NATO TROOPS IN GERMANY

Canada's 27th Brigade recently completed the most ambitious training exercise carried out since the brigade arrived in Germany almost a year ago. Troops of the 1st Canadian Rifle Battalion are shown crossing the Weser River.

NORTH OF SEVENTY-FOUR

(This is the second of two articles on activities in the Canadian North written by a member of the Department of External Affairs who visited the Arctic during the Spring Air Lift to the Arctic weather station. The first article dealt with the facilities and the men in the Canadian Arctic. The article which follows is a narrative of a journey down north.)

The departure of thirty men to this Ultima Thule is an event in the lives of each, whether he is going for a full year's term of duty or whether he will be back again in Montreal in a fortnight's time. It is an occasion for celebration. In the course of the festivities at Dorval on the eve of departure, if there were any regrets at what was to come and what was to be left behind they were not expressed. Perhaps there would be time enough later to reflect, and to discuss endlessly the luxuries of civilization to the south. Now the talk was of the north. The veterans—mostly old-timers who had reached the age of 20 or 25—sat in the constant flow of questions from the newcomers. They exchanged news on what they had done during their leave in the south, they talked about the work which they would be doing in the north, and, as is the custom among men of such select coteries, they dwelt long on news of absent brethren. They recounted the more famous of their Arctic experiences. And they made their complaints. Apart from that seemingly universal grievance among employees of all kinds — pay, perhaps their main concern was that they were the forgotten men. They were not seeking fame beyond their due, but they knew that they were doing an important and difficult job. They would like people to know of their existence. But it is a strange thing that if you press the men of the Arctic to list every complaint or criticism about their life and living conditions you would probably never hear a mention of the weather.

The cargo which was loaded on to the North Star Aircraft 512 early on the April morning of departure was as diverse as the passenger list. There were heavy cases of maintenance equipment, construction material, cylinders of helium and endless cartons of food, each marked with the name of some Arctic post. There were oddly-shaped pieces of scientific equipment — the theodolites, gravity meters, delicate balances, batteries, a trap for catching sea mollusks. Each was jealously watched by a scientist whose year's work might depend upon the safe passage of some small gadget.

The blanketing roar of engines deadened the conversation which had continued with such spirit throughout the weekend. On the long monotonous flight above the clouds to Churchill, life settled into drowsy inactivity. The usual determined souls gesticulated about a cribbage board on the center of the floor, but for most the long hours between Montreal and Churchill were a hiatus.

The overnight stay at Churchill was but an annoying interruption. Now that the south was left behind, everyone was anxious to get on with the job and the greatest fear was that weather might delay it.

Arrival at Resolute

The next morning's flight was more exciting because there was an objective at the end. To see the little cluster of man-made buildings at Resolute, after hours of flying over an amorphous nothing, gave that same sense of shock and excitement that you might have on emerging from a cloud 2,000 feet from the Empire State Building. We arrived early in the afternoon. The airstrip was bitterly windswept and bathed in the brilliant fluorescent light of the Arctic, intense and glaring but seemingly heatless. A lifetime of misconceptions about the Arctic made the cold seem almost disappointingly temperate. The wind bit cruelly at the face or ungloved hand. The sun at first stung eyes too long accustomed to gloom. But the initial reaction was: "The Arctic is not so bad".

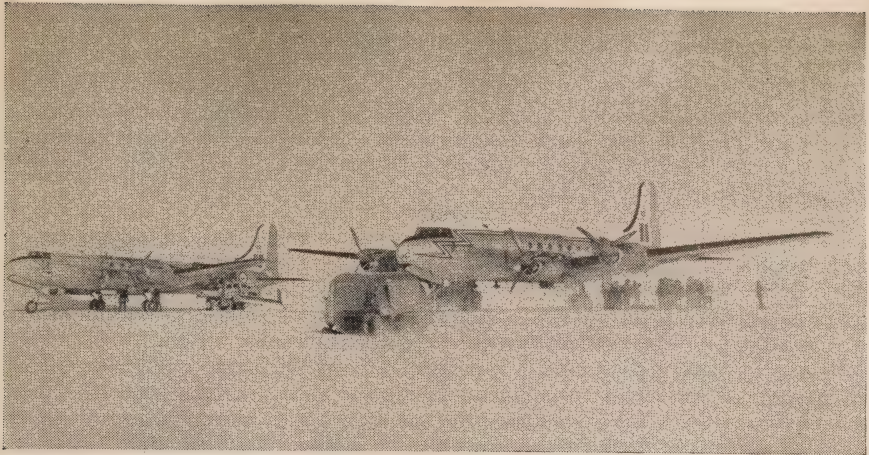
It was at the RCAF station just a few hundred yards from where our plane landed that we were to stay. Here there was one hut set aside for visitors, whether the touring scientists or the reinforcements who come during each air-lift to help dispose of the freight. The hut was comfortable and well-equipped. It had showers but the visitor was enjoined to consider carefully before using this luxury more than once a fortnight. The water supply is a constant problem at the Arctic stations. At some places a hole is cut through ice eight feet thick, with only a pick to do the job. A heated hut is placed over the hole and a portable water-tank is filled with a hose — probably one of the most disagreeable jobs in the Arctic. But the water is good. At one satellite station the men had to go miles for fresh water until, with rare consideration, nature deposited an iceberg (which is, of course, always fresh water) just a hundred yards from the front door of the building where the men lived. Now the residents just chip their drinking water from the iceberg. Another ingenious solution to the problem of water supply is to sink a pipe into a fresh-water lake each autumn, then to fill it with gasoline to prevent it from freezing and burn off the gas each time before water is pumped.

At the center of the cluster of buildings on the RCAF station at Resolute is the mess. It includes the dining-room and sitting-room, a large recreation-room and a remarkably well-equipped kitchen in the centre, with living quarters spreading out at each end of the building. Like all the buildings on the station it is made of plywood with excellent insulation. Its windows have three layers of glass permanently sealed and the air from outside is introduced by a small sort of cupboard-door above each window. The temperature inside ranges from 70 to 75 degrees. This is the center of life in the Arctic community. The men gather here for their meals, to read, to play table tennis, to see the occasional film or just to sit and listen to records. The record-player is probably the most exploited piece of machinery in the Arctic. Its relentlessly turning gears grind out a succession of popular dance-tunes during the station's waking hours. In April this year the top of the "Hit Parade" seemed to be held by *Shrimp Boats are Coming*, which had as a close competitor *Dance Me Loose*. For better or for worse, the record-player was a reminder of civilization.

A Separate Community

Although the airmen and the meteorologists see each other frequently, the weather station down the road from the RCAF airstrip is an entirely separate community. It was the original settlement of Resolute, built long before there was any permanent air-strip and before so much was known about construction in the Arctic. Consequently its buildings are older. The location of buildings in an Arctic community is a difficult problem. If the huts are too far apart, the staff is put to inconvenience when going from living-quarters to work or from work to the mess. In the height of an Arctic blizzard there can be real danger in wide separation of buildings, for men can be completely lost when they are only 25 yards away from shelter. On the other hand the community must not be too compact for there is the ever-present hazard of fire. Although there is a great variety and quantity of fire-fighting equipment, there is no water for fire fighting and the buildings are exceedingly dry. The loss of a building is a tragedy which may cause acute discomfort and seriously hamper work for months until new buildings supplies can be brought in by air or ship. There have been fires in Arctic stations, but the alertness of the staff and the efficiency of the fire-fighting equipment has usually been equal to the occasion.

The building which houses the ionospheric station at Resolute is modern, well-equipped and constructed in accordance with the best information available on building for Arctic needs. Next to it, however, is a structure whose design has been known to other Northern people for generations. It is a Finnish steam-bath designed some time ago by a scientist of Finnish ancestry. It was made of packing-cases with a subterranean cavern heated by an old wood stove. It is particularly remarkable



—Phillips

"North Stars" unloading at Resolute. A snowmobile is speeding across the airfield.

for its ingenuity. On the floor are even some species of arctic flora for the beating of perspiring customers. All that is lacking is the attendants. To this odd device the reckless scientists repair from time to time (even though they have a perfectly good bath indoors) and sit solemnly in a tropical temperature. Then they go and roll in snowdrifts at 40 degrees below zero. At least, so it is claimed. So far there has not been a single case of pneumonia; in fact the health record throughout the Arctic stations has been remarkably good. The main scourge is the common cold, and it occurs only after an airlift has brought in the germs of civilization. If there is a medical emergency the patient is speedily "airlifted" out to the nearest well-equipped hospital.

It is a curious way to spend an evening, but at about six p.m. on the day of our arrival, after five hours flying from Churchill, we went on to Mould Bay (at 79 degrees north) and back, a round trip of nearly 1,000 miles. To the newcomer, the flight was more than routine. The aircraft had developed two or three defects which, at a fully-equipped base, would probably have grounded it until the crew of mechanics with endless equipment had been able to set it right. Up here there were mechanics, there was some equipment, but there was not a limitless supply of replacement parts; and above all there was not time. We flew on successfully, thanks to the skill of the crew. Apart from the mechanical faults which seemed so much more serious in these remote places, one of the most trying aspects of Arctic flying is the long period of inaction while the aircraft warms up. We had stood on the agonizingly cold air strip for about 20 minutes. Then we sat strapped in the plane which was about 20 degrees below zero for 35 minutes before the wheels lifted from the ground. There was no possibility the passengers lumbered up from their seats and ploddingly exercised freezing feet growing numb on the cold metal floor while we watched the white clouds of breath float towards the roof. Through the aircraft windows flecked with crystals of frost, the Arctic in twilight looked more frigid than ever. In all that lifeless white expanse the only source of warmth were the pulsating blue and red flames from the exhaust of the aircraft engines. The passengers watched them intermittently and strained to sense some change in the pitch of the roar which would indicate that the long period of warm-up was nearing an end. When finally the safety-belt signal was extinguished, the passengers lumbered up from their seats and ploddingly exercised freezing feet like hibernating animals emerging from deep sleep. Many lay on the packing cases in the center of the floor, their feet against the ceiling nearer the heating vents. The

general effect was reminiscent of the sequence in the film *The Great Dictator*, when Charlie Chaplin found himself in inverted flight.

The light in early evening was red over undulating snow and ice. The shadows were long. The landscape was not flat — there were high hills, even mountain ranges, deep valleys, rolling plains and smooth lakes whose ice-covered surfaces erupted into curious and twisted designs. Because of the uniformity of colour, because of the lack of detail, form was everything.

There need be no monotony in Arctic flight. The steady roar of the engines is so overpowering that all other sounds are excluded and the noise itself is like silence. The form is bold in the infinitely gentle curves losing themselves on the far horizon, or on the jagged rock thrusts of a barren hilltop, or in the blue scratches of cracking ice. The colour is subtle. There are no sharp contrasts, only an endless blending of gently varying pastel shades on a luminous canvas. There are no jarring blotches, only a sense of untouched cleanliness. Though it stretches ceaselessly the picture changes constantly. It is like watching the flames of a slow-burning fire. Although the substance changes little, the forms are infinitely varied. The fascination is the same.

Arctic Navigation Difficult

Arctic navigation is understandably difficult. The magnetic compass is useless, radio communication is uncertain. Map-reading is now vastly improved over the days before the RCAF did their excellent photographic mapping work but the transfer of data to maps is not yet complete. Astro-navigation is the most reliable but this is impossible during the long twilight. It is a source of great credit to the RCAF navigators that they are able to find their way as well as they do. At Mould Bay the tiny staff had taken time out from its other duties to lay out an ice-strip capable of receiving our aircraft. The weight of the plane is the least of the problems, for the Arctic ice is thick enough to take the heaviest machines. Snowcover is a problem. Ideally, there should be only enough snow — about an inch — to help with traction. More snow slows down the aircraft too quickly; less creates the danger of skidding. It is a tedious and lengthy job to bring a strip to the proper standard. Man-power and mechanical equipment are limited and time is short. Men can work seven days and nights to prepare an ice strip suitable to receive a large aircraft, and then, on the eve of its arrival, see much of their effort wasted by a blizzard. The quality of the strips is a tribute to men who have had no experience in the mechanics of airstrip maintenance, who have other jobs to perform and who work long hours to ensure the safety of the occupants of the visiting aircraft.

Most of the community, bearded and “bushed”, came to meet the plane, the first to land in seven months. There were no wild demonstrations but a more subdued excitement — the customary exchanges of news about the whereabouts of other Arctic men, the platitudes about the work, the jokes about life on the station. In all there was little conversation, only intense activity. The unloading had to be completed as rapidly as possible before the aircraft engines cooled.

The most excited element in the local population was the huskies. At all the weather stations there were huskies, brought in by air like everything else. There had been a nasty experience in one of the stations when someone ran into a polar bear without warning just outside his hut. The huskies perform the very valuable function of warning of the presence of polar bears anywhere in the area. The original colony of twenty-five, obtained from the War Assets Corporation, soon multiplied alarmingly, until the dogs posed a serious food problem. Now the population is reduced periodically. As for the remaining huskies, “they never had it so good”.

There was an astonishing variety of equipment in a single aircraft on the “spring-lift”. Personal kit came down first, thrown casually from a doorway, then, with the

greatest of care, the scientific equipment. There were stacks of heavy steel containers full of helium; piles of building material — from nails and screws to heavy scantling and wood siding; cases and cases of fresh fruit; awkward motor-driven stoves to warm aircraft engines and huge tractors broken down into unwieldy parts for transportation by air. But above all there was the mail — three or four white canvas bags with the address “Mould Bay Post Office”. These were placed with special care on top of all the other equipment — the lumber, the food, the machines, the gas-drums — on the long sleighs ready to be driven off by tractor.

Airlift Routine

This was the pattern of the airlift for the next three weeks. First the staff and visitors came in. There was a pause of a few days until supplies accumulated at Resolute from planes coming in from Churchill and Montreal. Then the freight shuttle-service to the satellite weather stations began in earnest. The runs went in each day or oftener with determined monotony, each plane filled to capacity with the materials required to sustain life and comfort and provide the elements needed to increase our knowledge of the Arctic. Life and work for an entire year depended on the airlifts in April and in September. While the RCAF was supplying Resolute, Mould Bay and Isachsen, the USAF was making preparations for its contribution to the spring airlift by taking men and materials to Alert and Eureka. For two or three weeks, depending on the weather, this feverish activity would continue, then life at the Arctic outposts would return to its state of normal abnormality.

Between the arrival of the first plane and the beginning of the airlift in earnest, there was a period of waiting when life drifted into a monotonous routine. The permanent staff of the RCAF and the weather stations carried out their normal duties. The visitors who were awaiting passage to their future posts or who were on hand to handle freight kept the air filled with the dreary sounds of phonograph records or the steady clink of billiard balls. The worn pocket-book thrillers in the mess were thumbed through by a new audience. Listless forms lay about the chesterfields and chairs in soporific warmth. There was a soft whine of wind catching at some man-made obstacle outside, the muffled drone of the oil heaters, the vague rattle of dishes and cutlery somewhere in the kitchen. These and the other sounds of Arctic life were interrupted periodically by the clanking of the heavy door swinging wide to let in a member of the staff with a blast of Arctic cold.

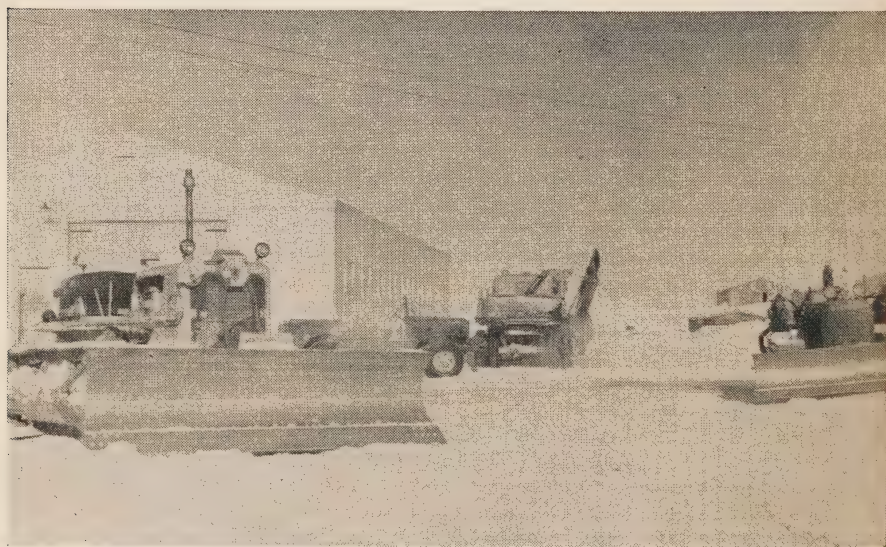
The arrival of another aircraft emptied the living quarters and mess. For a few hours hooded figures worked quickly in the middle of the airstrip to load, sort and store the freight. There was maintenance to be done and sometimes extensive repairs. One aircraft landed about midnight. Dinner was ready for the crew. Afterwards, when most of them had climbed wearily into bed after a long and exhausting day, the flight engineer returned to the middle of the wind-swept strip and started a repair job which was to keep him working seven hours through the cold darkness of thirty below zero. An hour later, its engines already warm, the aircraft was once more preparing to take off on its programme for the day. Sometimes new visitors came in making the newcomers of a few days before feel like veterans. One of these visitors set the whole RCAF station into fits of uncontrollable laughter by enquiring innocently: “Now, where are the married quarters?”

During one of these quiet periods we set forth on a hike from Resolute to Allen Bay. This required some preparation and a few elementary precautions. Reasonable clothing included heavy underwear, flannel shirt, flannels, heavy over-trousers, turtle-neck sweater, one pair of heavy socks with slippers and fleece-lined flight boots, heavy jacket and parka, woollen mitts covered by leather mitts. For a longer journey farther from camp, especially in very severe weather, we would have worn on top of all this a pair of coveralls made of nylon pile — light and extremely warm.

It was a strict rule that anyone leaving the immediate camp area must carry a .303 rifle as protection against the local wild life, notably polar bears, which have a tendency to lurk around the shore-line. Although polar bears are not usually a serious danger, there had been two or three attacks on men who were alone in the open. This being the Arctic Game Preserve, only Eskimos could hunt. If anyone else shoots a polar bear, even in self-defence, he may not keep any part of the animal. In the early days of the Resolute community someone did shoot a polar bear in self-defence. Being ignorant of the rules about these things, he spent many hours of free time skinning the bear. He persevered in the unaccustomed task by thoughts of a luxurious cover for the living-room floor back home. Only when the whole job was completed did he learn that his only reward would be the thanks of the RCMP who turned the skin over to the Eskimos. Since this experience there has not been very much desire to shoot polar bears. Not only is it unrewarding, but it is difficult. According to the local experts the only way to neutralize a polar bear in a difficult situation is to shoot at what seemed an infinitesimal area at the base of his neck. "No use shooting at its head — the bullets just bounce off". Hitting that little target in the relaxation of a 25-yard range would be a hard enough job, let alone finding it in the blustering out of doors. As a final touch we were given soft-nosed and hard-nosed ammunition. Since we had no wish to shoot at each other, we did not load our rifles but tucked the rounds deep in one of the dozen pockets. The thoughts of numbed hands trying to find any bullet, soft or hard, in those pockets two seconds after seeing the rearing form of any angry polar bear was more chilling than the bitterest Arctic wind. Fortunately there were no encounters.

On our trek out toward Allen Bay we were walking diagonally into the wind. We were not cold, except for half an aching face against which the wind cut through a narrow slit of the parka. The edge of the parka quickly turned white and a cold rim of frost built up from the condensation of the breath. The dark glasses, which had to be worn everywhere out of doors in the glaring sun, became clouded. The fogging had the advantage of reducing the sun's glare, but it was a hazard when we were trying to discern detail.

Every few minutes of the way we had to pause and turn round for respite against the cutting wind. We had to stop frequently to memorize the route by the



Runway snow removal equipment at Resolute.

—Phillips

few land marks available. Structures near the air-station were visible for a long time, but it was necessary to consider the possibility of a sudden fog. When we approached the shore of the lake, progress was even slower because of the treacherous crevasses formed by the tide-crack of the sea ice. Both on land and ice the surface was swept almost bare of snow, but on the lake there were deep gaps in the ice into which soft snow had filtered. Unless one recognized the different textures of the surface, there was considerable risk of disappearing almost from view. Once we slipped down waist deep. It was an unnerving experience. Progress was further slowed by the necessity of frequent stops to look for animals which might lurk about the ice formations. To the veteran, all these precautions may come instinctively, but a newcomer is likely to find that a hike across the Arctic waste requires a good deal of concentration.

Hiking is a popular form of recreation for men on the Arctic weather-stations. To anyone who has preconceived notions about the emptiness of the North, it may seem a strange form of recreation, but up here hikers have their favourite objectives much as people in the south have their popular picnic place or bathing beaches. They may go to the top of a high hill, or to the shore of a fresh-water lake, or down to the edge of the sea where the wind has churned up great icefields of continuous fascination. The surface of the beach had erupted into twisted, ragged piles of ice, bold in their shapes, remarkable in the beauty of their colour. They emerged seemingly without reason, massive and yet delicate, cold-white and translucent green, solid but for the shrill whistle of wind caught in the reeds of slender icy towers.

To admire was easier than to photograph. The camera was protected from the worst of the wind by the flap of a jacket. It was not hard to get into position but unfortunately it was necessary to use the bare fingers to adjust the settings. By the time of the first picture, the focusing gear was frozen solid, the diaphragm and shutter could be moved only with the greatest difficulty. Only when the film was brought back to the south to be developed could we know what the exposure had been. Whatever the setting, the shutter would act entirely according to its own whims, sometimes opening and closing correctly, sometimes remaining sluggishly apart, too cold to move. Working the settings on the camera with bare hands on cold metal was the sheerest torture. After about ten seconds exposure, the fingers became useless for anything but brute force. After about thirty seconds, the pain was so intense that there was little point in trying to do anything. With five minutes of double mitts and violent exercise, life began to return.

Some of the Arctic old-timers looked with a jaundiced eye on those "tourists" who come to the Arctic for a week or two, then return south with a slight shiver and a glow of self-satisfaction. It is true that it is as important to know the extent of our ignorance of the Arctic as it is to realize the limits of our experience. Time will increase our knowledge — time and the loyal efforts of the pioneers who man our Arctic outposts. Their work will benefit all the rest of us who have not been lured by the attractions of any life below 74 degrees. Degrees Fahrenheit, that is.

FRANCE AND FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE

French interest in the life of Canada has increased noticeably since the Liberation. Before the last war, it is true, a cordial feeling for Canada existed, but a thorough knowledge of this country was still limited to quite a small group. There were exchanges of professional men and in university circles; moreover, there were certain stimuli, such as André Siegfried's lectures on Canada's political institutions, which exercised a wide influence, especially among students. But the new interest in Canadian affairs is due largely to the part played by the Canadian army in liberating French territory and to the considerable material assistance rendered by Canada to her ally; these brought various classes of French society to an awareness of Canada's existence. This interest has not been limited, however, to Canada's material life alone but has extended also to include the things of the mind and spirit.

Canadian Culture Increasingly Self-confident

Less tangible factors have also contributed greatly to creating a favourable atmosphere for a more just French appreciation of the Canadian cultural heritage. In the first place, it has been observed in France that Canadian culture has been increasingly self-confident and rightly so. Probably the most potent force in making the intellectuals of French-speaking Canada aware of their opportunity and responsibility was the disaster that befell France in 1940. Our writers, too often inclined to draw their inspiration from current French thought, suddenly found themselves intellectually isolated and temporarily cut off from this source by the German occupation of France. They had no choice but to turn to themselves, and this introspection, imposed by external circumstances, broadened their vision and brought them to a maturity they had not previously known. They found within themselves a wealth almost untouched, and a capacity to produce works of originality.

The Right Honourable W. L. Mackenzie King, at that time Prime Minister of Canada, commented on this event in an address delivered on the festival of the patron saint of French Canada on June 24, 1940, only a few days after France was forced to lay down her arms. Convinced that, if the culture of France were to disappear even temporarily, the world would feel a great lack, he sounded the alarm and appealed to his French-speaking fellow-countrymen to help keep that culture alive throughout the world:

On this festival of the patron saint of French Canada I wish to address a message to my French-Canadian compatriots. The agony of France has brought the horrors of war closer than ever both to Canadian hearts and to Canadian shores.

The tragic fate of France leaves to French Canada the duty of upholding the traditions of French culture and civilization and the French passion for liberty in the world. This new responsibility will, I believe, be accepted proudly.

The intellectuals of French-speaking Canada proved themselves equal to this great mission and faithful to their calling. They did more than maintain the French tradition by publishing many thousands of copies of the French classics; they enriched this tradition as well, aware that they were under an obligation to produce new creative works. With this responsibility in view, intellectual activity in Canada made extraordinary progress in every field.

The friendly relations established between Canadian writers in French and French men of letters who had been able to flee their country and had come to America added greatly to a fraternal co-operation which, before 1939, had never been so close. During the war, indeed, newspapers and literary periodicals of French

Canada published regularly articles by exiled French writers — among others, Bernanos, Maritain, Laugier, Yves Simon, Gabriel Marcel, Rev. Father Couturier and Jules Romains; and publishing-houses helped to make this intellectual co-operation still closer by printing unpublished works or new editions of the French classics. This collaboration allowed French intellectuals to discover the contribution which our writers could make and, on the other hand, inspired in the latter confidence of what they could accomplish. These seeds of co-operation and partnership were to go on bearing fruit after the war.

Works Becoming Known

Although the French public has been able, during the past few years, thanks to art exhibits and to the work of the National Film Board, to become acquainted with certain aspects of Canada's artistic life, the work of Canadian writers, for which there are no such easy means of reaching the French public, has not been so favoured. But, fortunately, this situation has now improved considerably. Exhibitions of books, organized, with the help of the Canadian Embassy, not only in Paris but in the main provincial centres such as Strasbourg and Orleans, have made known to a large public the literary output of the writers of French Canada. On the one hand, well-established publishing-houses in France have added to their catalogues representative works of the new French-Canadian literature. Gabrielle Roy, Roger Lemelin, Germaine Guevremont and François Hertel have now appeared with their elders, Dugas, Ringuet or Desrosiers. Just recently, Robert de Roquebrune published in Paris a volume of memoirs. A few young poets, among others Eloi de Grammont and Béland, have also published collections of their poems in France. Moreover, with the establishment in Paris of a branch of the *Editions Fides*, a more systematic distribution of Canadian books is now being organized, which will permit the French reader to keep himself acquainted with our writers.

Now, although certain intellectuals in France have been disturbed by a strain of nationalism which has been apparent in the work of young Canadian authors, the political aspects of this criticism ought not to obscure purely literary considerations. The fact that French writers as well known as Duhamel, Gilson, Jérôme and Jean Tharaud and Aragon have thought it necessary to participate shows the importance of these discussions. The marked change in the Canadian mind as a result of this country's political independence and its active participation in international life not unnaturally has found expression in a certain independence of thought in the work of Canadian authors.

French critics have been studying the literary output of French Canada with new attention. The leading Paris papers, *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, *Le Figaro Littéraire* and *Le Monde*, and reviews such as *L'Age Nouveau*, *Esprit* and *La Vie Intellectuelle* are prepared to devote detailed articles to Canadian writers. In 1946 a well-known university figure, Mme Paul-Crouzet, analysing some of the best Canadian poets with attention as close as she would have given to French classics, suggested that these deserved a place in the text-books used by students of French secondary schools in order that they might be read and studied along with their own national poets. Even if French literary critics, somewhat disconcerted perhaps by certain linguistic characteristics or by themes already over-exploited in France, have sometimes passed severe judgment on the works of Canadian writers, they are not indifferent to Canada's literary output and readily acknowledge its value. A few years ago, when the *Prix Fémina* was awarded for the first time to a Canadian writer, Gabrielle Roy, the members of the jury took into account only the intrinsic merit of the work and were not influenced, as certain unfriendly critics suggested, by extra-literary considerations.

A further aid to Canadian writers and artists in gaining entry into French circles are the literary salons as well as official or private cultural associations. Several of these groups, such as the *Centre Culturel International de Royaumeont*, have at various times, with the assistance of Canadian writers visiting Paris, organized meetings for Franco-Canadian intellectual co-operation that have resulted in a profitable exchange of ideas. Moreover, on certain occasions, such as Canada's national day, the French broadcasting system has devoted programmes to the reading of excerpts from works by Canadian writers and to the playing of Canadian music. It is still recalled with emotion that, at the time of France's liberation, a group of French people wishing to show their admiration for and gratitude towards Canada, chose, as the most appropriate means of expressing their message, to read works by a Canadian poet, St-Denys Garneau. Canadian students in France, many of them holding scholarships, are also very active in this field; a series of lectures prepared by them for French and foreign young people in France on the various aspects of Canada's intellectual life, a series that was splendidly concluded by a reading of Canadian poems by the great artist Ludmilla Pitoëff, aroused wide interest. Similarly, the *Maison Canadienne* at the *Cité Universitaire* helps to make Canada better known.

In a more official setting, the warm praise of Canada by Etienne Gilson on the occasion of his admission to the French Academy is still remembered. He said that French-Canadian culture was due to the resolute will of a whole people, who had served the language of France well. The admission of another friend of Canada, Maurice Genevoix, provided the Academy with a fresh opportunity of expressing its admiration for Canada's intellectual achievement. The *Société des Gens de Lettres* also, in an official ceremony, has taken occasion to pay tribute to the important effort in Canada to make the intellectual and spiritual values of France better known.

A promising project has been undertaken by the *Institut scientifique franco-canadien* to invite Canadian intellectuals to give lectures in France, particularly to the students in the schools of higher studies, on various aspects of Canadian life. Before the War, these exchanges were one-sided, in that the *Institut* sent only French speakers to Canada. Since then, however, representatives of various intellectual interests in Canada have been going from Canada to France not only to speak to audiences in Paris but also to travel to the main provincial universities. Up to the present, the guests of the *Institut* have included such well-known figures as Jean Bruchési, who spoke on post-war Canada, Monseigneur Savard, who dealt with French-Canadian literature, Gérard Morisset, specialist in the history of Canadian arts, Cyrias Ouellet who, this year, will describe Canada's scientific achievements, and Luc Lacourcière who, next year, will give lectures on Canadian folklore.

The enterprise shown by the *Cercle du Livre de France* recently in creating a literary prize for Canadian novels will no doubt have the effect not only of stimulating creative writing in Canada but also of making Canadian novels better known in France. The prize-winning author is invited to go to Paris, where he is introduced to the chief literary associations and best-known writers. His work is published in the capital. Since the *Cercle du Livre de France* has many subscribers, the prize-winning book will have a wide distribution in France.

Comments on Canadian Works

In conclusion, a few excerpts from recent French criticisms of the works of Canadian authors will emphasize better than any commentary the contribution made by French-Canadian literature to the common intellectual heritage:

(1) "Better still, this is an intellectual achievement which is whole and complete, since poetry expresses the very soul of a people; since, for that reason, it explains all else, and we shall not have understood Canada until, through her poetry,

we see the Canadian soul entire." (Jeanne Paul-Crouzet, *Poésie au Canada*, Didier-Privat, 1946.)

(2) "Too many of us are unaware that even today Canada has first-rate writers. Our country extended so warm a welcome, and rightly so, to Ramuz, who acquainted us so well with the customs and language of our Swiss neighbours, that we should consider it a pleasant and an urgent duty not to let it be ignored any longer, for example, that Gabrielle Roy, author of *Bonheur d'occasion*, provides us in a very well written novel with a picture of manners and customs that is new for us and singularly appealing. I could mention a great many others who have recently come to my attention, but that would merit a detailed study of Canadian literature far beyond the scope of a mere letter.

"I should be unhappy, however, to omit the name of Félix-Antoine Savard who, in *Menaud maître-draveur*, has written, in a style which might serve as a model for many of our venturesome beginners, pages which I have read with heart-warming emotion. This is the very moving tale of a peasant family, especially of its head, which to the very death remains faithful to its race and to its faith . . . which are ours. With as great precision at least as in *Maria Chapdelaine*, we are introduced to the way of life and the picturesque language of our kinsmen beyond the seas." (Louis Artus, "Lettre de Montréal", Paris, *Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, July 24, 1947.)

(3) "The novel is not the only genre honoured in Canadian literature: it also has its scholars such as Canon Sideleau, editor of an excellent anthology, *Chansons de geste*; its historians such as Jean Bruchési, author of a useful *Histoire du Canada*; and numerous gifted poets such as Alain Grandbois or Choquette, of whose verse Mme Jeanne Paul-Crouzet published a short time ago an interesting anthology . . . We should inquire more often into what is being written abroad in our language, especially when, as in Canada, it is being used and faithfully preserved by our own kinsmen." (Emile Henriot, "La Littérature canadienne", Paris, *Le Monde*, November 25, 1947.)

These opinions show that the dominant characteristic which attracts the attention of the critic as well as of the reader in France is not primarily the language but the originality of Canadian writing. Indeed, the more Canadian authors draw their inspiration from national sources, the more authentic they will be and the greater interest they will arouse.

Other Arts

In this article emphasis has been placed on Canada's literary output, but we must not forget the other arts, especially Canadian music. Since music speaks an international language, Canadian musicians do not have to cope with the same problems as do Canadian writers. In music, what counts above all is inspiration and the originality in the work. Precisely because our contemporary music reveals these characteristics, it is receiving an increasingly warm welcome in French musical circles.

Young Canadian musicians have grouped together in Paris and from time to time organize concerts of Canadian works which are meeting with a very encouraging success. The albums of music recorded by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation are most valuable for, thanks to them, the works of Canadian composers can be heard through either the French broadcasting system or through music associations. A project which will no doubt have considerable influence in this same field is the organization in Canada of the *Jeunesses Musicales*, whose programme provides for an exchange of artists between Canada and France. Thus our young musicians will have the opportunity of visiting throughout France, and Canadian compositions will come to be widely known.

Canadian painting has not been mentioned since this part of our artistic tradition is best known abroad. It is not within the scope of this article to consider the reasons which have made our painters so well known. It is none the less a fact that artists such as Morrice, Pellán, Borduas and Lyman, to name only a few, are winning or have won already the enthusiastic approval of French art critics.

Through her artists and writers, Canada has shown that she has passed through her intellectual adolescence. Although Canadian works have not yet gained as general a recognition as some might wish, their existence is becoming more and more widely known in the different sectors of the French public; and there they are making a special impression, insofar as they offer something new, though expressed in a familiar tongue. The contribution of Canadian intellectuals forms an essential part of the projection abroad of Canada; and its importance, like its influence, must not be ignored, since from a community of interests and of ideas can emerge those lasting elements which make certain a better relationship among nations.



ANNIVERSARY OF THE DIEPPE LANDING

The tenth anniversary of the landing of Canadian troops on the beach at Dieppe was commemorated on August 19 at a ceremony at "Canada Square" in Dieppe. Above is a general view of the ceremonies which included the unveiling of a plaque which contains the following inscription: "On August 19, 1942, on the beach at Dieppe, our Canadian cousins traced with their blood the way to our final liberation, thus presaging their triumphant return on September 1, 1944." In the centre foreground is Major-General Vanier, Canadian Ambassador to France.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

The Eleventh Session of the Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council, which is charged with the supervision of the United Nations international trusteeship system, has completed the first part of its eleventh session which was held at United Nations Headquarters in New York under the presidency of Awni Khalidy of Iraq. Canada is not a member of this United Nations body which at the present time has the following membership: Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States (administering states); China, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Iraq, Thailand, U.S.S.R. (non-administering states).

During the forty-five meetings of this first part of the session which lasted from June 3 to July 24, the Council undertook a detailed review of the progress and development of the peoples of seven United Nations trust territories in Africa. Special attention was paid to the annual report from Italy, which acts as administering authority for Somaliland, and to two other reports on Somaliland, one by the United Nations Advisory Council in that country and one by a visiting mission which was sent by the Trusteeship Council to examine local conditions.

The Council, in addition to its examination of reports on particular trust territories, continued its discussion of various problems of a more general nature. A revised and somewhat shorter questionnaire for the guidance of the administering authorities in preparing their reports was approved. The Council took note of a report by the ILO recommending the abolition of all penal sanctions against migrant labour in the trust territories. A resolution was adopted which expressed the hope that in future the countries administering trust territories would include in their delegations to the Council suitably qualified indigenous inhabitants of the territories they administer.

The Council completed arrangements for the dispatch of a visiting mission to West Africa. The report of this visiting mission, which will make a special study of the Ewe and Togoland unification problem, will form the main item before the Trusteeship Council at the second part of the eleventh session which will begin not later than November 7.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. L. D. Wilgress was posted from the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, to Ottawa as Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, effective June 1, 1952.
- Mr. N. A. Robertson was posted from Ottawa to London as High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, effective June 1, 1952.
- Mr. G. S. Patterson was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Shanghai, to Ottawa, effective May 7, 1952.
- Mr. G. G. Crean was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective June 15, 1952.
- Mr. A. F. W. Plumptre was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council, Paris, effective June 19, 1952.
- Mr. P. A. Bridle was posted from home leave (Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, New Delhi) to Ottawa, effective June 26, 1952.
- Mr. W. F. Hoogendyke was posted from home leave (The Hague) to Ottawa, effective July 14, 1952.
- Mr. S. F. Rae proceeded from the Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council and the OEEC, Paris, to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada, London, effective July 15, 1952.
- Mr. J. A. Strong was posted from the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, to Ottawa, effective July 15, 1952.
- Mr. J. M. Teakles was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Rome, to the Canadian Legation, Prague, as *Chargé d'Affaires a.i.*, effective August 10, 1952.
- Mr. A. R. Kilgour was posted from home leave (Canadian Delegation to the North Atlantic Council and the OEEC, Paris) to Ottawa, effective August 18, 1952.
- The following officers were appointed to the Department of External Affairs, effective August 19, 1952: Miss Vivienne Allen, G. Bertrand, K. W. MacLellan, G. A. H. Pearson.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments

His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Nye, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., K.C.B., K.B.E., M.C., High Commissioner, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada, August 19.

Dr. Otto Burchard, Second Secretary, Embassy of Germany, July 31.

Colonel Marcel Faure, Military, Naval and Air Attaché, Embassy of France, August 20.

Mr. Hendricus Leopold, Attaché, Embassy of the Netherlands, August 21.

Mr. G. F. N. Reddaway, Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada, August 22.

Dr. Walter Peinsiop, *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim*, Legation of Austria, August 22.

Mr. B. N. Ivanov, Attaché, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, August.

Departures

Mr. C. L. S. Cope, Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Canada, August 13.

Dr. Miguel Bravo, First Secretary, Embassy of Chile, August 14.

Colonel Gilbert Andrier, Military, Naval and Air Attaché, Embassy of France, August 19.

Mr. A. D. Vas Nunes, First Secretary and Consul, Embassy of the Netherlands, August 28.

Mr. Knut Orre, Counsellor and Consul, Consulate General of Norway at Montreal, August 6.

His Excellency General Arnaldo Carrasco, Ambassador, Embassy of Chile, represented Chile at the XVIII Conference of the Inter-

national Red Cross in Toronto, July 23 to August 9.

His Excellency the Hon. Stanley Woodward, Ambassador, Embassy of the United States of America, returned from a vacation in Europe and resumed direction of the Embassy, August 12.

His Excellency, A. H. J. Lovink, Ambassador, Embassy of the Netherlands, returned from Toronto where he represented his country at the XVIII Conference of the International Red Cross and departed on a trip of

approximately two weeks to northern Ontario, August. Mr. M. J. van Schreven, Counsellor is Chargé d'Affaires.

Mr. L. F. Teplov, Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, left for a vacation in his country. Mr. S. L. Roudtchenko, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, July 27.

Mr. Eugeniusz Markowski, Chargé d'Affaires, Legation of Poland, left for a vacation in Poland, August 11. During Mr. Markowski's absence, Mr. Jan Dankowicz is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

CONSULAR

Recognition was granted to:

Mr. Michel Moreux, Consul, Consulate of France at St. John's, Newfoundland, August 1.

Mr. Ditlef Knudson, Consul, Consulate General of Norway at Montreal, August 7.

Mr. Frank A. Tinker, Vice-Consul, Consulate General of the United States of America at Toronto, August 22.

Mr. Tito Juvenal Arias, Consul, Consulate General of Panama at Montreal, August 22.

Mr. John MacArthur Hutton, Honorary Vice-Consul, Consulate of Brazil at Halifax, August 26.

Departures

Mr. Maurice Bonnavé, Consul, Consulate of France, St. John's, Newfoundland, August 1.

Mr. R. C. McInerney, Consul, Consulate of Belgium, Saint John, New Brunswick, August 6.

Mr. Knut Orre, Consul and Counsellor,

Consulate General of Norway at Montreal, August 6.

The Consulate of Belgium, Saint John, New Brunswick, has been closed and the Consulate at Halifax will now have jurisdiction over the Provinces of Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia with the exception of the counties of Cape Breton, Inverness, Richmond and Victoria.

Mr. Perry N. Jester, Consul General, Consulate General of the United States of America at Hamilton, will be away from his post from August 9 to September 9. Mr. Vernon V. Hukee, Vice-Consul of the United States of America at Toronto will be officer in charge at Hamilton during Mr. Jester's absence.

Dr. J. Mares, Consul General, Consulate General of Czechoslovakia at Montreal, resigned his post August 11.

Trade Commissioners

Mr. Arnold Heckle, Trade Commissioner, Trade Commissioner's Office for the United Kingdom at Montreal, replaced Mr. James Paterson and assumed his duties, August 4.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of August 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new standing international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in August

1. *Resumed Session of the Conference on Settlement of German External Debts.* London, May 19-August 8. Head of Delegation: G. G. Crean, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; Delegates: A. B. Hockin, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; C. L. Read, Department of Finance.
2. *18th International Red Cross Conference.* Toronto, July 23-August 9. Observers: Dr. G. D. W. Cameron, Deputy Minister of National Health, Head of Delegation; S. M. Scott, Department of External Affairs; Lt. Col. J. C. A. Campbell, Department of National Defence; Alternates: Dr. K. C. Charron, Department of National Health and Welfare; S. A. Freifeld, Department of External Affairs.
3. *8th General Assembly of the International Geographical Union.* Washington, August 8-15. A. J. Larocque, Department of National Defence; Dr. J. W. Watson, Dr. N. L. Nicholson and P. Laurendeau, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
4. *6th British Commonwealth Forestry Conference.* Ottawa, August 11-September 13. Canadian Delegates: Department of Resources and Development: Dr. D. A. Macdonald; Col. J. H. Jenkins; J. M. Marshall; H. Schwartz; Department of Agriculture: Dr. M. L. Prebble; Department of Trade and Commerce: G. H. Rochester; Department of Labour: Dr. G. V. Haythorne; K. J. Carter, Deputy Minister of Natural Resources, Newfoundland; J. F. Gaudet, Chief Forester, Department of Industry and Natural Resources, Prince Edward Island; G. W. I. Creighton, Deputy Minister of Lands and Forests, Nova Scotia; J. H. Ramsay, Acting Deputy Minister of Lands and Mines, New Brunswick; Dr. A. Bedard, Deputy Minister of Lands and Forests, Quebec; Dr. E. J. Zavitz, Department of Lands and Forests, Ontario; J. G. Somers, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Manitoba; E. J. Marshall, Department of Natural Resources and Industrial Development, Saskatchewan; E. S. Huestis, Department of Lands and Forests, Alberta; F. S. McKinnon, Department of Lands and Forests, British Columbia; also numerous Associate Delegates and Observers.
5. *Meeting on the Implementation of the Agreement Reached at the Extraordinary Administrative Radio Conference (ITU).* Washington, August 11-15. Head of Delegation: C. J. Acton, Department of Transport; Members: C. M. Brant, Department of Transport; F/L B. T. Benton, Department of National Defence.
6. *Advisory Committee of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA).* New York, August 12. D. M. Johnson, Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations, New York.
7. *International Grassland Congress (FAO).* State College, Pennsylvania, August 17-23. Dr. W. J. White, Forage Crops Laboratory, Saskatoon; Dr. P. O. Ripley, and Dr. W. Kalbfleisch, Central Experimental Farm; Dr. W. G. Dore, Science Service, Department of Agriculture.
8. *Inter-Governmental Conference for the Adoption of the Universal Copyright Convention (UNESCO).* Geneva, August 18-September 16. Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland; Delegate: C. Stein, Under-Secretary of State of Canada; Alternate: G. G. Beckett, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada; Technical Adviser: H. G. Fox, St. Catharines, Ontario.
9. *Special Committee to Study Further the Question of Methods and Procedure of the General Assembly of the United Nations for Dealing with Legal and Drafting Questions.* New York, August 26. A. R. Crepault, Permanent Delegation of Canada to the United Nations, New York.

Conferences to be Held in September and October

1. *3rd Session of the General Assembly of the International Union for the Protection of Nature.* Caracas, Venezuela, September 3-9.
2. *8th General Assembly of the Astronomical Union.* Rome, September 3-14.
3. *Intersessional Committee Meeting of GATT.* Geneva, September 4.
4. *Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.* Ottawa, September 7.
5. *13th International Horticultural Congress.* London, September 8-15.
6. *3rd Session of Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices (ECOSOC).* Geneva, September 8-October 4.
7. *19th Session of the International Geographical Congress.* Algiers, September 8-15.
8. *3rd Session of the ILO Chemical Committee.* Geneva, September 9-20.

9. *Special Conference to Complete 3rd Party Aircraft Damage Convention to Replace the Rome Convention of 1933* (ICAO). Rome, September 9.
10. *6th Meeting of the Directing Council of the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau*. Havana, September 10-24.
11. *3rd International Congress of Phytopharmacy*. Paris, September 15-21.
12. *2nd Session of the Statistical Division of ICAO*. Montreal, September 16.
13. *Congress of International Society of Haematology*. Mar del Plata, Argentina, September 21-26.
14. *21st International Congress of Housing and Urbanism*. Lisbon, September 21-27.
15. *Meeting of Commonwealth Officials to Discuss Financial, Commercial and Economic Matters*. London, September 22.
16. *2nd Session of the Committee on Improvement of National Statistics of the Inter-American Statistical Institute*. Ottawa, September 27-October 11.
17. *50th Jubilee Meeting of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea*. Copenhagen, September 29-October 7.
18. *2nd Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU)*. Buenos Aires, October 1.
19. *7th Session of GATT*. Geneva, October 2.
20. *7th International Conference and General Assembly of Travel Organizations*. Rome, October 7-11.
21. *Biennial Session of the International Committee on Weights and Measures*. Paris, October 7-17.
22. *8th Pan-American Congress of Architects*. Mexico City, October 9-16.
23. *2nd Pan-American Convention on Appraisal*. Santiago, October 12-19.
24. *6th Pan-American Consultative Meeting on Cartography*. Ciudad Trujillo, October 12-24.
25. *International Seminar on Statistical Organization*. Ottawa, October 13-31.
26. *4th Session of PICMME*. Geneva, October 13.
27. *7th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly*. New York, October 14.
28. *4th Session of the Petroleum Committee (ILO)*. Scheveningen, Netherlands, October 14.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
50	1/8	Appointment of Mr. W. M. Benidickson, M.P., as Special Representative of Canada to the inauguration of the President of Iceland.
51	1/8	Announcement of the establishment of Canadian scholarships and fellowships to use blocked balances in France and the Netherlands.
52	12/8	Appointment of Mr. J. B. C. Watkins as Minister to Norway and Iceland
53	18/8	Appointment of Mr. Edmond Turcotte as Special Ambassador to the Dominican Republic for the inauguration of its new president.
54	20/8	Acknowledgement of Canada's 1952 contribution to UNICEF.
55	22/8	Exchange of diplomatic missions between Canada and Austria, and appointment of Dr. Victor Doré as Minister to Austria.
56	28/8	Appointment of Mr. G. S. Patterson as Consul General in Boston.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Report of the Committee on International Criminal Jurisdiction on its session held from 1 to 31 August 1951; New York, 1952; document A/2136; 25 pp.; 25 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 11.

Unesco Report to the United Nations 1951-1952; Paris, 1952; document E/2226; 21 May 1952; 206 pp.; \$2.75.

**Commission on Human Rights—Report of the Eighth Session (14 April to 14 June 1952)*; 27 June 1952; document E/2256, E/CN.4/669; 71 pp.; 70 cents; Ecosoc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 4.

**International Tax Agreements — Vol. III: World Guide to International Tax Agreements 1843-1951*; 28 February 1951; document ST/ECE/SER.C/3; 359 pp.; \$4.00; Sales No.: 1951.XVI.5.

**Community Planning and Housing for the Pallikaranai Project, Madras, India — A demonstration project of "The Rural City"* (Report and Recommendations of a United Nations Expert); 16 July 1952; document ST/TAA/K/Inda/1; 143 pp.; (United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, New York 1952).

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

(None this month)

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 52/27—*Full Employment and Economic Stability*, a speech by Mr. Jean Lesage, M.P., Chairman, Canadian Delegation to the Fourteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council—in Plenary Session on July 1, 1952.

No. 52/28—*Canada and the North Atlantic Community: An Economic View*, a paper presented by the Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Finance, Mr. K. W. Taylor, to the Royal Society of Canada,

Section II, at the Quebec meetings, June 3, 1952.

No. 52/29—*The United States and Canada: Some Problems and Achievements*, an address by the Canadian Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Hume Wrong, to the Colgate University Conference on Foreign Policy, dealing with the theme "Creating Situations of Strength", July 26, 1952.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Country	Designation	Address
Argentina.....	Ambassador.....	Buenos Aires (Bartolome Mitre, 478)
Australia.....	High Commissioner.....	Canberra (State Circle)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Melbourne (83 William Street)
“.....	Commercial Counsellor.....	Sydney (City Mutual Life Bldg.)
Belgian Congo.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Leopoldville (Forescom Bldg.)
Belgium.....	Ambassador.....	Brussels (35, rue de la Science)
Brazil.....	Ambassador.....	Rio de Janeiro (Avenida Presidente Wilson, 165)
“.....	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	Sao Paulo (Edificio Alois, Rua 7 de Abril, 252)
Ceylon.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Colombo (Galle Face Hotel)
Chile.....	Ambassador.....	Santiago (Bank of London and South America Bldg.)
Colombia.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Bogota (Calle 19, No. 6-39 fifth floor)
Cuba.....	Ambassador.....	Havana (Avenida de Las Misiones No. 17)
Czechoslovakia.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Prague 2 (Krakowska 22)
Denmark.....	Minister.....	Copenhagen (Osterbrogade 26)
Egypt.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Cairo (Osiris Building, Sharia Walda, Kasr-el-Doubara)
Finland.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Helsinki (Borgmästarbrinken 3-C. 32)
France.....	Ambassador.....	Paris 16e (72 Avenue Foch)
Germany.....	Ambassador.....	Bonn (Zittelmannstrasse, 22)
“.....	Head of Military Mission.....	Berlin (Lancaster House, Fehrbelliner Platz)
Greece.....	Ambassador.....	Athens (31 Queen Sofia Blvd.)
Guatemala.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Guatemala City (No. 28, 5a Avenida Sud)
Hong Kong.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Hong Kong (Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation Bldg.)
Iceland.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
India.....	High Commissioner.....	New Delhi (4 Aurangzeb Road)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	Bombay (Gresham Assurance House)
Ireland.....	Ambassador.....	Dublin (92 Merrion Square West)
Italy.....	Ambassador.....	Rome (Via Saverio Mercadante 15)
Jamaica.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Kingston (Canadian Bank of Commerce Chambers)
Japan.....	Ambassador..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.,	Tokyo (16 Omote-Machi, 3 Chome, Minato-Ku)
Luxembourg.....	Minister.....	Brussels (c/o Canadian Embassy)
Mexico.....	Ambassador.....	Mexico (Paseo de la Reforma No. 1)
Netherlands.....	Ambassador.....	The Hague (Sophialaan 1A)
New Zealand.....	High Commissioner.....	Wellington (Government Life Insurance Bldg.)
Norway.....	Minister.....	Oslo (Fridtjof Nansens Plass 5)
Pakistan.....	High Commissioner.....	Karachi (Hotel Metropole)
“.....	Commercial Secretary.....	“ (Hotel Metropole)
Peru.....	Ambassador.....	Lima (Edificio Boza Plaza San Martin)
Philippines.....	Consul General and Trade Commissioner.....	Manila (Tuason Bldg., 8-12 Escolta)
Poland.....	Chargé d'Affaires.....	Warsaw (31 Ulica Katowika, Saska Lepa)
Portugal.....	Minister (Absent)..... Chargé d'Affaires a.i.	Lisbon (Rua Rodrigo da Fonseca, 103)
Puerto Rico.....	Trade Commissioner (Fisheries).....	San Juan (P.O. Box 3981)
Singapore.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Singapore (Room D-5, Union Building)
Spain.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Madrid (Avenida José Antonio 70)

Sweden.....	Minister.....	Stockholm (Strandvagen 7-C)
Switzerland.....	Minister.....	Berne (Thunstrasse 95)
Trinidad.....	Trade Commissioner.....	Port of Spain (Colonial Bld.)
Turkey.....	Ambassador.....	Ankara (211, Ayranci Baglari, Kavaklidere)
“	Commercial Secretary.....	Istanbul (Istiklal Caddesi, Kismet Han 3/4, Beyoglu)
Union of South Africa.....	High Commissioner.....	Pretoria (24, Barclays Bank Bldg.)
“	Trade Commissioner.....	Cape Town (Grand Parade Centre Building, Adderley St.)
“	Trade Commissioner.....	Johannesburg (Mutual Building)
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Ambassador.....	Moscow (23 Starokonyushny Pereulok)
“	Chargé d’Affairs, a.i.	
United Kingdom.....	High Commissioner.....	London (Canada House)
“	Trade Commissioner.....	Liverpool (Martins Bank Bldg.)
“	Trade Commissioner.....	Belfast (36 Victoria Square)
United States of America.....	Ambassador.....	Washington (1746 Massachusetts Avenue)
“	Consul General.....	Boston (532 Little Bldg.)
“	Consul General.....	Chicago (Daily News Bldg.)
“	Consul.....	Detroit (1035 Penobscot Bldg.)
“	Trade Commissioner.....	Los Angeles (510 W. Sixth St.)
“	Consul and Trade Commissioner.....	New Orleans (201 International Trade Mart)
“	Consul General.....	New York (620 Fifth Ave.)
“	Honorary Vice-Consul.....	Portland, Maine (443 Congress Street)
“	Consul General.....	San Francisco (400 Montgomery St.)
Venezuela.....	Consul General.....	Caracas (8° Peso Edificio Pan American)
Yugoslavia.....	Ambassador.....	Belgrade (Proliterskih Brigada 69, formerly Moskovska)
North Atlantic Council.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris 16e (Canadian Embassy)
*OEEC.....	Permanent Representative.....	Paris 16e (c/o Canadian Embassy)
United Nations.....	Permanent Representative.....	New York (Room 504, 620 Fifth Avenue)
“	Secretary.....	Geneva (La Pelouse, Palais des Nations)

*Organization for European Economic Co-operation.



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

OPENING OF THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Remarks by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, on the occasion of his election as President of the Seventh Session of United Nations General Assembly.

My first words must be of appreciation to my fellow delegates for having conferred this great honour on me. I shall do my best to justify your confidence and to discharge to your satisfaction the responsibilities of the presidency. I realize that your choice of a Canadian for this office is not a personal one, but a recognition of my country's profound desire to serve the purposes of the United Nations and to fulfil loyally its obligations and membership.

A fine example of impartiality and efficiency has been set by my distinguished predecessors in this office. Possibly I may be permitted to make a special mention of my immediate predecessor, Mr. Padilla Nervo, who has just vacated this chair, which he has filled with such distinction.

As your presiding officer, I will no doubt make mistakes, both of omission and commission, but I give you my assurance that they will not be mistakes from prejudice or partiality.

The Assembly opens for the first time in our new and permanent headquarters. We owe a great debt to all who have contributed their skills and their labour and their resources to the completion of these impressive, indeed these breath-taking buildings, whose facilities will so greatly aid our work in the years to come. There is, I think, a happy symbolism in the structure of our new headquarters; part of it reaching upward toward the heavens and part fixed firmly and steadily on the ground. The reconciliation of these two features is, I suppose, difficult in the art of architecture. It is even more difficult in the science of politics and in the conduct of international affairs.

It would be idle to pretend that you have assigned to me an easy or an average task. The presidents of earlier Assemblies have spoken realistically and frankly of the atmosphere of tension and crisis in which those sessions have taken place. In doing so they reflected the deep and abiding concern which all of us have felt at the complexity, at times the intractability of the problems we face. Failure to solve these problems has enveloped the world in fear and, in history, fear has always bred antagonisms, even hatreds, and has been the precursor of conflict.

So it is in our time. To avoid the ultimate tragedy of war, we must remove this black shadow of tension and anxiety by finding, through international action, a solution to present problems which will permit peoples and governments to live together, if not on the basis of friendship, at least on that of mutual toleration and understanding. There is no organization, no mechanism, no procedure which can take the place of the United Nations in the search for this solution.

This Assembly, therefore, will fail in its mission of peace if it does not take full advantage of every opportunity to lessen the fears that are in our minds and so often the animosities that are in our hearts.

The task will not be easy, for the General Assembly of 1952 faces its own crisis. The effort by the United Nations to bring about an armistice in Korea on honourable terms — which would be the only ones acceptable — remains frustrated and unsuccessful. The United Nations, therefore, has not been able to move forward into the positive phases of peaceful settlement and reconstruction in that area which should be possible, on the basis of decisions already taken by us, once the aggression has been stopped and the fighting ended. Those who prevent this armistice — the first step in the process of healing and restoration — bear a heavy responsibility before history and humanity.

Nor have other conflicts — waged without arms — diminished in intensity since our last session. There is no armistice in the Cold War, and without it we cannot



—United Nations

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Mr. L. B. Pearson, President of the Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

begin another essential work of international peace — the bridging of the deep and deadly gulf which so tragically divides, in the world today, peoples and governments who fought together against aggression a few long years ago.

There is another major problem which confronts the present Assembly in a more acute form than previously. How can national self-expression — a dynamic and essential force in every part of the world — realize itself without setting in motion tensions which will endanger the whole structure of international co-operation.

A year ago in Paris, my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Padilla Nervo, pointed out that the freedom of nations and individuals was an indispensable condition for peace. We must all agree. But the building of a peaceful and progressive world community will only take place if freedom is coupled with responsibility.

There are issues with which you will be called upon to deal, within the limits of the Charter, and which may well impose as severe tests on our world organization as any it has faced in recent years.

The United Nations must, moreover, meet these tests without violating its Charter or without trying to do things it was not meant to do and has not the resources to do.

The United Nations, we should not forget, is not a supergovernment. It is basically a multilateral treaty — though one of tremendous scope and authority — which has been ratified by the great majority of sovereign states and which, by the consent of its members, has set up machinery to serve its purposes of insuring peace and promoting human welfare. Each of us, in helping to achieve this purpose, bears a responsibility toward the people in our own countries.

As members of the United Nations, we also bear a responsibility toward each other. Finally, we share together a responsibility to the world community for seeing to it that the principles of the Charter, and of the international law and procedure which we have slowly but surely been building, are interpreted with judgment as well as vision, and with moderation as well as justice.

I hope that we in this seventh Assembly will discharge honourably and well this threefold obligation. As the delegate whom you have so greatly honoured by election to its presidency, I pledge my own best endeavours to this end.

CANADA IN THE POLISH PRESS

Canada does not normally receive a great deal of coverage in the Polish Press. From time to time short items or articles on specialized subjects are printed. The subjects selected generally fit into a definite pattern of comment on Canadian affairs. This pattern depends on internal and international developments. Priority is given to news items which show the difficulties besetting the Canadian economy or which illustrate the allegedly hostile intentions of western countries towards the countries of the Soviet Bloc.

There is no disposition to deny that Canada is a country of wealth and great natural resources. In a recent article in the *Głos Szczeciński* entitled "In Rich Canada and Our Country" a repatriate described the surprise which some of his friends express when they see that he has returned to Poland. "Are you crazy, they asked, to come back to Poland from Canada, from the rich country?"

Mr. Dabrowski, the returning emigrant, of course, eloquently explained in the remainder of the same article the reasons for his strange decision. He painted a harrowing picture of a vast number of workers in Canada driven to despair by unemployment and hunger. Terrible things happened to the families of such workers. He knew of one case where the mother of two small children jumped from a bridge because she had nothing for them to eat. In another case a mother and daughter had been driven to throw themselves under a train. Mr. Dabrowski himself had had to travel right across Canada in search of employment and had been fortunate to obtain work in a Quebec mine without having to follow the normal practice of giving a bribe of \$100 to \$150 for this favour. "I earned \$90 a month", he went on, "though I am a skilled worker. I paid \$25 for rent and often after paying my debts at the store I hardly had 50 cents for the whole month. That was the average standard of living".

This gloomy picture of working conditions in Canada reappears as a constant theme. There is no social insurance to offer protection against the financial setbacks of illness. Such things as collective labour agreements do not exist. "Canada does not now smell of either resin or dollars to the immigrants: it reeks of poverty" declares the *Zycie Warszawy*.

Before the last war many Polish families emigrated to Canada. Many have attempted to go there in the post-war years. The Polish government has now stopped this outward movement of its people. There is, it feels, no lack of work or opportunity at home and the Poland of today needs the contribution of every able-bodied individual. Much of the adverse comment on conditions in Canada, therefore, undoubtedly is intended to combat the frustration of the prospective emigrant who finds the avenue to a better life overseas blocked by official obstacles. Every opportunity of showing the fate of Polish emigrants in Canada in the worst light possible is eagerly seized. Incidents involving Polish D.P.'s are given wide publicity. The following comment from the Polish Press Agency on a recent happening is typical:

It is reported from Montreal that 200 Poles, tricked by the Canadian authorities into going to Canada from camps in Western Germany, have gone on a hunger strike. The Poles, who were forbidden to take their wives and children with them, were placed in a barrack near Montreal and were forced to work in conditions of slavery.

The reasons why a rich country like Canada offers such miserable prospects to its citizens and to immigrants are explained by the Polish Press under two headings: (a) the iniquities of the bourgeois-capitalist type of economy, and (b), as the preceding quotation from the *Trybuna Ludu* illustrates, Canada's unfortunate subservience to Washington.

Under the bourgeois system, of course, the workers have little or no political

rights. For our authority on this we can most conveniently refer again to Mr. Dabrowski in the *Głos Szczeciński*:

I would like to tell you about the allegedly democratic elections and methods of ruling the country, he says. In the elections to municipal councils only those can vote who have their 'office', i.e. enterprises or landed estates. Because factory workers and farm hands have no enterprises, they have no right to vote and they cannot be members of municipal councils and decide on communal matters.

The Indians, the indigenous Canadian population, are similarly deprived of any rights. There are also elections to the Parliament, but since as a rule those who manage the municipal councils are the only candidates, it is obvious how bourgeois the Parliament is. The Premier appoints the Senators and nobody has the right to recall a Senator, though he may be the greatest oppressor of the nation. You must wait till he dies. The whole Parliament and Senate is ruled by the British Governor, and he in turn by the multi-millionaires in New York. This shows what supposedly democratic government is like. Briefly speaking, it is the rule of the dollar.

The Polish press is not however always consistent in its comments on the subject of political freedom in Canada. The *Trybuna Ludu*, at least, must believe that the Canadian people enjoy some civil rights for a report it printed in October 1951 described how Canadians were organizing themselves in defence of these rights. Police terrorism against progressive organizations was increasing, it was stated. Pro-fascist elements had found asylum in Canada and their increasing scope of activity frequently included murders. An "All-Canadian Conference in Defence of Civil Rights" therefore had brought together 250 delegates from all over the country to discuss the government's attack on civil rights.

Canada's relations with the United States and Great Britain are examined from time to time. The analysis never presents Canada in any more flattering light than that of a satellite of either country, depending on the argument of the moment, or of a pawn which the two larger countries occasionally bring in to play in their dealings with each other. "Canada", according to the *Dziennik Bałtycki* of Gdansk, "for quite a long time has been under the rule of the dollar, and the American Government has nominated Canada as a military region of the United States to serve as a base of aggression for American Imperialism". Canada's rearmament programme, its adherence to NATO, and measures such as the Emergency Powers Act of March 1951 are all regarded as having their origin in the orders issued by Wall Street and Washington. After this it causes no surprise to learn that the following impression of Canadian manners and culture, found also in *Dziennik Bałtycki*, stresses the United States influence:

Wearing of shorts on playing fields is prohibited in Canada whereas a woman daring to ride a bicycle in trousers is risking loss of freedom or a beating by the passers-by. Canada is a country where there is not a single theatre. On the other hand, the Canadian Government is weekly accepting the export of American gangster films and is slavishly disseminating the art of boogie woogie dancing among Canadian youths!

(*Dziennik Bałtycki* did not discuss the strange persistence of boogie woogie in the best dancing places in Poland.)

Canada's ties with Britain and the Commonwealth show up much less firmly in the picture conveyed by the Polish press. The Canadian Government, it is said, has to give heed to the dictates of both the United States and the United Kingdom governments. Where there is any conflict of loyalties it is assumed that obedience to the United States would come first. The Commonwealth Conference of January 1951 was described by the *Trybuna Ludu* at the time as an attempt at "strengthening the tottering unity of the Empire as well as the improvement of the piteous situation of Great Britain by transferring a portion of the burdens of war preparations to the Dominions". The *Tribuna Ludu* went on to declare that all the Conference did was

to reveal the lack of harmony prevailing in the British Empire and the discrepancies between the British and American points of view on the war in Korea. A Commonwealth Conference of Finance Ministers held in January of this year was used by the *Slowo Powszechne*, a government-sponsored newspaper purporting to represent Catholic opinion, to give prominence to American proposals for mitigating the critical situation in which Great Britain found herself. Canada played an important part in these proposals. One, said to have been concocted by Senator Ellender, recommended that Canada absorb at least ten million Englishmen. Another was Congressional Representative Timothy Sheehan's suggestion of a commission to examine the problem of "selling Canada to the United States". The *Slowo Powszechne* said that Representative Sheehan had spoken "quite seriously" and cited as confirmation his draft resolution which had proposed that all existing loans to Great Britain be considered a substantial first payment.

The Polish press, following the usual line of the Communist-controlled press in the Soviet Union and in other countries, is always careful to make a distinction between the Canadian Government and the Canadian people. It is the Canadian Government which acts as the tool of Washington. In this capacity it is crushing civil rights and fostering a huge rearmament programme which keeps the working class in conditions of impoverishment. It is the Canadian Government also which has demonstrated its unfriendly attitude to the Polish people by refusing to hand over the Polish Art Treasures taken to Canada during the last war for safekeeping. Although these treasures were brought to Canada privately and private arrangements were made for depositing them in safe places, the Polish Government has refused recourse to the Canadian courts to obtain their release. To give some colour to the story, therefore, Polish newspapers have informed their readers that the treasures were in fact handed over to the Canadian Government during the war for safekeeping. Recently the *Zycie Warszawy* contrasted the Canadian attitude on this matter with that of the Soviet Union which had just returned to Poland some precious Copernican manuscripts. The *Zycie Warszawy* did not advance any reasons as to why the Soviet Government had not returned these relics at an earlier date.

As part of its policy of distinguishing between the two the Polish press usually represents the Canadian people as the unwilling and frequently protesting victims of the policies of their own government. As supporting evidence it is able to quote from statements made by leading members of the Labour Progressive Party or the Communist-sponsored Peace movement. Polish newspaper readers are assured that the Canadian people are putting an increasingly strong fight for peace. Mr. Leslie Morris of the *Canadian Tribune* was recently quoted in this connection in the *Wola Ludu*, a newspaper for peasant readers. "At present," he said, "the conditions exist in Canada for founding a nationwide coalition of resistance against the American imperialists and their agents in Canada." A few months prior to this *Wola Ludu* had been able to point to the development of the Peace Movement by quoting from a speech delivered to the Canadian Conference of Peace Defenders by Dr. James Endicott. Dr. Endicott had said that the growing strength of the movement was proved by the fact that over 3000 delegates were attending the conference whereas the number at the previous year's conference had been 1,700.

The meagre amount of space given to Canada in the Polish press is probably much less than that warranted by the interest which Poles normally take in Canadian affairs, for a great number of people have friends and relatives in Canada. The picture of Canada as a satellite of Washington follows the orthodox Moscow line. The darker shadings are presumably intended to console the Polish people with the thought that their fate could be much worse.

CANADIAN ARCHIVES SERVICE

During the centuries when Canada was a French or British colony, major decisions on its affairs were made in Paris and London, not Quebec or Ottawa. For this reason, many records preserved in France and Great Britain are, for all practical purposes, part of the archives of Canada. Access to their contents is essential if we are to understand the motives and personalities that determined policy in colonial days. Efforts have, therefore, been made for many years to secure copies of them, in order that the texts might be readily available for the use of Canadian scholars.

Such copies are specially important to historians and other interested in the history of New France. When Montreal surrendered to the British in 1760, the terms of the capitulation authorized the Governor and Intendant of New France (the two senior officials of the colony) to take with them to France the central records of the French administration. Unfortunately almost all these records have since disappeared. We know that most of them were landed safely at La Rochelle, and that a few years later they were removed to Rochefort; but there the trail ends. They may have been destroyed in a fire that occurred in 1786, or they may have been burned by revolutionaries. There is a remote possibility that they may still survive, concealed in some unsuspected hiding-place. But this seems unlikely, and we must turn to the archives in Paris, where the colonial files of the King and his Ministers are preserved, to trace the history of New France in any detail.

It is interesting to find that the first person sent to France by the Government of Canada to examine these files and secure copies of some of them was none other than Louis Joseph Papineau, who visited Paris in the 1840's. The transcripts he secured were bound in ten volumes. Four of these are still in the possession of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. As the Public Archives did not exist in those days, the other six were placed in the Library of Parliament, and were destroyed with the library when the Parliament Buildings in Montreal were burned in 1849. Just a century ago, Georges Barthlémi Faribault was sent to France to copy documents there. The printed catalogue published by the Library of Parliament in 1858 lists the transcripts he brought home. Unfortunately, the transcripts themselves have vanished. The oldest copies now in the possession of the Public Archives are contained in a stout volume of 587 pages compiled by the Jesuit, Father Martin, in 1857.

Started in 1872

The Public Archives came into existence in 1872, and the following year the Abbé Verreau went to Paris to make a survey of material of interest to Canada in the great collections there. This was the first of several such surveys undertaken by the department. The last and best known was carried out by J. Edmond Roy, who compiled a formidable 1100-page guide published by the Archives in 1911. Meanwhile the copying of documents, as distinct from the preliminary task of examining them and listing items found to relate to Canada, had begun on a considerable scale. Sometimes as many as a score of copyists were employed, and many hundreds of volumes of transcripts have been secured for the Manuscript Division in Ottawa. The size of the staff has varied with circumstances, but the work of copying documents has now continued steadily for many years, except in wartime.

In London, copying began in 1882, and here again hundreds of volumes of transcripts were prepared and sent to Ottawa. Although the majority of these represented material in the Public Record Office, copying was not confined to official documents. Private papers frequently throw as much light, or even more, on events; and the Public Archives has hunted out many valuable items, and copied many thousands of pages, from such great collections as the Department of Manuscripts of the British

Museum. In addition, the Archives has frequently obtained permission to transcribe material still in the possession of private individuals. To cite two recent examples: the Earl of Minto permitted the Archives to copy the papers of his father, the fourth Earl, who was Governor General of Canada in 1898-1904; in France, a descendant of the celebrated Nicolas Denys made surviving family papers available for photographing.

Mention of photography calls to mind the revolution in copying techniques that has taken place recently. In the old days all documents were copied by hand. Such copying was a highly skilled trade, and required the utmost care. Inevitably this made the work slow and expensive. Moreover, there was always the possibility that mistakes might occur. In particular, if handwriting were difficult to read, all a copyist could do was to interpret it to the best of his ability. The writer remembers an instance that illustrates this point. The transcript of a diary of a certain fur trader, whose handwriting was almost indecipherable, credited him with having made a journey in so many *hours*, a feat which had excited much astonishment and admiration. Careful examination of the original manuscript later revealed that the copyist had misread it and that the journey had been made with so many *horses* — a very different thing!

For these reasons, amongst others, the development of the modern microfilm camera, which copies documents on film 35 mm. wide, has been a step forward of immense importance. True, a beautifully written transcript is much more convenient and attractive to use than a film, which must be read on a mechanical contraption of some sort; but recent improvements in film readers have done much to redress the balance. And the microfilm camera has three practical advantages that make it vastly superior to transcription by hand. The first of these is speed; a single operator can photograph as much material in a day as an expert copyist can transcribe in months. The second advantage is accuracy; every photograph, if carefully taken, is an exact and complete facsimile of the original document, doubtful words and all. The third point in favour of the camera is cost; the reproduction of an individual page costs so little that it is practicable to copy complete files, whereas if the work is being done by hand, the temptation is to pick and choose and to copy only what seems to be important.

Microfilming Started in 1950

The Public Archives turned to microfilm cameras in 1950, and hand copying is now used only when material is not suitable for photographing, or when for some other reason filming is not practicable. To the surprise of some people, certain series of documents which were copied by hand many years ago are now being photographed; but there are sound reasons for this apparent duplication. For example, one important series in London — perhaps the most important single collection of official papers in Great Britain relating to Canada — was transcribed at a time when copyists were not permitted to copy notes and comments added to the documents by Colonial Office officials after the various despatches, etc. had been received from Canada in London. Needless to say, these comments are of great interest and importance to historians, who will soon be able to examine facsimiles of the papers in Ottawa.

Microfilming has not been confined to official documents. In October 1950, the Public Archives of Canada and the Hudson's Bay Company came to an agreement under the terms of which the microfilming of the Company's archives is being undertaken as a joint enterprise. Two cameras are at work full-time on this project, and hundreds of reels of film are flowing across the Atlantic to Ottawa. It is unnecessary to emphasize the importance of this collection or to point out how much it will mean to scholars in Canada to have facsimiles of the material available in their own country.



THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES BUILDING AT OTTAWA

—NFB

Loss or extensive damage to the collections in his charge are the nightmares that haunt an archivist, and it is important to note that microphotography offers the best possible insurance against these catastrophes. Even hand-written transcripts can be of great importance in this respect. Many years ago the Public Archives secured transcripts of the Selkirk Papers, which consisted of the papers of the Fifth Earl of Selkirk, of Red River Colony fame. A few years ago his old home was destroyed by fire, and the loss included all the original papers, with the exception of a few volumes that happened to have been lent to a scholar in London. Thanks to the transcripts in the Archives the text of these lost originals will remain available to historians; but one cannot but regret that facsimiles had not been secured instead of copies.

At present, key files in the Public Archives itself in Ottawa are being micro-filmed, with a dual purpose; First, the films will provide some protection against the risks of damage and destruction which every archivist must take into account in these troubled times. In the second place, copies can be made at a later date and lent to institutions at a distance. To some extent the photographing of documents in London and Paris may be regarded in much the same light. Every click of the micro-film camera in the Public Record Office or the Archives Nationales not only makes the facsimile of a document available for use in Canada, but provides against the total loss of the contents of the paper in question, should the original be destroyed. That this is not a minor consideration is witnessed by the fact that the great collections in London and Paris have twice been placed in extreme peril by war in the relatively brief period of 38 years.

The Paris office of the Public Archives, which is housed in the Canadian Embassy, is in the keeping of Robert LaRoque de Roquebrune, who has spent thirty years among the archive collections of the French capital. He and one assistant select material for microfilming and attend to the numerous other copying and research

assignments that are referred to him. In London, the branch office of the Archives has for many years been in the Public Record Office itself. The staff of three is headed by Miss Doris Eldred, whose family has been engaged in the art of manuscript copying for several generations.

In the old hand-copying days, staffs of this size did extremely well if they produced between 15,000 and 20,000 pages of transcript each year. Now that microfilm cameras are in use, our hope is that we may secure copies of at least 750,000 pages per annum. This has not yet been attained, but the prospect is that we shall not fall far short of it in 1952-53. This means that the principal collections of documents abroad, which are basic necessities to any historian or economist who seeks to study Canada's development seriously, should all be available in facsimile in Ottawa within a few years.

WHAT GOES ON IN GENEVA

Julius Caesar wrote about Geneva. John Calvin lived and preached there. Between the two World Wars, it became famous as the seat of the League of Nations and, in a sense, the capital of the world. It is natural to wonder what traffic crosses Caesar's bridge today, who worships in Calvin's cathedral, what use is made of the League's marble Palace of Nations — in fact, what goes on in this charming Swiss city by the shores of Lac Léman.

The Genevese go on living there, of course. Not many of them frequent the Palais des Nations, but they cross the bridges on their bicycles, go occasionally to the churches, make watches and precision instruments, eat *fondue*, and, with quite un-Calvinistic enthusiasm, drink wine or coffee at sidewalk cafes, watch lively shows at a dozen night clubs, enjoy sumptuous meals in the restaurants and flock to the theatres and concerts and to the casino. All the same, when the international colony packed up during the war the Genevese wondered who would fill the empty apartments and international office buildings, who would provide custom for the shops and business enterprises that had been expanded to meet the needs of League of Nations officials and delegates.

By the end of the War, when the United Nations established its headquarters in New York and every other city in the world was suffering from a housing-shortage, hundreds of apartments could be had for the asking in Geneva by anyone who shared the tax-burden. But this condition was short-lived. A housing crisis duly arrived. During recent years, miles of new buildings have had to be erected in Geneva and the city now has a serious accommodation shortage.

Although the United Nations established itself in New York, the Palais des Nations, which had housed the League, became the European office of the United Nations. One wing is a library; another large part is occupied by conference rooms, and what remains is office space for the small secretariat that services conferences and other United Nations work in Europe. Traditions of hospitality and neutrality make Geneva a favourite conference centre, as do its central location in Europe, compact size, agreeable climate and easy living conditions. The Economic and Social Council has often met in Geneva; the Trusteeship Council held one session there; many of the functional commissions of ECOSOC meet in the Palais des Nations; some of the Specialized Agencies regularly hold their conferences in Geneva; and the conference rooms have also been occupied by the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the Permanent Central Opium Board and Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body, the International Civil Service Advisory Board, the Ad Hoc Committee on Prisoners of War, the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency, and the Advisory Committee to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to mention only a few of the long list of United Nations bodies.

The Palais des Nations is also the home of the Economic Commission for Europe and the seat of numerous conferences of that organization and its subsidiary bodies. The same building houses the Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Permanent Central Opium Board, the World Health Organization and many United Nations bodies which use Geneva as a temporary headquarters. With so many new inhabitants, the building which served the League of Nations became greatly overcrowded, and eventually a new wing was added to provide office space for the World Health Organization.

Geneva is also the home of the International Labour Organization, which is completing an addition to its fine building; the International Telecommunication Union; and finally, the newest of the Specialized Agencies, the World Meteorological Organization. All these bodies have their officials, their sub-bodies, and their conferences.



—United Nations

HEADQUARTERS OF THE EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The "Palais des Nations", at Geneva, headquarters of the European office of the United Nations.

But there is more in Geneva than the Genevese and the United Nations. There is a host of other international or intergovernmental organizations such as the World Council of Churches, the International Union of Official Travel Organizations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, and the Migrants from Europe (PICMME).

The International Refugee Organization, or the IRO, has not been mentioned. As a Specialized Agency of the United Nations with headquarters in Geneva, the IRO assisted over a million refugees, but by 1951, the number having been greatly reduced, IRO came to an end. The remaining refugees, and the new ones were not forgotten, however, for the United Nations appointed a High Commissioner for Refugees to provide them with international protection and to assist them in other ways. At about the same time, PICMME was organized by a group of interested governments, including Canada, to maintain the shipping facilities of IRO for the movement, where commercial facilities would not be adequate, of migrants, including refugees. All these activities have been centred in Geneva.

As the wartime calm lifted from Geneva and the city began to bustle again with international activity, the Canadian Government decided it would be well to accredit a small permanent delegation to the European office of the United Nations. This body, set up in 1948, keeps in touch with the international organizations in Geneva, takes part in many of the conferences held there, and assists visiting Canadian officials. Some fifteen other countries have permanent representation in Geneva, which is an indication that there is more going on than Caesar or Calvin dreamed of. Indeed, even with the United Nations headquarters on another continent, there is more bustle per kilometre in Geneva now than there was during the days when it was the home of the League of Nations, and there are almost as many international customers to each cafe as there are Genevese.

THE NATURE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

(An address delivered by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. A. D. P. Heeneey, at the Atlantic Community Conference, Oxford, September 10 1952.)

. . . This Conference . . . is addressing itself to a great, an urgent task of popular education. It seeks to strengthen our community by the only lasting means by which it can be made to endure — by making our objectives and our arrangements for attaining them better known among our peoples, by promoting among us a better knowledge of each other and of the contributions each has to make to the steady achievement of the objects we have set ourselves.

It is all very well for us, your servants and the representatives of your governments, to meet solemnly in Paris, in the Palais de Chaillot, and to call ourselves the North Atlantic Council. It is all very well, and no doubt essential, for us to pass resolutions and establish committees and working groups and to sign protocols and to issue statements. It is all very well, too, for our statesmen to make eloquent and inspiring speeches about the North Atlantic community — perhaps, indeed, we could do with more of these things just now. But, because we are free peoples, these things are not enough. There must be a wide and solid base in public opinion and conviction, if our association is to survive and to develop. If the citizens of our fourteen countries are not seized of the reasonableness and righteousness of what we are doing, they will not long sustain their governments in a course which involves so much effort and sacrifice on the part of all.

Now I propose . . . to take advantage of the opportunity . . . to make a few personal observations on the nature of this association of nations that we call the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. What manner of institution is this NATO, or “OTAN” as it is beginning to be called in Paris? Well, in the first place it is, of course, an alliance for defence against a military threat. But is it more than that — a political institution of some new kind? A first step toward a federation or confederation of states? Have we in NATO the beginnings of a genuine community of peoples?

Not long ago I heard a distinguished soldier provide a very brief answer to the question (which he himself had put to his audience) of how NATO could succeed in its first objective of providing an effective defence against the disaster which overhangs the free world. It is really very simple, he said. All that is necessary is for the fourteen representatives of the governments comprising the North Atlantic Council to have the political and moral courage to take the necessary decisions!

It seemed to me that this answer, whether given with tongue in cheek or otherwise, illustrates, if in somewhat extreme fashion, a quite basic, and, I think dangerous misunderstanding of the nature of the present Organization. For the fact is, of course, that the North Atlantic Council has no authority whatever to take the kind of decisions my military friend was talking about. And, did each of us fourteen permanent representatives possess even that high level of courage which he himself has so often displayed in battle, it would avail us little in the attainment of the objectives which we, equally with him, would have NATO achieve.

There is nothing to be gained by failure to recognize and appreciate the extraordinary complexity of what we are trying to do in NATO, or by under-estimating the difficulties. We are a voluntary organization of fourteen sovereign states. It is, I believe, quite strictly accurate to say that none of us have given up one single element of our sovereignty. The Prime Minister of this country made it abundantly clear in the House of Commons the other day that the United Kingdom Government had not abdicated its right to make decisions. And the same is true of the rest of us. In fact,

from this point of view, the North Atlantic Council is no more than a committee of national representatives whose individual and combined authority is strictly limited. This is not to say that the Council has no power; nor indeed that its authority may not develop by custom, even by law, as the alliance gains confidence and strength. But, for the moment, we can only proceed by unanimity and delegation and through the implementing action of our governments at home.

I must not, however, be led into what might well be an arid "constitutional" examination of my subject. The essence of NATO is not so much law or even political organization but the willingness of free governments supported by free peoples to work together. In so doing we can achieve the unanimity which is necessary to our decisions only by the adjustment of purely national interests to the interests of the whole alliance and by the national determination of national policies in the light of what is best in the judgment of our friends.

Another side of our Atlantic association where there is some confusion, it seems to me, is in the relation between what we call the Atlantic community and NATO. For, as I see it, the community and the Organization are neither the same nor co-extensive. Established originally by twelve nations for the primary purpose of providing for a united system of defence for the West, NATO has already expanded by a process of strategic and political logic to include fourteen. Who will say that there is some special magic in the present number? In terms of military strategy, there is of course a certain unity in the geographical area covered by the Treaty. But, even here, it is difficult to contend that our alliance is complete.

Think for a moment in terms other than defence. We have, from the beginnings of NATO, insisted, and rightly, that ours was no mere military alliance. Ours has to be an alliance of the mind and spirit — no mere huddling together in the face of a common danger. Ours was to be, as well, a developing community of like-minded peoples committed to the co-operative strengthening of our free institutions, to the promotion of conditions of stability and well-being and to the encouragement of economic collaboration.

Now it is true, of course, that our fourteen nations have much in common beyond our determination to remain free and to build up our strength to deter, and, if need be, to fight together against aggression. But, if it is difficult to delimit in terms of strategy the extent of our community, how much more difficult is it to set geographical boundaries to the spiritual community of free men?

I am not suggesting that there is no essential unity, no political or other logic in the present grouping of nations in NATO. Much less am I suggesting that NATO should put on a drive for new members! Of course the present composition of the alliance makes sense — but it is primarily military sense at the present stage of events. All that I am trying to say is that we should remember that NATO does not comprise the whole community of free men. And we should look forward to the widening, as well as the deepening, of our association, particularly in those fields of endeavour associated with Article 2 of the Treaty which, in NATO parlance, have come to be known as the "non-military aspects".

In the comradeship of arms, NATO has already made solid progress towards the establishment of an Atlantic community. This sense of comradeship will, no doubt, spread gradually, but surely, into other fields. In a hundred different ways, economic and social and cultural co-operation will emerge. Unfortunately, up to now, it is not unfair to say that our preaching about this sort of co-operation has outrun our performance. There has been a lot of oratory, some of it pretty good oratory, about "the Atlantic community". But lip service never built a community. We need to act as well as to talk; and, before we act, we must think. Nowhere, perhaps, have we need of more hard and discriminating thought than in our efforts to give substance to the undertakings we have given in Article 2 of the North Atlantic Treaty.

I am going to suggest to you tonight that we shall make our best progress toward the objectives stated in Article 2 if we are willing to look beyond the North Atlantic Organization for areas and opportunities of non-military collaboration. There is nothing in our Treaty to suggest that NATO is the only means by which we are to build our community. Quite the reverse. Indeed the adherence of all of us to the United Nations itself is reaffirmed in the very first article of the Treaty. Let me explain what I have in mind:

In building up our community, as good neighbours, we have many different jobs that must be done. We shall build most quickly and most surely if we use the right tool for the job in hand. There are already many tools available; we should seldom have to take time off to fashion new ones. This is specially true in the economic field where there are many well-oiled tools ready to our hands. If we, North Atlantic countries, want to co-operate in affairs of, say, civil aviation, we would not normally look to NATO in Paris; we should look to the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal. The fact that the membership of ICAO is wider than NATO is no disadvantage; indeed, it is a positive advantage, because we want our aeroplanes to fly all over the world. If we want to promote worldwide trade, should we not more normally work together in the organization under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT – rather than in NATO? If we have financial matters to discuss which run beyond the bounds of our membership, which has naturally been determined largely by the immediate needs of defence, should we not normally look to the International Bank and Fund?

Even in those economic affairs which affect North Atlantic countries most of all we may promote our ends through other organs as well as in NATO itself. The Organization for European Economic Co-operation is a well-established and efficient body, with a tried and able staff and with interests that, in many ways, are closely parallel with those of NATO. Many of us have welcomed the recent initiatives of the United Kingdom and United States Governments to ensure a fuller use of the OEEC for certain very important work that we have in NATO. Thus, at this minute, the OEEC is pressing forward with an examination of national economies which will provide the essential basis for NATO's annual review of build-up of forces. In fact, these two operations in OEEC and NATO have been planned by much the same people with an eye to maximum efficiency and minimum waste.

What I am suggesting is that, in other than military affairs, and particularly in economic, social and cultural matters, we members of NATO should try to co-operate, not solely, or even primarily, through the machinery of NATO when there are already in existence other international bodies with more appropriate organization and membership.

By no means do I intend to imply that, in this non-military field, there is no place for NATO. One very important activity of the Council, for instance, is that of "political consultation", the provision of an intimate, friendly forum where problems of foreign policy can be discussed; here substantial progress has been made, even in these past few weeks. Again, one should, I think, contemplate the possibility, under special circumstances and for particular purposes, of NATO considering problems normally within the sphere of other international bodies – where, let us say, a stalemate has been reached and where discussions, in a group such as the North Atlantic Council with its continuous and wide-ranging contacts, might serve the common good. For in the NATO forum, with the Soviet menace ever actively present in our minds, there may well be a greater will and a greater willingness than elsewhere to press forward towards agreement. Therefore, while the opportunities for "non-military co-operation" may, in fact, be more frequent outside NATO than within, we must certainly not miss any chances that may arise inside. We who have been especially concerned with this vital element in our association are heartened by the frequent references to these matters by our Secretary-General. I have no doubt that, as time

goes on, we shall increasingly think of Article 2, not as a separate little treaty within the North Atlantic Treaty, to be "implemented" by a particular branch of NATO, but as an attitude of mind enlightening and enlivening the work of the whole of our alliance and of other international bodies as well.

Here, I come back to what I said a while ago. NATO is not the North Atlantic community, neither is the North Atlantic community NATO. It seems to me that, with this distinction made, many things become clearer and many contradictions are resolved. We fourteen countries who presently make up NATO may be the beginning of the Atlantic community, we are certainly not the end of it.

So much for my reflections on the nature of our alliance and our community.

To many of you this must have seemed a pretty bleak summer for NATO. Speculation and public comment have given the impression that NATO was not fulfilling and would not fulfil its primary task of building up the force which could prevent a third world war. Now we all know that, from time to time, we may fall short of the levels that we set ourselves. There are bound to be ups and downs in the progress of our partnership toward peace and security. But we cannot contemplate failure.

For this reason we, the peoples of our fourteen nations, have need to be steadfast on our course. And, being free peoples, we can only be steadfast if we know and accept the objectives we are asked to strive for. We must, as well, be able to understand the means. For, unlike those under Communist discipline, we will best endure and surmount the discomforts and burdens and deprivations of the long pull when our leaders take us into their confidence. Such gatherings as this can do incalculable service in bringing to those who have to pay the price of peace as well as war the reasonable basis for their steadfastness.

Let us remind ourselves, and remind ourselves often, of what manner of community we have set about to build. Especially, let us recall the things which bind us together. First of all, there is the past. For two thousand years and more different members of our community have spun rich threads that are now woven into all our lives. Some have spun the thread of religion, others of art and others of adventure over the seas that surround and unite us. Some have carried our commerce to far corners of the world, while others have married science to industry for the greater comfort and enrichment of our lives. Some, in the face of established authority, have proclaimed new freedoms, while others have devised new systems of law and government. And all of us have put down with a firm hand the tyrants that have arisen from time to time within or beyond our borders. So, as the centuries have passed and the shuttle has flashed back and forth on the loom — and despite the breaks in the threads and the blots in the colours — the tapestry has unrolled with two themes, simple and majestic: the dignity of man's mind and the sanctity of his spirit.

Within our community, as in others, some are close familiar neighbours; others live a little farther away. Between some of us there are special bonds of race and culture, but this will not ruffle nor disturb our relations with the rest. The fabric of our community stretches out sturdily to include all.

Most of us belong to families of nations, and some members of our families live a long way off. Nevertheless, we like to think of them as being part of our own community. Surely we are not going to build any sort of fence about our special Atlantic group or ask of any of our members that they should cut themselves off in any way from any part of their own families.

Our North Atlantic association, like the community of all free men, must always look outwards as well as inwards. If we have knowledge, we are glad to share it with others all over the world, as we would wish them to share theirs with us. If we have lifted from the backs of men and women in our own countries some of the load of

toil and drudgery which our fathers and mothers carried, we would like those in other lands to lighten their own loads and we would like to help them do so. If we have fought for our own freedom, against tyranny and oppression, we cannot turn away our face when freedom anywhere is threatened.

In the future, as in the past, we must be the high champions of freedom — freedom of thought and religion, freedom from hunger and fear. We have a way of life that seems good to us. We wish to live and let live; to choose who shall rule over us; to lead our private lives with our families without fear of dark faces at our windows or midnight knockings on our doors; to be able to move as we choose from place to place and from job to job; to take a pride in our work and to feel that our own families, and others too are each year able to lead a fuller life. And we are determined, at this time, to build up our united strength so that we may have confidence that we can protect our free way of life against any challenge. In this way we of the Atlantic community will go forward, not alone but with our brothers now beyond our borders, looking to the day when “nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more”.



CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

14th Session of the Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council held its 14th Session at the United Nations Headquarters, New York, from May 20 to August 1. The Council normally holds two regular sessions a year, but it had decided that for the year 1952 its work should be carried out in a single session. This session of over ten weeks was therefore an unusually long one.

The Council elected as its officers for 1952: President — Syed Amjad Ali of Pakistan, First Vice-president — Jiri Nosek of Czechoslovakia, Second Vice-president — Raymond Scheyven of Belgium.

The Council dealt with a heavy agenda. A number of important economic questions which are before the Council as a result of earlier decisions of the General Assembly and of the Council were discussed, including the following: the world economic situation, full employment and economic stability, the economic development of under-developed countries, increasing world productivity, and programme of technical assistance. On the social side the most important subjects dealt with were the report on the world social situation, developments of the efforts in the social field of the United Nations and specialized agencies, freedom of information, prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, and matters arising from the reports of the Commission on Human Rights, the Social Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Amongst other work of the Council was the examination of the work of various Specialized Agencies on the basis of reports they submitted and the review of their programmes and plans. In all some 65 items and sub-items were dealt with.

World Economic Situation

The Council's first major item of business was its annual review of the world economic situation. The Council considered and discussed the *World Economic Report 1950-51* prepared by the Secretary-General, which contains an analytical account of economic developments in the years 1950-1951. Accompanying the report were three supplements, *Recent Changes in Production*, *Summary of Recent Economic Developments in Africa*, and *Summary of Recent Economic Developments in the Middle East*. Separate but related debates were held on the reports of the Economic Commission for Europe, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the Economic Commission for Latin America, and of the International Monetary Fund. In these debates attention was drawn to some unusual features in the world economic situation: balance of payments difficulties continue notwithstanding a high level of activity: inflationary and deflationary tendencies exist side by side: in certain consumer goods industries demand has declined and some unemployment has appeared despite a general rise in industrial output. Attention was also directed to the violent fluctuations in foreign exchange earnings which followed the wide fluctuations in the prices of primary product exports, and the effect of such fluctuations on plans for economic development. The need for developing under-developed economies in the interest of both under-developed countries and world stability was emphasized. Reference was made to the coming readjustment which would require to be made to a lower level of defence expenditure. The importance of expanding and liberalizing world trade was particularly stressed, as well as the need for effective measures to bring about a stable growth in the volume and value of international trade as an essential counterpart to the measures for increasing the international flow of capital to the under-developed countries.

The Canadian representative made a statement which drew attention to the importance of the control of inflation in all countries to the achievement of stability.

The statement welcomed and supported the leadership given in the past by the United States in reducing tariffs and trade restrictions and referred to the serious consequences which might ensue if these policies were now reversed. Attention was drawn to the need to increase food production. Reference was made to the Canadian contribution to the development of under-developed countries.

The Council did not adopt any resolution nor make any specific recommendations on the basis of this discussion. Action to help meet some of the difficulties was, however, recommended in the course of later debates on such matters as the financing of economic development, technical assistance programmes, full employment and economic stability measures, the development of water resources and arid land, and ways of increasing world food production.

Full Employment and Economic Stability

The Council considered three specific recommendations for international action, submitted by a group of experts, to deal with the problem of reducing the international impact of recessions. Proposal One was for international commodity arrangements. Opinions differed on the value and the nature of such arrangements. The discussions served to illustrate the complexities and difficulties of arriving at arrangements with regard to commodities which would, over a period of years, satisfy the needs of both developed and under-developed countries. The Canadian representative referred to the difficulties in the way of a wide range of commodity agreements, and stated that the arrangements needed to differ from commodity to commodity and must be worked out and put into effect by the countries mainly concerned in each case. In almost every case the central point of disagreement was not reluctance to make long term agreements but the question of price and quantities. In Canada's view the most effective approach is to continue the study group and conference technique based on equal representation of producers and consumers. The resolution which was adopted contained no specific reference in favour of international commodity agreements. The Council, however, asked the Secretary-General for a study of the relative price movements of various types of goods on the world market. It also recommended that governments should bear in mind (a) the possible effects of their domestic economic policies not only on their own economies and balance of payments but also on those of other countries, and (b) the general advantages of greater stability for the international flow of capital and trade.

The second proposal by the experts was that the International Bank plan its investments with a view to exerting a counter-cyclical influence on the flow of capital. The Council adopted a resolution which invited the Bank, when assessing a country's credit, not to be affected unduly by its economic situation during a temporary recession but to give full consideration to its long-run economic aspects. The Council invited governments independently or in co-operation with the Bank to prepare additional investment programmes in the event of a recession or depression.

The experts' third proposal was for larger international monetary reserves provided through the International Monetary Fund to offset short-run fluctuations in foreign exchange receipts. The Council urged the Fund to apply its rules flexibly and to use its resources as promptly and as fully as is consistent with its Articles of Agreement. It further asked the Fund to keep the adequacy of monetary reserves under continuous review, bearing in mind the desirability of (a) avoiding as far as practicable restrictions on trade and payments imposed because of balance of payments difficulties; (b) promoting general convertibility of currencies and liberalization of trade; and (c) creating conditions which favour a steady expansion of world trade and high levels of production, consumption, employment and real income. The Council asked the Fund for an analysis of this question next year.

Full Employment

The Council asked the Secretary-General to report to the Council next year on national and international measures to reconcile the attainment and maintenance of full employment with avoidance of the harmful effects of inflation.

Financing Economic Development

At the Sixth Session of the General Assembly a resolution was adopted asking the Economic and Social Council to draw up a detailed plan for establishing as soon as circumstances permit a special fund for grants-in-aid, and for low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries. The representatives of the more economically advanced countries had opposed this resolution in the Assembly on the grounds that an international development fund was impracticable and that it would give rise to false hopes to proceed with the drafting of a plan. In implementation of the General Assembly's resolution, the Council decided to set up an expert committee to draft detailed plans for the special fund. The committee will consist of no more than nine experts chosen by the Secretary-General to serve in their personal capacities. The Committee is to report to the Council by March 1, 1953. The purpose of the fund would be to aid countries on request in accelerating their economic development and in financing non-self-liquidating projects basic to development. Although the resolution was adopted by 15 votes in favour and none against, with the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia and Poland abstaining, it should be mentioned that a number of countries made clear that in agreeing to have the experts produce a plan they were not committed in principle to the setting up of the fund. The United States and other countries stated that it was extremely unlikely that capital exporting countries would be in a position to supply additional capital to any large extent. France and the United Kingdom also stated that they would not, for the time being, be able to contribute. The Canadian representative also reaffirmed the Canadian view that an international development fund was impractical and would not offer the best means of assisting economic development.

International Finance Corporation

The Council asked the Bank to explore further the proposal for an International Finance Corporation. In the report of the Bank the opinion was expressed that such a corporation would encourage private investment in under-developed countries but that further studies are needed to decide whether or not to set up the corporation. The object of the corporation would be to make equity investments or loans to private enterprises in under-developed countries. The Council requested the bank to ascertain the views of its member governments on the desirability of creating the corporation. It suggested that governments consult with interested national organizations and business groups and invite comments and questions from non-members of the Bank. The Bank was asked to report to the Council next year the result of its further examination of the proposal and the action it has taken concerning it.

In speaking in the debate on the proposal, the Canadian representative, while not committing the government at this stage to participate in the corporation, maintained that the proposal for a finance corporation offered considerable hope and should be pursued vigorously.

Technical Assistance

During two years of operation of the Technical Assistance Programme, some 1,300 specialists have given expert advice on development problems to the governments of over 70 countries and territories and more than 1,600 fellowships and scholarships have been awarded. The technical assistance activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies are expected to increase and the Council accord-

ingly set a target of \$25,000,000 for contributions by governments to finance operations under the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme in 1953.

Improvements in the administration and co-ordination of activities under the Expanded Programme have also been made with the appointment of a full-time executive chairman of the Technical Assistance Board.

Increasing World Productivity

The General Assembly, at its Sixth Session, adopted a resolution requesting the Economic and Social Council to study the various ways in which the productivity of peoples everywhere can be increased by the application of existing scientific and technological knowledge, and to recommend methods by which the result of these studies can be made available to under-developed countries. As a result of the discussion on this item, a resolution was adopted by the Council which recommended that governments of under-developed countries consider measures to raise productivity as an integral part of their efforts to promote general economic development. The recommendation was also made that consideration should be given by these countries to establishing national productivity centers to stimulate research and dissemination of information on improved practices and techniques. The resolution further recommended taking full advantage of existing United Nations technical assistance facilities. The Secretary-General and the Specialized Agencies will continue their studies on raising productivity. Secretariat studies will be undertaken particularly in the fields of agriculture, manufacture, mining, transport, construction industry and distributive trades, as well as a study of labour's role in programmes to increase productivity.

Integrated Economic Development

The Council adopted a resolution which recognized that co-ordinated and integrated policies of economic development must make provision for industrial diversification, in harmony with the development of agricultural production. The resolution stated that this should be done with a view to ensuring the economic independence of the countries concerned, taking full advantage of the benefits of international trade and promoting the social welfare of their inhabitants. The resolution requested the Secretary-General to prepare a working paper on ways of meeting the economic, social, fiscal, technical and organizational problems involved in the rapid industrialization of under-developed countries. The Secretariat will also give special attention to these problems in continuing its general and specific studies on the economic development of under-developed countries. The resolution also drew the attention of governments to the technical assistance services available for preparing and executing integrated development programmes.

Water Resources and Arid Lands

The Council had for consideration two reports which the Secretary-General had been requested to prepare, being a report on international co-operation on water control and utilization and a report on the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies with respect to the development of arid lands. After discussion the Council adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary-General to assume responsibility for promoting and co-ordinating international activities for more effective use of water resources.

Food Production

In a number of the Council's debates reference was made to the fact that the production of food in the world is not increasing in proportion to the increase in world population. The Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization

in introducing the report of the Organization suggested that the Council might well feel that this fact was the most outstanding economic and social problem of the years immediately ahead. The inequalities in food supplies which were great before the War have become greater. Production per capita is actually lower than before the War when more than one-half the world's population was suffering from malnutrition. The Council endorsed the opinion of the Food and Agriculture Organization that food production must be at least one or two per cent ahead of the rate of population increase in order to achieve some improvement in nutritional standards. It called on all member states to help to achieve the required increase in food production by programmes adapted to conditions in their respective countries and asked the Food and Agriculture Organization to pay special attention to requests received from under-developed countries for technical assistance in preparing and executing such programmes.

Famine Relief

At the request of the General Assembly (contained in a resolution adopted at its sixth session), the Secretary-General prepared a report for the Economic and Social Council recommending procedures for international action in the event of famine emergencies arising from floods, earthquakes and other natural causes. A plan is proposed whereby the Food and Agriculture Organization will continue and develop its present arrangements for investigation and report on famine emergencies and notify the Secretary-General promptly as to the scope and duration of any emergency developing in any country. The Secretary-General is to co-ordinate famine relief activities of inter-governmental organizations, governments and voluntary agencies. Governments of countries which may be affected by famine are asked to set up in advance arrangements for co-ordinating national effort and for speedy receipt and distribution of aid. The resolution adopted by the Council also made reference to the study being undertaken by the Food and Agriculture Organization on ways and means of setting up a world food reserve to meet emergencies.

Newsprint and Printing Paper

The Secretary-General reported on the world paper situation and was asked to report once again in 1954.

World Social Situation

The discussion of social questions included a debate on a report on the world social situation prepared by the Secretariat and Specialized Agencies concerned. This report was considered in relation to the preparation of a programme of practical action for the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in the social field, which the General Assembly had requested the Council to prepare. The report is a comprehensive survey, which is the first attempt of its kind to cover the whole field of social problems throughout the world. It reviews conditions in relation to food, health, housing, education and other needs throughout the world and emphasizes the appalling fact that the basic elements of a decent standard of living are still beyond the reach of more than one-half of the population of the world. The report refers also to the awakening of the world conscience in these matters and the increasing realization by the more advanced countries that their own stability and further progress depends on world progress. It refers to the possibilities of improvement and the striking progress which has been made, especially in the field of preventive medicine. The Council has had for some years an annual report on the world economic situation. In the discussion of the report on the world social situation the interdependence of the world social and economic problems was stressed. The debate, in which all countries participated, brought out nevertheless the importance of approaching these

problems from the social aspect. The Council decided to request further periodical reports of this kind and asked the Social Commission to make recommendations for the programme of action requested by the Assembly. Suggestions and recommendations of the Specialized Agencies and of governments were also invited. The discussion brought out the strong desire of a number of countries to emphasize in a particular way the responsibility of the United Nations to deal with the social problems of disease, poverty and ignorance. The magnitude of the problems faced was forcibly brought out in the report, as was the need for greatly increased humanitarian efforts on the international scale for the relief of world misery and the possibility of useful action in these fields.

Report of the Social Commission

The Council approved the work programme drawn up by the Social Commission and commented upon recommendations contained therein. It adopted resolutions in relation to programmes of housing and community improvement, advisory welfare services, the in-service training of social service personnel for the development of child welfare programmes, and to the simplification of formalities for immigration. The Secretary-General was also asked to appoint a group of experts to report on the most satisfactory methods of defining and measuring standards of living and changes in these standards in various countries.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

A number of members of the Council spoke in very complimentary terms of the work being carried out by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. The programmes have helped or will benefit 62,000,000 children and mothers in 72 countries and territories. The Council drew the attention of governments to the need to meet the Fund's \$20,000,000 target programme for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953.

Population Conference

The Council approved the holding in 1954 of a World Population Conference of experts for a scientific discussion of world-wide population problems.

Human Rights

The Commission on Human Rights having reported that it had been unable to complete the work of drafting two covenants, on civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights, the Council extended the time for completion of the draft to 1953 when both instruments are to be submitted to the Council. The Council also considered recommendations which the Commission on Human Rights had made in compliance with a request of the General Assembly concerning international respect for the self-determination of peoples. Two resolutions which the Commission on Human Rights submitted on this subject were transmitted to the General Assembly without comment, the majority of the Council having decided that the Assembly and not the Council was the proper forum for discussion of this subject.

Freedom of Information

The Council was called upon to consider the lines along which it might continue the performance of its tasks in the field of freedom of information, having regard to the discontinuance of the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information. It decided to appoint for an experimental period of one year a rapporteur on matters relating to freedom of information and appointed for this purpose Mr. Salvador Lopez of the

Philippines. The rapporteur will prepare a report and make recommendations, in the light of which the Council will review problems of freedom of information in 1953. The Council also noted the report of the Sub-Commission on Information, which had its last session earlier this year, and took action upon the recommendations which it made. In addition a proposal to invite the General Assembly to open for signature at its next session a convention on the international right of correction was considered but rejected.

Control of Narcotic Drugs

The Council also considered the report of its Commission on Narcotic Drugs and took favourable action on all the recommendations of the Commission. The action taken included in particular a decision to convene an international conference to draft and adopt a protocol on the limitation of opium production to medical and scientific needs.

Commission on Status of Women

On recommendation of the Commission on Status of Women the Council adopted a resolution recommending to the General Assembly that an international convention on political rights of women be opened for signature. A number of other resolutions in furtherance of women's rights were also adopted on the Commission's recommendation.

Co-ordination

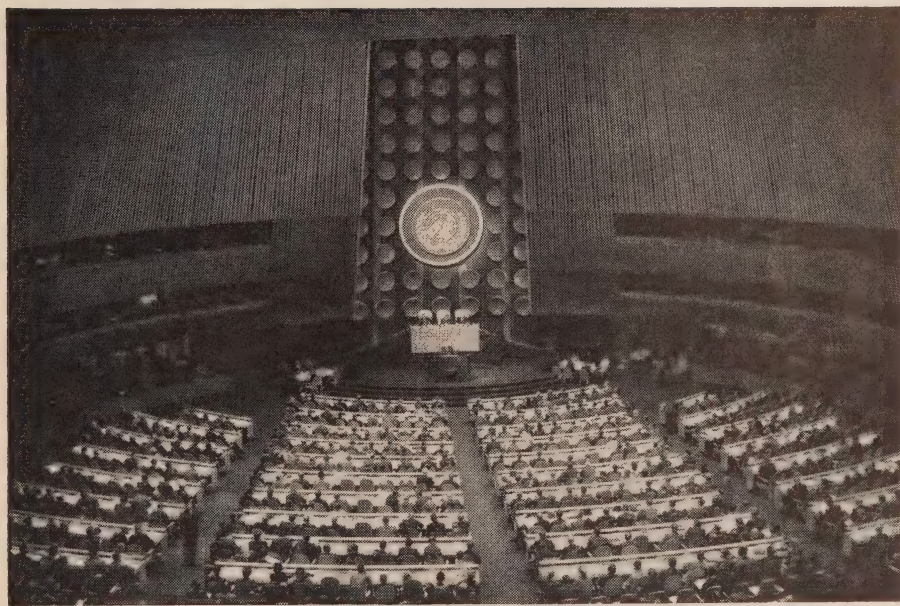
On the recommendation of its Co-ordination Committee, the Council approved a list of six major priority programmes and asked its functional and regional commissions to appraise their particular programmes in the light of this priority list. It also invited the Specialized Agencies to keep these priorities in mind when reviewing and formulating their own programmes.

The foregoing notes mention the greater part although not all of the matters with which the Council dealt. It might be said that the session was particularly devoted to the useful and necessary work of considering the major problems within its responsibility, reviewing the work accomplished by the Specialized Agencies and its functional commissions, and requesting further studies on those questions which were still not ripe for final decision. The work of the session was undoubtedly useful but progress with respect to any of the major problems was not spectacular.

It should perhaps be mentioned that in summing up the work of the Council, the President, Mr. Amjad Ali of Pakistan, did express as a personal view that it would be disappointing, having regard to the world's present problems of economic development and international trade, and of monetary instability and inflation, and of insecurity of human rights, if postponement of definite action and arrangements for preparatory activities only should be regarded as the most that can now be done by the Economic and Social Council. He stated that he did not mean that these preparations and the postponement of action could have been avoided, and that he did not minimize the obstacles to more effective and speedy international action caused by the deep political division of our time. He expressed nevertheless the opinion that the authority and the prestige of the Council may become impaired if in several important fields it does not succeed in good time in translating the findings and consequences of its many studies into action designed to implement the Charter's economic and social objectives.

An assessment of the Council's present position and of its capabilities for successful action in the future must certainly take account of the President's mild but serious warning. Perhaps, as Mr. Amjad Ali has pointed out, postponement of a real solution

to many problems is inevitable; and perhaps, in the short life of the Council and of the United Nations we should not be too discouraged and see that the picture is not without its bright side in what has in fact been accomplished; but it would indeed be wrong to be complacent or to fail to agree that the need for a continuous effort and a positive approach exists, and that much more remains to be done if the Economic and Social Council is to play its full part in the achievement of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.



—United Nations

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

A general view of the opening meeting of the Seventh Session of the General Assembly held in the General Assembly Hall of the newly constructed United Nations headquarters building.

"CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS 1951-52"

Canada and the United Nations 1951-52 is the sixth in a series of reports which are already well known in Canada and abroad as authoritative reference works not only on Canadian participation in the United Nations, but on all aspects of the activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

Earlier editions* have dealt with the events of a single calendar year. *Canada and the United Nations 1951-52* covers the 18-month period from January 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952. Although its scope is therefore greater, the book has been kept to approximately the same size as *Canada and the United Nations 1950*. This has been done without sacrificing any essentials by some condensation in the body of the book and by reducing the number of statements and resolutions in the appendices. The appendices still contain much valuable reference material, including a description of the procedures followed by the Canadian Government in dealing with United Nations matters.

The work of the United Nations is often presented in a distorted way. Too much emphasis is placed on political and security problems and particularly on those problems whose solution is prevented by the division between the Soviet world and the free world; as a result the United Nations is blamed, or written off as a failure. "Yet the division would exist," the Secretary of State for External Affairs writes in his Foreword to *Canada and the United Nations 1951-52*, "and almost certainly in a more dangerous form, if there were no world organization. Because the United Nations is a mirror of the world, we should not say that it has failed because it reflects an unhappy picture." Mr. Pearson also emphasizes that it is incorrect to think of international affairs "solely in terms of the cold war, or of fear and insecurity solely in terms of Soviet imperialism. Even if Communism had never been invented, and even if the Soviet Union were located on a different planet, a number of serious differences within the free world would remain."

Canada and the United Nations seeks to present the United Nations in more balanced perspective. The importance of such headline subjects as Korea and disarmament — where Soviet-Western differences are most obvious — is not minimized, but full attention is also paid to less spectacular matters in which the United Nations has often achieved notable successes.

The book also deals very fully with the many United Nations activities which have nothing to do with political and security problems — particularly with its activities in the economic and social field. Of these, technical assistance to under-developed countries and aid for the economic development of under-developed countries have assumed special importance during the period reviewed by *Canada and the United Nations 1951-52*, and they are the subjects of two detailed articles in the book's economic and social section. In his Foreword, Mr. Pearson notes that "a difference of opinion over degree and pace" in economic development has led to a rift in the United Nations between the developed and under-developed countries. He expresses the opinion, however, that, while the importance of this rift should not be minimized, it is not a disagreement on basic principles: "The rift, happily, is not a fundamental one; there is no reason why it should be a permanent one."

Other sections of the book deal with the work of each of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, with the difficult problems facing the United Nations in connection with dependent territories, with international legal problems and the International Court of Justice, and with United Nations financial and administrative questions. The appendices also contain the 1952 budget of the United Nations, scales of contributions of member states, and the budget totals of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in recent years, with Canadian contributions.

The French-language version of this report — *Le Canada et les Nations Unies* — will be published in November.

**The United Nations, 1946, Canada at the United Nations, 1947, Canada and the United Nations, 1948, Canada and the United Nations, 1949, Canada and the United Nations, 1950*. Editions for 1947, 1948, 1949 and 1950 are still available from the Queen's Printer, Ottawa, at 50 cents per copy.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. G. P. Kidd was posted from National Defence College (Kingston) to Ottawa, effective August 25, 1952.
- Mr. R. M. Macdonnell was posted from home leave (Paris) to Ottawa as Assistant Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, effective September 2, 1952.
- Mr. D. M. Cornett was posted from home leave (Copenhagen) to Ottawa, effective September 2, 1952.
- Mr. J. M. Harrington was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Belgrade, effective September 2, 1952.
- Mr. M. A. Crowe was posted from Ottawa, to National Defence College (Kingston) effective September 2, 1952.
- Mr. C. F. W. Hooper was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Consulate General, Caracas, effective September 5, 1952.
- Mr. C. E. McCaughey was posted from home leave (Tokyo) to Ottawa, effective September 8, 1952.
- Mr. A. J. Pick was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Rome, effective September 8, 1952.
- Mr. J. B. C. Watkins posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Legation, Oslo, effective September 8, 1952.
- Mr. A. A. Day was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective September 9, 1952.
- Mr. T. A. Stone, Ambassador, proceeded from Stockholm to the Hague, as Canadian Ambassador to the Netherlands, effective September 10, 1952.
- Mr. G. S. Patterson was posted from Ottawa, to the Canadian Consulate General, Boston, effective September 10, 1952.
- Mr. E. A. Cote was posted from home leave (London) to Ottawa, effective September 15, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

New Appointments

His Excellency Ove Flemming de Sehested, Minister, Legation of Denmark, September 16.

Mr. K. L. O. Gillion, Assistant Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for New Zealand, August 28.

Mr. Carlos Abraham Walker, Attaché, Embassy of Argentina, September 3.

Mr. Masatada Tachibana, Attaché, Embassy of Japan, September 5.

Mr. Spasan Jovanovic, First Secretary, Embassy of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, September 5.

Brigadier C. P. S. C. Bright, C.B.E., Army Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, September 16.

Mr. Kazuyoshi Inagaki, Counsellor, Embassy of Japan, September 18.

Departures

His Excellency Numan Tahir Seymen, Ambassador, Embassy of Turkey, September 25. Mr. Zübeyir Aker, First Secretary is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Colonel Thomas R. Clarkin, Assistant Army Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America, August 15.

Brigadier G. E. Thubron, D.S.C., C.B.E., Army Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom, September 5.

Mr. Leonid Abramov, Second Secretary, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, September 12.

His Excellency A. H. J. Lovink, Ambassador, Embassy of the Netherlands, returned to Ottawa from a trip to northern Ontario, and left for a visit to the Netherlands, August 30. His Excellency resumed the direction of the Embassy, September 20, 1952. Mr. M. J.

van Schreven, Counsellor, was Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Rajko Djermanovic, Ambassador, Embassy of Yugoslavia, left for a visit to Yugoslavia, September 2. Mr. Djuro Vukolic, Second Secretary is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Klas Bööck, Minister, Legation of Sweden, attended the annual conference of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development as a Swedish delegate, September 1. Mr. Sigge de Lilliehöök, Second Secretary, was Chargé d'Affaires. His Excellency left Ottawa for an

extended tour of Western Canada on or about September 15. Mr. Sigge de Lilliehöök is chargé des affaires of the legation.

His Excellency Dr. Werner Dankwort, Ambassador, Embassy of Germany returned from holidays and resumed the direction of the Embassy, September 2.

His Excellency Vicomte du Parc, Ambassador, Embassy of Belgium resumed the direction of the Embassy on his return from a visit to Belgium, September 9.

The Embassy of Cuba moved its Chancery to 400 Holland Avenue, September 4. Telephone 2-1729.

CONSULAR

Recognition was granted to:

Mr. Enrique Mulford, Consul General, Consulate General of Panama, Halifax, September 6, 1952.

Mr. Hernan Buzeta, Honorary Consul, Consulate General of Chile, Montreal, September 11.

Dr. Adolph Reifferscheidt, Consul, Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany, Montreal, September 11.

Mr. Harry Emerson, Honorary Consul, Consulate of the Dominican Republic, St. John's, Newfoundland, September 12.

Miss Dorothy T. Brown, Vice-Consul, Consulate General of the United States of America, Toronto, September 16

Departures

Mr. Charles B. Borell, Consulate General of the United States of America, Montreal, August 29.

Mr. Kingdon W. Swayne, Vice-Consul, Consulate General of the United States of America, Toronto, September 4.

Mr. Fred M. Wren, Consul, Consulate General of the United States of America, Montreal, September 5.

Mr. Cabot Coville, Consul General, Consulate General of the United States of America, Halifax, will be absent from September 17 for a period of approximately six weeks. Mr. Casimir T. Zawadski, Consul, will be officer in charge.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of September 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conference Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, the Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in September

1. 6th British Commonwealth Forestry Conference. Ottawa, August 11-September 13. Canadian Delegates: Department of Resources and Development: Dr. D. A. Macdonald, Col. J. H. Jenkins, J. M. Marshall, H. Schwartz; Department of Agriculture: Dr. M. L. Prebble; Department of Trade and Commerce: G. H.

Rochester; Department of Labour: Dr. G. V. Haythorne; K. J. Carter, Deputy Minister of Natural Resources, Newfoundland; J. F. Gaudet, Chief Forester, Department of Industry and Natural Resources, Prince Edward Island; G. W. I. Creighton, Deputy Minister of Lands and Forests, Nova Scotia; J. H. Ramsay,

- Acting Deputy Minister of Lands and Mines, New Brunswick; Dr. A. Bedard, Deputy Minister of Lands and Forests, Quebec; Dr. E. J. Zavitz, Department of Lands and Forests, Ontario; J. G. Somers, Department of Mines and Natural Resources, Manitoba; E. J. Marshall, Department of Natural Resources and Industrial Development, Saskatchewan; E. S. Huestis, Department of Lands and Forests, Alberta; F. S. McKinnon, Department of Lands and Forests, British Columbia; also numerous Delegates and Observers.
2. *Inter-Governmental Conference for the Adoption of the Universal Copyright Convention of UNESCO*. Geneva, August 18-September 6. Head of Delegation: Dr. V. Doré, Canadian Minister to Switzerland; Delegate: C. Stein, Under-Secretary of State of Canada; Alternate: G. G. Beckett, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada; Technical Adviser: H. G. Fox, St. Catharines, Ontario.
 3. *60th Session of the Permanent Central Opium Board*. Geneva, September 1-6. C. H. L. Sharman, Department of National Health and Welfare.
 4. *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and International Monetary Fund: 7th Annual Meeting of Boards of Governors*. Mexico City, September 3-12. D. C. Abbott, Minister of Finance; J. Coyne, Bank of Canada; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada; G. N. Perry, Canadian Embassy, Washington.
 5. *3rd Session of the General Assembly of the International Union for the Protection of Nature*. Caracas, Venezuela, September 3-9. Observer: E. Turcott, Canadian Consul General, Caracas.
 6. *8th General Assembly of the International Astronomical Union*. Rome, September 3-14. R. M. Petrie, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
 7. *Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Intersessional Business of GATT*. Geneva, September 4. L. Couillard, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
 8. *Conference of Commonwealth Parliamentary Association*. Ottawa, September 8-14. Joint Chairmen of the Federal Government Delegation: E. Beaugard, Speaker of the Senate; W. R. MacDonald, Speaker of the House of Commons; Leaders of the Provincial Delegations: Ontario: Rev. M. C. Davies; Nova Scotia: H. D. Hicks; Quebec: D. Johnson; Prince Edward Island: T. W. Phillips; Saskatchewan: P. E. Howe; Alberta: Rev. P. Dawson; Manitoba: N. V. Bachynsky; New Brunswick: R. J. Hill; Newfoundland: Maj. P. J. Cashin; and numerous other members of the Federal and Provincial Legislatures.
 9. *13th International Horticultural Congress*. London September 8-15. Delegates: Dr. H. Hill, W. Ferguson, and W. Ross, Department of Agriculture; Dr. J. C. Wilcox, Summerland, B.C., Col. J. G. Robertson and D. A. B. Marshall, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
 10. *3rd Session of Ad Hoc Committee on Restrictive Business Practices (ECOSOC)*. Geneva, September 8-26. Delegate: T. D. MacDonald, Department of Justice; Alternate: G. V. N. Sainsbury, Department of Finance.
 11. *19th Session of the International Geological Congress*. Algiers, September 8-15. Representative: Dr. J. M. Harrison, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.
 12. *International Association of Game, Fish and Conservation Commissioners and American Fisheries Society*. Dallas, Texas, September 8-12. Dr. V. E. F. Solman, Department of Resources and Development.
 13. *3rd Session of the ILO Chemical Committee*. Geneva, September 9-20. Government Delegates: S. Picard, Unemployment Insurance Commission, Quebec; P. H. Casselman, Department of Labour; Employer Delegates: T. W. Smith, Canadian Industries Limited, Montreal; G. Benson, Shawinigan Chemicals Limited, Montreal; Worker Delegate: A. M. Simpson, International Chemical Workers Union, Agincourt.
 14. *Conference on the Revision of the Rome Convention or 1933 (ICAO)*. Rome, September 9. C. S. Booth, Permanent Delegate of Canada to ICAO.
 15. *17th Meeting of Executive Committee of the Pan-American Sanitary Organization (WHO)*. Havana, Sept. 10-12. Observer: K. C. Brown, Canadian Embassy, Havana.
 16. *Biennales Internationales de Poesie*. Knokke Le Zoute, Belgium, September 11-15. Delegate: Miss S. Routier, Canadian Embassy, Brussels.
 17. *6th Meeting of the Directing Council of the Pan-American Sanitary Organization (WHO)*. Havana, September 15-24. Observer: K. C. Brown, Canadian Embassy, Havana.
 18. *3rd International Congress of Phytopharmacy*. Paris, September 15-21. Delegate: W. A. Ross, Department of Agriculture.

19. *2nd Session of the Statistical Division of ICAO.* Montreal, September 16. Head of Delegation: G. A. Scott, Transport Commission; Alternate: M. B. Burwash, Transport Commission; Advisers: S. McLean, Transport Commission; J. H. Lowther, Bureau of Statistics.
20. *21st International Congress of Housing and Urbanism.* Lisbon, September 21-27. Observer: H. M. Maddick, Chargé d'Affaires, Lisbon.
21. *Preparatory Meeting of Commonwealth Economic Conference.* London, September 22. Chairman: N. A. Robertson, High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, London; Delegates: F. W. Bull, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; J. F. Parkinson, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London; J. J. Deutsch, Department of Finance; L. Rasminsky, Bank of Canada; D. V. LePan, Canadian Embassy, Washington; L. Couillard, Office of the Canadian High Commissioner, London.
22. *Conference on Foot and Mouth Disease.* Copenhagen, September 22-28. Dr. K. F. Wells, Department of Agriculture.
23. *18th Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pan-American Sanitary Organization.* (WHO). Havana, Cuba, September 25. Observer: K. C. Brown, Canadian Embassy, Havana.
24. *2nd Session of the Committee on Improvement of National Statistics of the Inter-American Statistical Institute.* Ottawa, September 29-October 11. H. Marshall, Bureau of Statistics.
25. *50th Jubilee Meeting of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea.* Copenhagen, September 29-October 7. Observer: Dr. A. W. H. Needler, Department of Fisheries.

Conferences to be Held in October and November

(The inclusion of the name of a conference or of any international meeting in the following list is merely for information. It does not necessarily follow that the Government of Canada has received an invitation to participate or, if so, that the invitation will be accepted; the dates are tentative.)

1. *2nd Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU).* Buenos Aires, October 1.
2. *Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Intersessional Business of GATT.* Geneva, October 1.
3. *7th Session of the Contracting Parties of GATT.* Geneva, October 2.
4. *Regular Semi-Annual Session of the International Joint Commission.* Ottawa, October 7-17.
5. *7th International Conference and General Assembly of Travel Organizations.* Naples, October 7-11.
6. *Biennial Session of the International Committee on Weights and Measures.* Paris, October 7-17.
7. *World Congress of Paint and Varnish Manufacturers.* Mexico, October 8-11.
8. *8th Pan-American Congress of Architects.* Mexico City, October 9-16.
9. *2nd Pan-American Convention on Appraisal.* Santiago, October 12-19.
10. *6th Consultative Meeting on Cartography of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History.* Cuidad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, October 12-24.
11. *International Seminar on Statistical Organization.* Ottawa, October 13-31.
12. *Conference of Heads of Diphtheria and Pertussis Vaccine Laboratories (WHO).* Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, October 13-18.
13. *4th Session of the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME).* Geneva, October 13.
14. *10th Session of ECE Timber Committee.* Geneva, October 13-20.
15. *3rd Session of Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour (ILO).* Geneva, October 14-November 20.
16. *7th Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly.* New York, October 14.
17. *Pan-American Highway Congress.* Mexico City, October 19-25.
18. *4th Session of the Petroleum Committee of ILO.* Scheveningen, Netherlands, October 14-25.
19. *Annual Regular Session of Executive Committee of the International Institute of Refrigeration.* Paris, October 16.
20. *Meeting of Pacific Marine Fisheries Commission.* Seattle, Washington, October 22-24.
21. *Meeting of Interim Committee Set up for the Creation of World Tobacco Organization.* Istanbul, Turkey, October 15-26.

22. *4th Inter-American Congress on Radiology*. Mexico City, November 2-8.
23. *3rd Inter-American Statistical Conference*. Santiago, November 2-14.
24. *8th Session of Joint Meeting of Permanent Central Opium Board and Drug Advisory Board*. Geneva, November 4-10.
25. *61st Session of the Permanent Central Opium Board*. Geneva, November 11-18.
27. *7th Session of the General Conference UNESCO*. Paris, November 12-December 10.
28. *120th Session of the Governing Body of ILO*. November 19-29.
29. *Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers*. London, November.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
57	2/9	Announcement of the appointments of R. A. Mackay and R. M. Macdonnell as Assistant Under-Secretaries for External Affairs.
58	16/9	Presentation of Letter of Credence by Mr. Ore Flemming de Sehested, Minister for Denmark.
59	19/9	Canadian Delegation to the Geneva Conference of GATT.
60	19/9	Canadian Delegation to the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations at New York.
61	23/9	Wheat for India under the Colombo Plan.
62	26/9	Appointment of Mr. Emile Vaillancourt as Special Ambassador to the Republic of Panama for the inauguration of its new President.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 52/30—*How is NATO Doing*, an address by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at the Directors' luncheon on International and Health Day, Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, September 2, 1952.
- No. 52/31—*The Sixth British Commonwealth Forestry Conference*, speeches delivered by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, and the Deputy Minister of Resources and Development, Major-General H. A. Young, at the Sixth British Commonwealth Forestry Conference, Ottawa, August 11, 1952.
- No. 52/32—*Canada in the Community of Nations*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, delivered at the Diamond Jubilee of the Association of Canadian Clubs, at Hamilton, Ontario, September 12, 1952.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

**Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, 1 July, 1951 - 30 June 1952*; New York, 1952; document A/2141; 182 pp.; \$2.00; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 1.

Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 1953 and Information Annex; New York, 1952; document A/2125; 176 pp.; \$2.00; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 5.

**Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions—First Report to the Seventh Session of the General Assembly*; New York, 1952; document A/2157; 55 pp.; 60 Cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 7.

**An International Bibliography on Atomic Energy - Volume 2: Scientific Aspects* (Supplement No. 1); document AEC/INF/10/Rev.1/Add.1; \$3.50; U.N. Publications, Sales No.: 1951.IX.1.

**Yearbook of International Trade Statistics 1951*; April 1952; document ST/STAT/SER.G/2; 272 pp.; \$2.50; U.N. Publications, Sales No.: 1952.XVII.7.

World Health Organization - Executive Board, Tenth Session (29 May - 3 June 1952)—Resolutions and Annexes; Geneva, August 1952; 32 pp.; 25 cents; Official Records of WHO, No. 43.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Report of the International Law Commission covering the work of its Fourth Session, 4 June - 8 August 1952; 9 August 1952; document A/CN.4/58; 35 pp.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

• French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



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Department of External Affairs
Ottawa, Canada

THE MIDDLE EAST

by R. M. SAUNDERS*

STUDENTS shouting and demonstrating against foreigners in the streets of cities—Cairo, Beirut, Tunis; patient peasant farmers toiling along the slopes of age-worn mountains; rich black oil flowing across miles of sun-baked deserts in tensely guarded pipe-lines; guns bristling at strategic spots and airplanes patrolling. This is the Middle East, cross-roads of the world, pulse of power politics, barometer of peace; whatever you wish to call it, one of the most crucial areas on the earth's surface.

To go to the map and point to the Middle East is at first thought an easy task. There it is reaching down from the Black Sea in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south, stretching from the Nile Valley and the eastern end of the Mediterranean to Afghanistan and the border of Pakistan. True enough, but the name "Middle East" did not always cover this area. Once it was limited to the eastern part of it, while Asia Minor and the Arabian peninsula were called the Near East. During the Second World War the name Middle East moved westward and came to include the whole area described. But that did not end the transition. Both names are still in use. Also, there are writers, usually Middle Easterners, who suggest that the name should designate the whole Arab-speaking world. They want it used for all of North Africa from Egypt to Morocco; while still others want to extend it to the whole Islamic area, which would bring in Pakistan and much more of Africa. Such uncertainty about usage is in itself symptomatic of the ferment in the Middle East. It is a sign of a new age, an era of mounting self-consciousness, of seething nationalism. It is quite possible that the term will come to designate a rather broader area than it now does, but for our purposes we must stick to our first definition.

Importance

Cross-roads of the World

Once long lines of camels struggled laboriously across the sands of Middle Eastern deserts with the goods of the Indies swaying on their backs. Today, automobiles speed from Baghdad to Damascus and Aleppo. Countless vessels dot the crowded shipping lanes of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, all bound for Suez, the man-made gap between Asia and Africa. Yet for untold ages before the Suez Canal sailing boats landed their cargoes in Arabia and Egypt to be transported overland and re-shipped. Today aeroplanes course the skies above the sea and the deserts — British, American, Dutch, French — bound to and from the East. In other words this region is now and always has been one of the great cross-roads of the world.

Historic Battleground

For this very reason the Middle East has ever been the scene of imperial conflict. Here it was that Egypt and Assyria clashed; here Alexander the Great engaged the armies of Persia, where after him Roman emperors took up the struggle. Saracen and Crusader battled all along the western edge of the area whilst the Ottoman Turk swept in from the east to threaten Europe itself. It is little wonder that once again the Powers of the world, today Russia and the West, should face each other across this battle-ground of the ages.

* This article first appeared in "Current Affairs" and is reprinted with the kind permission of the author and the publisher, the Bureau of Current Affairs, Department of National Defence.

Cradle of Religion

Nor is it only traders and warriors who have marked the Middle East, for out of its lonely deserts and crowded cities have come three of the world's great religions — Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In a world where Moslem brotherhood, Zionist dream, and Christian survival are everyday vital issues, this must not be forgotten.

Nationalism and Oil

The Middle East is a region where the hand of history lies heavy upon the land. And yesterday's history is today's politics in such a land. Today, to historic conflict two new ingredients have been added: nationalism, that bitter consciousness of self and stranger; and oil, the lubricant of twentieth-century industry and war machines. As a focus of world strife, oil today plays the role that spices did four hundred years ago. With such a mixture of geography and history, of past and present frictions, the Middle East is as explosive an area as is to be found anywhere in the world.

Turkish Nationalism

Among the Middle Eastern states Turkey is one of the strongest, most dependable and stable. Likewise it is one of the most valued and sincere associates of the Western democratic powers. To anyone who is acquainted with present-day world affairs these may seem commonplace truisms. Yet to have asked any Westerner living in the land of the Turks so short a time ago as the first years of this century to look forward one generation to a period when such assertions would be manifestly true would have been to court mocking laughter at one's absurdity. None the less in just that brief span of years the rotten, old, ramshackle Ottoman Empire, known to the statesmen of the Great Powers in 1910 as the "Sick Man of Europe", has been metamorphosed into the vigorous, healthy, liberal-minded, modern Turkey.

What a change! For, from the days when Peter the Great and Catherine II of Russia cast covetous eyes upon the Black Sea possessions of the Ottoman Empire and sent their armies marching against the Sultans until the eve of the First World War, the ageing Turkish Empire was increasingly the sport of rival imperial powers, of Russia, Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, and Germany.

Revolution

The first intimation of an effective protest against the old sad state of affairs to appear amongst the Turks came in 1908-09 when a group of young men, mostly army officers and students, rose in revolt and forced the Sultan to agree to make reforms. These Young Turks, from whose ranks came Mustafa Kemal and Ismet, had either studied in Europe or were close observers of the European scene. They dreamed a dream of converting the moribund Ottoman Empire into a new modern European state. Before their plans could properly be launched the cataclysm of the First World War broke upon them. Their tottering Empire crashed in ruins about their heads. In 1919 there was only rubble and ashes.

Kemal Atatürk

Then Mustafa Kemal, the Turkish hero of the defence of Gallipoli, rallied his countrymen when the Greeks, with Allied backing, launched an attack upon Asia Minor in 1920. The threat from the once subject people of the Ottoman Empire was all that was needed to spark the Turkish nation into renewed vitality.

When the Greeks were hurled back and the Allies forced to recognize that, though the Ottoman Empire might be gone, the Turks were far from crushed, Kemal embarked upon his great life work, the Turkish Revolution.

Out of the ruins of the old Empire should rise a new Turkey, a modern Western nation, a state that could hold its own with any other Power. From the point of view of Kemal Atatürk the loss of the Empire, however great the blow to prestige, was in truth an advantage. Nothing else could have so shocked the Turks into a consciousness of themselves, into a desire to save their identity, into a willingness to change their ways. The loss of important possessions freed them to concentrate upon their own problems in their own land. In these circumstances Kemal set out to build a Turkey for the Turks.

As President-Dictator he acted with utmost vigour, with ruthless efficiency when necessary. His was a program of stirring nationalism, and of compulsory wholesale westernization. No corner of Turkish life was left untouched. A new alphabet of the Latin type took the place of the traditional Arabic. Turks, from the small children to grandparents, were forced to go to school and learn the new alphabet, were fined, even imprisoned if they used the old. Women were brought out of the harems and introduced into public affairs. As a symbol to an ignorant populace it was made obligatory to wear Western style hats. Islam was abandoned as the state religion, and with it went all the old system of law and justice, the old schools and countless traditions and habits. New laws, new ways of education, new means of administration were set up, all modelled upon the practices of Europe and America.

End of Dictatorship

True, the change from old Turkey to the new is still an incompleting process, especially in rural areas. True, too, that disbelieving Westerners shook their heads and said that the old despotism of the Sultan had merely given way to the dictatorship of Kemal, that all these changes were so much window-dressing. When Kemal died in 1938 and was succeeded by his lifelong friend and associate, İsmet, now İsmet İnönü, many still were incredulous. But in 1950 the party of the dictator, the party of Kemal and İsmet, allowed itself to be voted out of office and a new and more democratic régime came into power. Thus, Kemal and İsmet had kept their word.

Bastion of the West

The natural links of this new democratic nation are with the West. Her revolution has been a progress towards the type of society in which we live, and she takes her stand with those nations that propose to uphold that society. All the more so in Turkey's case since for generations her independence has been menaced by Russia, and only in alliance with the Western nations can she hope to withstand that ancient threat. For these reasons Turkey may be counted the great bastion of Western strength in the Middle East. Turkey's entry into NATO is no fluke; it is the logical development of her interests and of her views already made manifest by the performance of the Turkish Brigade with the United Nations forces in Korea.

Yet if Turkey's ties are unquestionably with the West, it must not be forgotten that the Turkish Revolution is above all a national movement. In Asia Minor a nation has been created along Western lines. European ideas have crossed the Bosphorus. But they have been applied by an Asian leader in an Asian land among an Asian people. A nationalist revolution has succeeded in raising up a state that commands the respect of the Western world. Other Asian peoples will not forget this example, least of all the one-time subject nations of the Ottoman Empire, for they too cry out for independence and recognition, for respect and equality.

Arab Nationalism

From the Turks we must turn to the Arabs, a people of ancient culture and a proud past, once the peer of the Europeans, then for centuries subjected to Ottoman

domination and the long-time butt of European intrigues. They have been profoundly stirred by the great achievements of their ancient overlords, the Turks.

National Feeling

Arab national feeling was already astir as early as the opening of the war of 1914-18, aroused by European example and the lash of the counter-nationalism of the Young Turks. It was this growing national feeling, focused then upon the achievement of Arab independence from Ottoman rule, that Col. T. E. Lawrence so brilliantly organized for the Allied cause, thereby turning the tables upon the Germans and the Sultan. This he was able to do because he persuaded the Arab leaders that Allied victory at the end of the war would be followed by national independence for the Arab peoples. When, with Allied victory assured, it was discovered that other and more influential Allied leaders had other ideas about the political reorganization of Arab territories, that instead of gaining national independence the Arabs were to be divided into a mosaic of mandates, protectorates and dependencies of certain Allied powers, a feeling of bitter frustration swept over the Arab world.

Differences Among the Arabs

It is true, of course, that Lebanon and Syria, Iraq, Transjordan and Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the tribal states as political divisions reflect certain real differences among Arabs. Lebanon, for instance, is largely Christian whereas Syria is overwhelmingly Moslem. Iraq has a large population of Shiah Moslems that link in religiously with their brethren in Iran whilst Saudi Arabia is the home of the Wahabis, a fiercely puritanical Moslem sect of other views. Though the people of all these areas speak Arabic, linguistic differences are noticeable, sometimes difficult. More important, perhaps, in a region where tradition of tribal solidarity and of allegiance to feudalistic overlords have held sway for so many centuries is the strength of local loyalties. These result in provincial conflicts between various Arab groups, and provide a basis for divisions. The personal and family struggles that centred on the creation of the thrones of Iraq and Transjordan are good examples of these.

Unifying Influences

Yet if the Arabs are divided by religion, linguistic variations, and local loyalties, also by disparities of economic and social development, none the less, they are all Arabs, all members of one great cultural community. Of this fact the Arabs today are strongly and increasingly conscious. Those who choose to emphasize the divisions among the Arabs, who prophesy that a national unification of this cultural community will never come about, might well remember that very similar divisions and weaknesses did not prevent the creation of modern Germany and Italy, both of which, as national states, are less than a hundred years old. Whatever the obstacles, and they are many, the Arabs today are moving toward some kind of national union. In every such national struggle common efforts against common obstacles, especially against common foes, are the most unifying of forces. That is why the fight against the Turks in 1914-18 first really awakened the Arabs to national self consciousness, and why the very frustration of their hopes after 1918 carried the process a long step forward. Once the enemy had been the Ottoman overlord: now the French and the British assumed that role. Thus, against them as the new ruling powers was levelled the full brunt of rising national feeling.

Between the two World Wars, in the years 1919-1939, the long and tangled story of bloodshed and intrigue, of assassination, insurrection, revolt and civil war that characterizes the picture of the Arab world may be summed up under the headings, a struggle for national independence, and effort to get rid of foreign rule. Some of the Arab states like Iraq and Saudi Arabia were more successful than others such

as Syria and Lebanon in reducing foreign control. None achieved complete and unequivocal independence. This rankled, as did the memory of hopes deceived and blood shed. Such bitter feelings led some Arab leaders, inexperienced in the game of power politics, to conspire with the Germans during the Second World War. They thought naively that the Nazis would help oust the French and the British and would then retire, leaving the Arabs independent. We need not tarry over this absurdity save to remind ourselves that in this we see the measure of hatred of foreign rule. The struggle towards complete independence continued after the Second World War, and still goes on. At the moment it is centred most dramatically in Egypt.

Egyptian Nationalism

Nationalist explosions are no new event in Egypt. Beginning with the British occupation in 1882 they have occurred repeatedly since that time. In other words nationalism has an older history in Egypt than in any other part of the Arab world. This is so because Egypt, thanks to its strategic position, has been drawn into the centre of international strife and intrigue, starting with Napoleon's invasion, for a longer period than other Arab states, and has had a longer time in which to react against the foreigner. Egypt, also, is the wealthiest Arab country, the one with the most highly developed economy and the one most closely in touch with European culture, hence with the stimulation of European political and social ideas. These factors, coupled with memories of ancient glory and somewhat different racial roots, have led Egyptians to feel both a little apart from the rest of the Arabs and, at the same time, to regard themselves as the rightful leaders of Arab nationalism. The former feeling has caused a damaging rift among the Arabs on occasion through competition between Egypt and other Arab states for leadership, yet the latter led to the pact of the Arab League, which brought the first official linking of the Arab states, being signed in Cairo in 1945. Whatever separateness exists, Egyptians think of Egypt as naturally and properly a member state of the Arab community. Like their fellow Arabs they seek complete independence.

Here, too, national feeling deepened during the First World War, to be intensified still more when the Allies announced that the peace treaties would be drawn up on the basis of the principle of national self-determination. The result was a determined Egyptian effort which resulted in British recognition of Egypt's independence in 1922. This, however, was not entirely satisfactory to the Egyptians, for Great Britain insisted that Egypt was still an area of "special interest" to her because of British imperial communications and defence, especially the Suez Canal, and because of the Sudan. Consequently British troops were kept in Egypt and Egyptians found themselves still with British ties upon their political and economic life. Other nationalist crises followed until in 1936 a new Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance was made in which Britain agreed to withdraw British troops to the Suez Canal Zone where they would remain until Egypt was ready to take over its defence. This treaty was negotiated with Nahas Pasha, Premier of Egypt and leader of the Wafd or Nationalist Party who was in office again from May 1950, to January 1952. The 1936 Treaty was looked upon as a great advance towards Egyptian independence but the Egyptians disliked the delay over their full occupation of the Suez Canal Zone, and particularly the "permanent alliance" with Britain which they contended could involve them automatically in British wars. When, during the Second World War, Egypt was once more occupied by British and other troops, the Egyptians were convinced that their reasoning had been right. They submitted to this occupation none too graciously, and when the war was over they grew very resentful of the slowness with which the withdrawal of troops took place. When to this was added the intense exacerbation of the war with Israel, wherein the Arab League, including Egypt, suffered humiliation and defeat; and when Iran successfully defied Britain at Abadan, the flood of nationalist resentment once more boiled over. In response, the Egyptian Premier denounced the same

Treaty of 1936 he had helped to draw up, and demanded the immediate turning over of the Suez Canal and the Sudan to Egypt.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of this whole series of events is the very perceptible vibration of approval that has shaken the entire Arab world as it watches Egyptian action. It is a renewed notice that what is happening in Egypt is no purely local matter, that what happens anywhere in the Arab world is no longer a provincial affair but something that concerns the whole Arab community, a stage in the development of Arab national unity. In this respect it is well to remember that one of the elements in Arab nationalism is ardent Moslem feeling. The shock of these events goes beyond the Arab world. It is visible to the limits of Islam.

Jewish Nationalism

Of all the developments that have jolted the Arabs into serious national self-consciousness since the First World War, none has made a deeper or more lasting impression than the rise of Zionism and the creation of an independent Israel. This result is a paradox, an unhappy one so far as the Zionists are concerned, for their hopes and efforts represent the yearnings of still another people — the Jews — for national self-expression. In Israel the Zionists have attained their goal but in so doing they have not only drawn the attention of the world upon themselves, they have also raised up a counter-nationalism to that of the Arabs in the same region. Where nationalism once appears nothing so contributes to national inflammation as a competing nationalism upon the national doorstep. And, as the Arabs see it, the Zionists are not on the doorstep, they are well into the house.

Zionism

By the Zionists, naturally, the whole affair is viewed quite differently. Zionism is a movement of every ancient lineage in the Jewish world. At times during the centuries it has been a purely spiritual vision. At others it has coupled with the spiritual strong political and material desires. In the latter phases a return to Palestine as the historic national home of the Jewish people has been the great goal. Towards the end of the nineteenth century Zionism entered into such a secular phase. No doubt the stimulus and example of European nationalism had their effects among the Jews as they did with Turks and Arabs. So also did the hopes of relieving many of the European Jews from the evil results of age-old persecution, at that period best seen in the Russian pogroms. Hence, under the inspiration of the writings of Theodor Herzl and with the financial aid of Baron Rothschild, land was bought in Palestine and settlement began.

Western Support

Widespread sympathy with Zionist hopes was felt throughout the Western world, particularly on humanitarian grounds. This was strongest in Great Britain. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, therefore, which promised British aid for the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, gave voice to this feeling as well as to President Wilson's principle of national self-determination for all peoples. Unhappily for the success of such dreams by this date Arab national feeling had been aroused. Arabs were fighting for national independence from the Turks. And to them Palestine was a part of the Arab homeland, the control of which had been set as a national goal. They thought that the Allies would help them gain independence and they, too, counted on the principle of self-determination. To them, then, the Balfour Declaration was a grave disappointment, even a deception. From this moment there began a series of misunderstandings and conflicts that has not yet ended.

The National Home

During the past two decades (1919-1939) the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine proceeded with remarkable success, thanks to the support of the

British government which set out to implement the Balfour Declaration, to the financial aid especially of American Jews, and to the enthusiastic self-sacrificing efforts of Zionist leaders. Under the inspiration of Zionism and with such powerful political and economic backing, Jewish experts, trained in the most advanced centres of Western Europe and America, wrought wonders in little Palestine. Their accomplishments raised enormous hopes so that when in the 1930's Hitler's fiendish persecution of the Jews made some refuge for survivors urgently necessary, both Jews and humanitarian sympathizers looked to Palestine to serve this end. Driven by intense enthusiasm and by a comprehensible sense of desperation, it is understandable that both Zionist leaders and their non-Jewish sympathizers should have overlooked or minimized Palestine's limitations in size and resources, the artificial nature of Zionist economy and the increasingly hostile attitude of its neighbours.

Struggle with the Arabs

During the Second World War the Zionists and their Arab neighbours stood divided. The Arabs, cool or hostile toward the Western Powers after their struggle for independence in the inter-war period, mostly remained aloof from the conflict; the Zionists, hopeful of seeing an independent Israel, participated on the Western side. After the war events moved rapidly. The British administration, which had been working for years to effect some reasonable compromise between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, without success, which was haunted more and more by fear of the world consequences of Arab hostility, and which was faced with a post-war need of reducing expensive overseas military commitments, decided to withdraw from Palestine in 1948. War between Zionists and Arabs followed at once, a war wherein the Arabs revealed all their divisions and weaknesses and were defeated. The culmination was the recognition of the independence of Israel. The Zionists had now reached their political goal.

The aftermath of this victory is, however, full of problems and queries. The Arabs have been defeated but, as a result, they are more bitterly determined than ever that this shall not be the end of the story. They lay the blame for their defeat quite as much on Great Britain, which fostered the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, and upon the United States, which strongly supported the final creation of Israel, as on their own weaknesses. Such bitterness adds immensely to the difficulties of Britain and the United States in dealing with the Arab states. As for Israel, it is still largely dependent upon outside aid, both economic and military, and it finds itself faced by a wall of ill-will at its borders. The grave refugee problem, raised by the retirement of thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine into surrounding Arab countries during the Jewish-Arab war, is a constant reminder and stimulant of this ill-will. Israel, which is itself not unmarked by internal division, has accomplished much, but uncertainty marks her future path.

Oil

Amongst the fires of seething nationalism in the Middle East flows today a stream of oil, a fuel to feed flames. In the autumn of 1951 these flames shot high at Abadan, destroying a long-time connection between Great Britain and Iran.

Developments in Iran

Oil was discovered in Iran (then Persia) in the late nineteenth century, and early in the present century the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed. The Iranians were then a weak, badly-governed people who had already a long history of contacts with world Powers. In 1907, indeed, Iran was divided into spheres of influence by Great Britain and Russia. Reaction against this domination led Iran to be pro-German

during the war of 1914-18, and to welcome a treaty of friendship in 1921 with the new Soviet Government which had repudiated Tsarist treaties and claims. Suspicion of Russian imperialism soon reappeared though, and a reforming Shah, Reza Khan, began a programme of westernizing nationalism similar to that of the Turks. He also held out against British pressures, cancelling the Anglo-Iranian Oil concession in 1932, and forcing a rewriting of the agreement on terms much more favourable to Iran. The Second World War found the Iranians again pro-German, so that an Allied occupation was necessary. Russia's efforts to prolong the maintenance of its own forces in Iran after those of the United Kingdom and the United States had left, forced Iran to appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations in 1946. The Russians then withdrew but left behind a Communist-inspired party, the Tudeh Party, which is sympathetic to Soviet aims.

Opposition to the West

The chief opportunity for the advance of such a party lies in the fact that in Iran, as among the Arabs, the persistence of semi-feudal social and economic conditions which keep masses of people in a state of perpetual poverty, disease and ignorance, creates an extremely serious social problem. Contacts with Westerners, with business men, soldiers, missionaries, teachers and others, a growing knowledge of Western standards of living and democratic ideas, the example of Turkey, Soviet propaganda — all these influences have sown the seeds of discontent throughout Iran and the entire Middle East. Consequently masses of people are restive. They make demands on their rulers. Turbulence occurs. The old established classes tend to stand in the way of change. Very often ancient hatreds of the foreigners are stirred to life to prevent Westernizing changes. Such it seems is involved in the rise of the Fadayan Islam in Iran, a group that combines intense nationalism and Moslem fanaticism with a bitter hatred of foreigners.

After the withdrawal of Soviet troops the main target of Iranian nationalists became the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Moderate leaders like the social reformer, General Razmara, were assassinated; only a rabid hater of foreigners such as Dr. Mossadegh could keep a hold on the country. Yet even experienced British observers could scarcely believe that Iran would so endanger its own economic security as to force a nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil properties. But here, as elsewhere, aroused nationalism seldom figures in terms of dollars and cents, and rarely listens to the voice of calm reason. In consequence the blow came, and today Abadan, once the world's greatest oil refinery, lies silent and unused. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has been expelled from Iran.

Developments in Iraq

It is significant that at the recent opening of the Zubair oil field, in which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company is interested, in Iraq across the Persian Gulf from Abadan, it was announced that very generous financial concessions had been made to the Iraq government, and that great stress was being laid on the provision of excellent working conditions for the labour force. This policy is what some observers are calling learning "the lesson of Abadan". In other words, outside Powers with interests in the Middle East are finding that they must give much fuller recognition to national feeling, and must encourage the betterment of living conditions in these countries if they are to protect their own holdings. If they do not they are likely to fall a prey both to bitter nationalism and to social revolution. The comparative success of the relations of the United States oil companies with the Arab authorities in Saudi Arabia, Bahrein and Kuwait lies in large part in their anticipation of these needs.

Conclusion

The introduction of oil into the Middle Eastern picture — the greatest oil field of the world is there — adds a new and vital element to the importance of this historically significant area. Always a cross-roads of the world, and a centre of imperial conflict, it is once more at the heart of the international scene, with oil and its relation to the defence of the West commanding prime attention.

But in the Middle East, every country is aflame with national feeling, resentful of foreign domination; all the peoples are either embarked upon, or ready for, social revolution and economic transformation. There exists a state of fluidity and uncertainty that makes this a crucial region for all who have the peace of the world at heart. With the new forces that are at work here we must somehow learn to live in understanding and co-operation for our own good and for the security of all mankind.



—National Defence

CANADIAN NATO FORCES IN FRANCE

A general view of the arrival of the RCAF No. 2 Fighter Wing at Grostenquin, France.

THE PERMANENT JOINT BOARD ON DEFENCE CANADA - UNITED STATES

Fourteen years ago, on August 18, 1938, Franklin D. Roosevelt visited Kingston, Ontario, and was awarded an honorary degree by Queen's University. This was the year when the miasma of Munich pervaded the air of Western Europe; in Canada and the United States, the belief that the insulation of geography gave adequate protection to the Western Hemisphere was still widely held. Accordingly, when Mr. Roosevelt, in his convocation address, made the first formal commitment of the United States to aid in the defence of Canada by stating "I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire", his declaration was acclaimed for its boldness and significance.

Prime Minister King made a statement of equal importance to Canadians in a speech two days later, when he said: "We, too, have our obligations as a good friendly neighbour, and one of them is to see that, at our instance, our country is made as immune from attack or possible invasion as we can reasonably be expected to make it, and that, should the occasion ever arise, enemy forces should not be able to pursue their way, either by land, sea, or air to the United States, across Canadian territory."

The Ogdensburg Declaration

It is an interesting historical coincidence that two years to the day, and indeed almost to the minute, after the Kingston speech, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. King emerged from the President's private car at Ogdensburg, New York, and gave to the waiting press a statement that later became known as the Ogdensburg Declaration:

The Prime Minister and the President have discussed the mutual problems of defence in relation to Canada and the United States.

It has been agreed that a Permanent Joint Board on Defence shall be set up at once by the two countries.

This Permanent Joint Board on Defence shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material.

It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere.

The Permanent Joint Board on Defence will consist of four or five members from each country, most of them from the services. It will meet shortly.

The Ogdensburg Declaration was greeted with general enthusiasm on both sides of the border, although in some American quarters doubts were expressed about the effect such an association with a belligerent country would have on the status of the United States as a neutral power, and one Canadian newspaper made the comment that concern over the lack of North American defence facilities should not blind Canada to the fact that its first line of defence lay with the Canadian forces in Britain.

In its establishment, the PJBD benefited by the traditions developed over the years by the International Joint Commission and organized itself along similar lines in two sections, Canadian and American, each with a chairman and secretary. The first Canadian chairman was Oliver Mowat Biggar, a distinguished lawyer who had served as Judge Advocate General of the Canadian forces during the First World War. He was succeeded, in 1945, by General A. G. L. McNaughton, who continues to serve in this capacity.

The first chairman of the United States Section was the Mayor F. H. LaGuardia of the City of New York. On Mr. LaGuardia's death in 1946, Mr. Dean Acheson acted as Chairman for a short time. He was followed by Major General Guy V. Henry, who had for many years been the senior United States service officer on the Board under Mayor LaGuardia.

Through the years many well-known military figures have served on the Board. Among the Canadian members have been Brigadier (later Lt. General) Kenneth Stuart, Lieutenant Colonel (later Major General) G. P. Vanier, Captain (later Vice-Admiral) H. E. Reid, and Air Vice-Marshal (later Air Marshal) W. A. Curtis. Distinguished American officers have included Commander (later Admiral and Chief of Naval Operations) F. P. Sherman, Lieutenant Colonel (later General) J. T. McNarney, and Lt. General S. D. Embick.

An Advisory Board

From the beginning, the PJBD has functioned as an advisory body without executive responsibilities. However, it has acted vigorously in furthering joint defence projects that it has considered to be in the mutual defence interest of the two countries. These projects usually involve a combination of military and political problems, which are referred by either Government to the Board. When the Board has evolved what it believes is a satisfactory solution to such a problem, it submits its proposals in the form of a joint recommendation to the two Governments. Almost invariably these recommendations have been approved. The Alaska Highway and the Northwest Staging route, which was used to ferry aircraft to Russia during the Second World War, were subjects which required much consideration by the Board, as was the chain of airfields built in Northeastern Canada to meet the needs of heavy wartime air-traffic to Europe. As the War drew to a close, the Board played a major part in evolving the formulas which were used for the disposition of American defence installations in Canada.

Statement of Principles

By 1947 the necessity for continued attention to the development of an effective programme of North American defence led the Board to recommend the adoption by the two countries of a new statement of principles for defence co-operation. The recommendation was approved by both the Canadian and United States Governments, and its main terms were announced simultaneously in Ottawa and Washington on February 12, 1947. The Ottawa announcement was made by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons.

The statement was important not only because it provided the framework for the extensive joint defence measures that have been taken since that time, but also because it defined the relation of these defence activities to the obligations of the two countries to the United Nations and at the same time threw new light on the role of the PJBD. For these reasons, it bears repeating here:

I wish to make a statement which is also being made today by the Government of the United States regarding the results of discussions which have taken place in the Permanent Joint Board on Defence on the extent to which the wartime co-operation between the armed forces of the two countries should be maintained in this post-war period. In the interest of efficiency and economy, each Government has decided that its national defence establishment shall, to the extent authorized by law, continue to collaborate for peacetime joint security purposes. The collaboration will necessarily be limited and will be based on the following principles:

- (1) Interchange of selected individuals so as to increase the familiarity of each country's defence establishment with that of the other country.

- (2) General co-operation and exchange of observers in connection with exercises and with the development and tests of material of common interest.
- (3) Encouragement of common designs and standards in arms, equipment, organization, methods of training and new developments. As certain United Kingdom standards have long been in use in Canada, no radical change is contemplated or practicable and the application of this principle will be gradual.
- (4) Mutual and reciprocal availability of military, naval and air facilities in each country; this principle to be applied as may be agreed in specific instances. Reciprocally each country will continue to provide, with a minimum of formality, for the transit though its territory and its territorial waters of military aircraft and public vessels of the other country.
- (5) As an underlying principle all co-operative arrangements will be without impairment of the control of either country over all activities in its territory.

While in this, as in many other matters of mutual concern, there is an identity of view and interest between the two countries, the decision of each has been taken independently in continuation of the practice developed since the establishment of the Permanent Joint Board on Defence in 1940. No treaty, executive agreement or contractual obligation has been entered into. Each country will determine the extent of its practical collaboration in respect of each and all of the foregoing principles. Either country may at any time discontinue collaboration on any or all of them. Neither country will take any action inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter remains the corner-stone of the foreign policy of each.

An important element in the decision of each Government to authorize continued collaboration was the conviction on the part of each that in this way their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security could be fulfilled more effectively. Both Governments believe that this decision is a contribution to the stability of the world and to the establishment through the United Nations of an effective system of world wide security. With this in mind each Government has sent a copy of this statement to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for circulation to all its members.

In August 1940 when the creation of the Board was jointly announced by the late President Roosevelt and myself as Prime Minister of Canada, it was stated that the Board "shall commence immediate studies relating to sea, land and air problems including personnel and material. It will consider in the broad sense the defence of the north half of the Western Hemisphere." In discharging this continuing responsibility the Board's work led to the building up of a pattern of close defence co-operation. The principles announced today are in continuance of this co-operation. It has been the task of the Governments to assure that the close security relationship between Canada and the United States in North America will in no way impair but on the contrary will strengthen the co-operation of each country within the broader framework of the United Nations."

Main Sources of Problems

The problems which have confronted the Board during the five years since this statement have arisen from two main sources, the union of Newfoundland with Canada in 1949 and the "cold war." The union with the Old Colony made Canada the successor to the United Kingdom with respect to the leasing of bases in Newfoundland arranged under the Leased Bases Agreement of 1941 between the United States and the United Kingdom. Canada never questioned the binding nature of the agreement, but did desire some modifications to its non-military clauses, particularly those respecting postal, taxation and jurisdictional privileges. After a long series of discussions, the PJBD finally made a recommendation which was accepted by both the United States and Canadian Governments and embodied in an exchange of Notes.

During recent years, the darkening international scene has led to increasing co-operation in defence between the two countries. This has taken the form of standardization of equipment and operational procedures, the conduct of joint exercises and the establishment of a number of installations for joint defence. In making the necessary arrangements for these joint undertakings, the Board has played an active role.

In all these matters, the PJBD has helped further the application of the basic principles of co-operation to each situation as it has arisen. Through the years it has built up an impressive record of service and is held in high esteem both by the diplomatic and defence arms of the Governments of the two countries. It has truly earned the title of "Permanent" bestowed upon it by its far-seeing founders.

Present Membership

The present membership of the Board includes:

General McNaughton as Chairman of the Canadian Section;
Rear Admiral H. G. DeWolf, Canadian Naval member;
Major General H. A. Sparling, Canadian Army member;
Air Vice Marshal F. R. Miller, Canadian Air Force member;
Dr. R. A. MacKay, member from the Department of External Affairs.
Major General Guy V. Henry is Chairman of the United States Section.
Major General J. L. McKee is U.S. Army member;
Rear Admiral M. E. Miles, the U.S. Navy member;
Major General R. L. Walsh, the U.S. Air Force member;
Mr. A. F. Peterson, the U.S. Department of State member.
Mr. W. H. Barton, of the Department of External Affairs, is the Canadian Secretary.
Mr. W. L. Wight, of the Department of State, is the U.S. Secretary.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE COLLEGE

The conception of a college to be attended by senior officers both of the armed services and the civil service was a bold one when the National Defence College was established in Kingston, Ontario, in 1947. Since that time five classes of students have spent approximately a year each in the College attending lectures and considering together in syndicates and discussions the problems of defence. Defence, for this purpose, is taken in its broadest sense to include, besides military tactics and strategy, questions of economics, politics, diplomacy, and ideology. When the College was founded, similar institutions already existed in London and Washington; but none had been established in countries of Canada's stature, and there was some doubt whether the relatively small and hard-pressed military and civil services of Canada would be able to support an ambitious institution of this kind, even though the numbers at the College were restricted to thirty. Nearly a hundred and fifty graduates of the College in Ottawa and elsewhere in Canada, as well as in Canadian military and diplomatic establishments abroad, are beneficially perpetuating the collaboration they first experienced at N.D.C. or are otherwise exploiting, in their respective spheres of government activity, their increased understanding of various phases of Canadian and international problems. In an emergency this increasing pool of persons trained for defence planning would be available. The results so far make it clear that the experiment has been successful. There has been no difficulty in getting cabinet ministers, generals, ambassadors, senior civil servants and academic experts not only from Canada but also from the United Kingdom, the United States, and other countries to deliver three or four lectures a week. The smaller number of students has proved advantageous in that, although it is large enough to provide the necessary variety of experience, it enables discussions to be less formal and participation broader than in a larger institution of the kind.

Exchange of Visits

The establishment of defence colleges in other countries indicates the value of the idea. Such colleges have recently been set up or are planned in a number of Commonwealth and NATO countries, and the exchange of visits with some of them has been an interesting part of the N.D.C. programme. The Imperial Defence College in London, which was founded in 1923 and was the first institution of this kind, has been a host each year to the N.D.C. on its visit to the United Kingdom, and a party of I.D.C. students makes a tour of Canada each year from the East Coast to the Yukon. A regular visit to the National War College in Washington has also become an annual event in the N.D.C. programme. During this visit the students from Kingston attend lectures and take part in discussion with the American students. In July 1952 the College was visited by staff and students from the Institut des Hautes Études de la Défense Nationale de France in the course of their North American tour. On this occasion lectures were given in French on important aspects of Canadian defence by students of N.D.C. There was something peculiarly appropriate in this visit by Frenchmen to Fort Frontenac, where the National Defence College is situated, as the fort was established in 1673 by Count Frontenac and has been a military establishment ever since. The French visitors were able to see part of the stone foundations of the fort built by LaSalle in 1675, which have recently been uncovered to form part of a rock garden in the parade square of Fort Frontenac. Visits were also made by parties of N.D.C. students to the Defence Study Centre in The Hague, to the National Defence College of Greece at Salonika and to the Italian Centre of Higher Military Studies at Rome.

The objectives, composition and academic methods of the College were described in *External Affairs* of October 1950, and will therefore not be repeated. In the present article particular attention is directed to what might be called "on-the-spot" studies, that is, the tours which supplement the general programme.

In order to comprehend as fully as possible problems of strategy, all phases of defence production, military training and tactics, public opinion and the political preoccupations not only of Canadians but of their allies, as much time as possible is spent visiting places of interest both in Canada and abroad. The nature of these tours varies from year to year, but there has now developed a more or less standard pattern; a visit to the United States and as many parts of Canada as possible, an overseas tour which includes a fortnight or three weeks in the United Kingdom after which the course divides into two parties, one of which tours Western Europe and the other the Middle East. During the past year the United States tour was somewhat foreshortened, the principal reason being the absence of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris. A visit to the United Nations to examine as many aspects as possible of the world organization at first hand has been an important part of the course in all previous years and will be restored during the present year in view of the return of the Assembly to New York. On the briefer United States tour, however, students were able, in addition to visiting the National War College, to go to Detroit in order to see the Tank Arsenal and the Plymouth plant.

Canadian Tour

It is never possible to visit all parts of Canada or to inspect more than random samples of its industry. For this reason the itinerary in Canada varies each year but with a permanent emphasis on regions of defence significance which students are not likely to visit in the normal course of their duties, such as the sub-arctic regions. The visit to the North is deliberately undertaken in the winter so that military and other activities might be observed in what might be called the most characteristic season. In January 1952, the course visited the RCAF station at Rivers, Manitoba, proceeded to Vancouver and Esquimault where, in addition to studying the important defence problems of the Pacific Coast, they saw at first hand something of the wood and fish industries of the area.

Thence the group proceeded to Edmonton, with a visit to the oil fields, and on to Whitehorse, Yellowknife, and Churchill. The flight through the Yukon and Northwest Territories, which extended as far north as Port Radium, was important not only because of what was learned on the ground of the industrial and other prospects of the area but also for what it contributed to Canadians in new perspective on their own country and in stimulation of the imagination which is by no means the least important aspect of the N.D.C. travels. From Churchill the tour extended to the important Arvida-Chicoutimi industrial nexus in Quebec, and then to Quebec City and Montreal, where in addition to industrial and military developments there was an opportunity to see something of the French-speaking parts of the country.

The United Kingdom

The weeks spent in the United Kingdom in April are very rewarding. An extraordinarily interesting series of lecture is arranged especially for the course by the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence. The calibre of the lecturers may be indicated by the fact that on the 1952 tour the lecture on United Kingdom foreign policy was delivered by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, and that on colonial policy by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttelton. There were talks from representatives of the Trades Union Congress, the Iron and Steel Federation, and from various Ministers in the Government, as well as other events such as a fascinating trip by launch through the reaches of the Port of London. After a fortnight in London, half the group set out for Malta en route to the Middle East, while the other half began a week's study of industrial and provincial Britain. This half was further divided into sub-groups which went to Scotland, to the Midlands, and to the West Country. The advantage of such small parties was that much closer scrutiny of industrial processes was possible. The excellent arrangements made by the civil authorities of such cities as

Edinburgh, Glasgow, Birmingham, Bristol, and Plymouth was an indication of their hospitality and the importance they attached to the Canadian visit.

Western Europe

The Western European tour began with approximately a week in the Low Countries. Included in the programme were tours of the harbours of Rotterdam and Antwerp and important industries like the Fokker plant near Schiphol. The Canadian missions in The Hague and Brussels arranged for briefings on the notable aspects of Dutch and Belgian affairs not only by members of the Canadian staffs but also by officials of the two governments. Some relief from the grimmer kinds of industrial tour was obtained in a view provided by the Dutch of their national industry displayed in the bulb fields and the Keukenhof Gardens. The only other occasion on which the less severely practical processes were studied came later when the French authorities invited the party to inspect their great wine industry at Dijon.

In view of the extraordinary importance of Germany in the broad strategy of defence, a considerable portion of the European tour was devoted to this country and likewise to Austria. The principal areas visited were Hamburg, Hanover, Berlin, the Ruhr Valley, and the Cologne-Bonn-Frankfurt district. An opportunity was also afforded to see the Canadian Twenty-Seventh Brigade during their training manoeuvres at Celle. The programme included, in addition to talks from Canadian, British, and American officials and military men, various aspects of German life on such occasions as a visit to the police headquarters in Hamburg, a tour of the Hanover Trade Fair, and a meeting with civic officials in Berlin. The briefer stay in Austria was along the same lines and included stops in Vienna and at the British headquarters in Klagenfurt.

From Austria the group proceeded by bus to Venice, a trip which enabled them to see the north eastern Italian frontier area and a remarkable display by the Italian Alpini Troops. This was followed by a view of Italian industry in Milan and in Turin, where the impressive Fiat works were visited. In Rome there was an opportunity to hear something of the political, economic, defence and foreign policies of Italy from the Canadian Chargé d'Affaires and officials of the Italian Ministries.

A highlight of the stay in Rome was a visit to the Vatican where the group was graciously received by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII.

Middle East

The party which went to the Middle East travelled considerably beyond the bounds implied by that somewhat ill-defined term, Middle East. The tour proper began in Cyprus where, in addition to seeing something of the problems and policies of this important colony, the group received a thorough series of background lectures from the senior British officers who had very kindly flown up from Fayid in Egypt for this purpose. Fortunately the group was able to pay visits to the two remoter NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, where they were hospitably received by the Greek and Turkish authorities and shown a wide variety of military establishments. Among the interesting and at the same time enjoyable occasions were a dinner given to the group in Athens by General Grigoropoulos, Chief of the Greek General Staff, and a visit to the Turkish War Academy in Istanbul during which the N.D.C. members were made honorary graduates of the Academy. Greece and Turkey were the only two countries on this tour in which there were Canadian missions, and due advantage was taken therefore of the facilities provided and the guidance given by the Canadian Embassies in Athens and Ankara and the Canadian Consulate in Istanbul. Elsewhere arrangements were made and information was given by the British military, diplomatic or colonial officials. Transport to and from Malta was provided by the RCAF, and the RAF conducted the party the rest of the way.



—Gouin

NDC ON TOUR

A group of National Defence College personnel with their hosts, on the steps of the National Defence College of Greece in Salonika during the course of the tour through the Middle East.

Of the Arab world the party saw a number of facets. Several days were spent in Jordan where, in addition to an excellent programme arranged by the Arab Legion, time was found for a brief excursion to Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Headquarters in Iraq were at Habbaniyah, the RAF station on the Euphrates, whence trips were taken to Baghdad, Basra, and to the oil fields at Kirkuk.

A pleasant and interesting glimpse of Iraqi life was provided by an informal lunch to which the party were invited by the Mutasarrif at Ramadi which included also a visit to the local school and clinic. A brief stop on Bahrein Island gave a chance to see another oil company and to meet a considerable colony of Canadians working with the Bahrein Petroleum Company which, although predominantly an American firm, is registered in Canada. A superb prospect of Middle Eastern geography was provided by the trip round the eastern and southern coasts of Arabia with one overnight stop at Sharjah in the primitive area of the Trucial States. This part of the tour was concluded by several days in Aden, where the party enjoyed in splendid if humid surroundings a short breather in the midst of exhausting travels and had as well a good look at a defence outpost of historic importance.

East Africa

The next phase of the tour was in East Africa, where the party was joined by the Canadian High Commissioner from South Africa in a visit to Kenya and Tanganyika. Although this visit to Africa was limited in its extent, it did provide a chance to look at the political, economic, and racial problems of the continent. The Governors both in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam spent a good deal of time with the party, sharing their own extraordinary insight into and knowledge of Africa and the

Africans. The party saw something of village life and health and education services outside Nairobi and also visited a police court just at the time the first batches of Mau-Mau adherents had been rounded up. Something of the developing industry of this area was seen in a visit to a new meat-packing plant in Tanganyika, not the most fragrant of places in that drenching climate but impressive nevertheless for its modernity and efficiency. In both territories a good deal was seen of the King's African Rifles, and possibly the highlight of the whole tour was a splendid military display prepared for the Canadian visitors, the climax of which was a slow march beautifully executed by the K.A.R. while their own African band played "Alouette".

The final stage of the tour included an interesting flight through the northern part of Africa to Tripoli with brief stops at Khartoum and Wadi Halfa in the Sudan. The visit to Tripoli offered a chance to see something of the problems of the new Libyan Government. The final two days were spent in Malta, where the party heard views on naval strategy in the whole Mediterranean area from naval officers and from Admiral Mountbatten himself. Here as in all the colonial territories visited the Governor talked to the group on the problems of the island and revealed a good deal of the nature of colonial government.

Notwithstanding the extent of these tours, less than three months out of the total of eleven months is spent away from Kingston. The travel abroad and the study at home are complementary, each adding greatly to the other. This is indeed a remarkable course of study, offering opportunities which can not be duplicated in any other Canadian institution. It is a school of higher learning the students of which are men who have already accumulated a good deal of experience, the lecturers are approximately 80 distinguished authorities, and the methods resemble those of an advanced graduate school. In addition, the whole show takes to the road and studies at first hand the many perplexing problems and issues of the day.

The first Commandant of the National Defence College, Lieutenant General J. F. M. Whiteley, KCB, CBE, MC, who came from The Imperial Defence College to assist in establishing the Canadian institution, was appointed in 1950 Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff in London. Lieutenant General G. G. Simonds, CB, CBE, DSO, CD, who succeeded General Whiteley, is now Chief of the General Staff in Ottawa. The present Commandant is Air Vice Marshal C. R. Dunlap, CBE, CD.

CANADA AND THE UNITED NATIONS

United Nations Day

In October, 1947 the General Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution establishing October 24 of each year as United Nations Day to mark the coming into force of the Charter of the United Nations on October 24, 1945.

Activities in celebration of United Nations Day in communities across Canada were organized in schools and by private persons and institutions—notably the United Nations Association. The celebration was marked again this year by the flying of the United Nations flag in front of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa and by a statement on United Nations Day by the Prime Minister. Mr. St. Laurent said:

“Today is United Nations Day and Canadians, together with other peoples of the world, will celebrate the seventh anniversary of the Charter of the United Nations which came into force on October 24, 1945.

“In these few years the United Nations can be proud of its achievements. The intervention of the United Nations in Korea, we are justified in believing, has had a salutary effect on would-be aggressors. In other parts of the world during these seven years the United Nations has been effective in bringing armed hostilities to an end. The member states of the United Nations are engaged in great co-operative undertakings to promote social progress and raise the standard of living throughout the world. If these are but small beginning in comparison with the magnitude of the task, they are nevertheless of importance and significance.

“To men of past generations, these achievements would not have seemed possible. The soldiers who have laid down their arms, the sick who have been treated, the hungry who have been fed and the struggling countries whose economies are being assisted through international co-operation are witnesses to the fact that the aims and purposes of the United Nations are worthy of all our efforts. What the United Nations has already achieved is evidence that international co-operation is not an unattainable dream but a goal that, with God's help, will be reached some day.

“The work of the United Nations should be the concern and active interest of us all. It is right, therefore, that on this birthday of the United Nations we should call to mind not only that which has been done and which remains to be done, but in particular that in giving support and encouragement to the achievement of the great and good purposes of the United Nations, each and every one of us may play his part in the making of a better world.”

Election of Officers at Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly

Mr. L. B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, was elected to the presidency of the seventh session of the General Assembly by a very large majority. The actual vote gave 51 votes to Mr. Pearson, 4 votes to Mrs. Pandit, leader of the Indian Delegation and 5 abstentions. Thus Mr. Pearson joins the distinguished company of those who have served as president of the Assembly: M. Spaak (Belgium), Dr. Aranha (Brazil), Dr. Arce (Argentina), Dr. Evatt (Australia), General Romulo (the Philippines), M. Entezam (Iran) and Senhor Padilla Nervo (Mexico).

Representatives of the following countries were elected to provide the seven vice-presidents of the Assembly: United Kingdom, United States, France, Soviet Union, China, Egypt and Honduras.

The President, the seven Vice-presidents and the Chairmen of the main committees of the Assembly form the very important General Committee which guides the progress of the Assembly. The Committee Chairmen who were elected are as follows:

- First Committee Senhor Muniz of Brazil
- Ad Hoc Political Committee M. Kyrrou of Greece
- Second Committee Mr. Nosek of Czechoslovakia
- Third Committee Mr. Amjad Ali of Pakistan
- Fourth Committee Senor Munoz of Argentina
- Fifth Committee General Romulo of the Philippines
- Sixth Committee Prince Wan of Thailand.

Elections to the Councils of the United Nations

Each year the General Assembly must elect three non-permanent members of the Security Council, six members of the Economic and Social Council and two members of the Trusteeship Council. For the Security Council, Colombia, Lebanon and Denmark were elected to replace Brazil, Turkey and the Netherlands. Thus the membership of the Security Council for 1953 will be China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, the United States, Chile, Greece, Pakistan, Colombia, Denmark and Lebanon.

The retiring members of the Economic and Social Council were Canada, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Mexico, Pakistan and the United States. On the first ballot the following five candidates were elected to fill five of the six vacant seats: Australia, India, Turkey, the United States and Venezuela. The three contenders for the sixth vacancy, none of whom achieved the necessary majority of two-thirds on the first ballot, were Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Pakistan. It was not until the thirteenth ballot that Yugoslavia achieved the required majority and was elected. The membership of the Council for 1953 will be Argentina, Australia, Belgium, China, Cuba, Egypt, France, India, the Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Turkey, the United Kingdom, the United States, Uruguay, the U.S.S.R., Venezuela and Yugoslavia.

For the Trusteeship Council, El Salvador was re-elected and Syria was elected to replace Iraq. No other candidates were serious contenders. The membership of the Trusteeship Council for 1953 will be Australia, Belgium, China, France, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States, the U.S.S.R., the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Syria and Thailand.

STATEMENT ON KOREA

Delivered on November 3 by Mr. Paul Martin, Vice-Chairman, Canadian Delegation to the United Nations, to the First Committee of the Seventh Session of the General Assembly.

The distinguished Secretary of State of the United States, in his unusually comprehensive speech a few days ago, laid down, I think, for all of us in this debate a standard of objective treatment and good temper which I sincerely hope, in whatever I have to say today, I may be able to follow.

Seven years ago the Prime Minister of my country signed the United Nations Charter. In so doing, he pledged our support to an Organization dedicated to keep the peace and to restore peace, if necessary, by force in the event of aggression. We shared in a great, new and bold experiment in collective security. We reaffirmed our faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity and worth of the human person. These solemn pledges were made by all the co-signatories of the Charter on behalf of the peoples of the United Nations.

Canadian Views

This seventh session of the General Assembly has been convened under the same Charter one again to give expression to the deep desire of the peoples of the world that peace should be maintained in those areas where it now exists and of finding ways and means of bringing peace to those areas where at the moment, unfortunately, there is armed conflict. So, as we see it, for the peoples of the United Nations Korea is the challenge and the test of all our pledges and our hopes. In outlining the views of my delegation on the Korean issue now before this Committee, I propose to deal with the central problem of prisoners of war, the extent of agreement already reached at Panmunjom, the draft resolutions now before this Committee, the exploration of possible lines arising out of the twenty-one Power resolution along which progress might be made in the solution of the central issue and the United Nations programme for the relief and rehabilitation of that war-torn peninsula.

Nearly two and a half years ago the United Nations went to the defence of South Korea. That action had the overwhelming support of Member States of this Organization. There was no doubt in the minds of the overwhelming majority of the Member States of the United Nations as to who was the aggressor; nor is there any doubt today. That was constantly clear from the scope and massive weight of the North Korean attack and from the subsequent refusal of the North Korean authorities to heed the Security Council's cease-fire resolution.

Purpose of Intervention

In acting promptly to defend South Korea, our purpose was solely to resist aggression.

It still remains the purpose of this body, and I am sure that most members around the table will so recognize it as the main purpose. As I said in my opening statement in the plenary meeting, Canada would regard that purpose as having been achieved through an honourable truce negotiated on the basis of the present battle lines.

With an armistice, the task of repairing the ravages of war will become our urgent duty. This is an effort which, however, cannot wait for an armistice and has already begun. I cannot help but express here the admiration of my country for the generosity shown by the United States Government which, through its military agencies, is engaged in relief and rehabilitation even as the war goes on.

The United Nations Korean Relief Agency is already co-operating with the Korean Government, and the United Nations Civil Assistance Command in Korea is helping to soften the impact of war on the Korean people and the Korean economy. That Agency is preparing to play an even more extensive role in the rehabilitation of Korea itself. A plan involving the expenditure of \$250 million has been prepared, and the Canadian Government has agreed to assume its fair share of responsibility by substantial pledges to this programme, pledges which have already been honoured. I am confident that other Member States will be equally willing to assume their full responsibility in the urgent and necessary task of relief and rehabilitation in Korea.

Symbol of Collective Security

In my country Korea represents a chapter in world history in which we have taken and continue to take pride. If the peace-loving nations had failed there, it might have meant the failure of collective security. We consider that collective security is essential to our own Canadian security; we have made many sacrifices to maintain it, and the price of its failure, if we the United Nations had not acted, would be too great for any of us to contemplate.

We all know, in spite of forensic effort to the contrary, the history of the Korean war. For Canadians, as for many others represented around this table, there is the eloquent though mute testimony of the casualty lists. There is also the cost in resources and wealth of defending freedom in the Korean campaign. We feel that our participation entitles us to speak in this discussion with some authority and also with deep anxiety. All Canadians, and the Government which reflects their wishes, want a cessation of hostilities. They will not, however, bow to the will of proven aggressors to achieve it.

The steadfast adherence of so many countries to the principles of collective security has been demonstrated; it is matched by their willingness to find a satisfactory formula for an armistice in Korea. We feel that we should not despair of reaching an eventual settlement. True, the fighting in Korea continues, but during the past twelve months agreement has been reached on a large number of important issues, each of which at a particular moment was considered by both parties to be a major problem. It is on the basis of the progress made at Panmunjom that the Committee must make its contribution.

Single Obstacle

At the moment one issue alone is holding up the truce. Even Mr. Vyshinsky, I think, agrees with us on this point, for at least three times in his speech to the Committee he affirmed this to be the case. I shall quote one very significant and important paragraph in his speech:

"The question of the exchange of war prisoners has remained the lone hurdle on the path to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, the sole hurdle on the path towards the cessation of the Korean conflict, which has been going on for more than two years and which has been accompanied by such horrors and miseries."

Finally, for the third time in the passage, he said: "This is the lone obstacle to the settlement of the whole question . . ."

The Foreign Minister for Poland, speaking on Saturday, also admitted that this was the lone obstacle, the sole hurdle, the lone hurdle — although he did not specifically use those very words. That being the case, surely this Assembly should not fail in helping to find a solution to the remaining issue.

Communist Stand

What are the main elements of the Communist stand which has produced this deadlock in the negotiations? They charge that the United Nations stand is contrary to "generally recognized concepts of international law and morality". Those are Mr. Vyshinsky's own words. Secondly, they charge that the proposals of the United Nations negotiators are "devoid of any reason and are still run through by unreasonable demands of forcible retention of prisoners". These last words came from General Nam Il's letter of 16 October. Finally, they charge that the Unified Command has made use of "the most horrible methods of torture and mass terror, an action the purpose of which is to force the prisoners of war to refuse to return to their homeland". This last quotation is taken from the statement which the representative of Czechoslovakia made in the plenary meeting on 20 October.

I would ask representatives in this Com-

mittee to consider these charges, together with the proposals made in the course of the last six months by the United Nations negotiators, and particularly in the light of the proposals which they made to the Communist Command on 28 September. These proposals are set out in page 20 of document A/2228 of 18 October 1952.

Legal Aspects

I do not propose to spend a great deal of time, but a few moments only, on the legal aspects of this problem. Mr. Vyshinsky, with all the adroitness and professional skill that we know him to possess, argued vigorously that under international law and, more specifically, under article 118 of the Geneva Convention of 1949 on prisoners of war, there was an obligation on the part of the Unified Command to send back to North Korea and to the Chinese Communist regime all prisoners of war, however strongly they resisted, fearing that once they returned they would be persecuted for political reasons.

Surely Mr. Vyshinsky, or the U.S.S.R. representative who is sitting in the Committee today, on reflection will realize that this is a shocking proposition. For centuries the right of a State to grant asylum has been one of the most cherished rights of the free nations of the world.

There is no doubt that most of Mr. Vyshinsky's legal argument was incontestable. The point of weakness in his argument was not what he stated, but what he left out. He told us what article 118 says, but he did not tell us precisely what it did not say, and the issue before this Committee is not contained in article 118. There is no doubt that article 118 was intended to afford to prisoners of war the privilege of release and repatriation; no one quarrels with that. It was also intended to grant to the detaining Power the privilege of returning prisoners of war; no one quarrels with that. Indeed, Mr. Acheson anticipated this very aspect of the problem. Mr. Vyshinsky argues that article 118 gives the prisoner's home State the unconditional right to his return, and he sought to bolster his argument by quoting from a number of well-known writers of textbooks on international law. He suggested that we should read the opinions of Oppenheim and Martens, for example. I have looked at what Oppenheim has to say on this very subject. It is true that Mr. Vyshinsky did not tell us precisely what Oppenheim did say; he merely suggested that we should read his opinion. I accepted the invitation, and I suggest that anyone who will look at the Oppenheim Sixth Edition, p. 216, will find that this distinguished author argues to the contrary of the thesis which Mr. Vyshinsky said Oppenheim really put forward.

I would also suggest to Mr. Vyshinsky that when he next speaks to this Committee, he should tell us precisely where, in Martens' textbooks, there is any justification for the

argument which he ably and vigorously put before the Committee. And I would say to Mr. Vyshinsky that there are other textbook writers. There is Moore; there is Calvo; there is Blunschli and a careful perusal of what those international law writers have to say will not confirm in the slightest degree the thesis that, in the context of the situation which we are discussing, it is international law to force by any means whatsoever an individual to return to his homeland. True, those authors do discuss the obligations of the detaining Power. There is certainly no obligation on the part of any given State to keep a particular individual who wishes to exercise the principle or the privilege of freedom of choice.

Other Sources

But there are other sources and other authorities, and Mr. Vyshinsky, I am sure, will wish to look at them. I would refer him to a well-known authority, an authority that is highly respected as a great legal expert in some parts of the world. I would refer Mr. Vyshinsky to a well-known book called *The Law of the Soviet State* by Andrei E. Vyshinsky. Using the technique which Mr. Vyshinsky himself often uses when he refers to textbooks or authorities for the benefit of those who do not share his point of view or ideology, I would ask him to look at his own book, or, at any rate, a book which he himself is credited with having edited. This particular edition is the 1948 edition, translated by Hugh W. Babb. I find on page 633 of this book two paragraphs which, I think, are of some significance in the context of this situation. The first paragraph reads as follows:

"Article 1 (129) of the U.S.S.R. Constitution establishes that the U.S.S.R. grants the right of asylum to foreign citizens persecuted for defending the interests of the toilers, or for scientific activity, or for their struggle on behalf of national liberation."

Then he goes on:

"The same articles are included in the Constitutions of Soviet Union Republics."

I will call to the attention of the members of the Committee particularly the second paragraph in which Mr. Vyshinsky goes on to say:

"The practice in international relations of granting persecuted foreigners the right of asylum rests on an international custom of over a thousand years' standing."

What better authority to present in answer to Mr. Vyshinsky's own statement? Dealing with the fact that there were some seventeen treaties at the end of the last war, in which the Soviet had agreed to the principle of free choice by a prisoner, he said that those treaties must be understood and examined and appraised in the light of the social con-

ditions of that time. That was a fair comment, and at first it made a deep impression on me. But he gave the impression that it was only because of the circumstance attending the social revolution of that time that there was any justification for acknowledging that international practice in so far as the Soviet Union was concerned and that these conditions were contrary to the argument which, in the main, he made before this Committee. The fact is, whatever may be the explanation or the reason for those bilateral arrangements — as Mr. Vyshinsky, the author, has noted — that the practice in international relations of granting persecuted foreigners the right of asylum rests on international custom of over a thousand years' standing, and I am sure that when he reflects upon his writings he will be perhaps able more specifically to deal with some questions put to him the other day by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd.

It may be that in certain countries the concept of international law and morality prevents people from the exercise of their free will. I cannot believe, however, that representatives in this Committee could accept the argument that even if individual prisoners of war were to express a genuine desire not to return to a particular country they should be driven there by troops of either side under orders to club, bayonet or shoot them if they resisted. Such an interpretation of the meaning of the term "international law and morality" is surely impossible for any decent human being.

Forcible Retention

The second charge concerns forcible retention. Yet the Unified Command has offered to allow individual prisoners of war to express their individual views on repatriation, free of military control and before impartial bodies composed of civilian or military representatives of the parties to the conflict, or of parties who have not participated in the conflict, or of humanitarian organizations whose impartiality and devotion to the service of mankind are known throughout the world.

Unless words have lost their meaning — and I must confess that Mr. Vyshinsky's liberty seems greatest in the realm of words — there can be no charge that the Unified Command wishes to retain these prisoners of war. Speaking to this Committee on behalf of the Unified Command, Mr. Acheson stated very clearly indeed that the Unified Command would be only too happy to get these prisoners off its hands.

This charge is coupled with another: that the Unified Command has used torture and terror to force prisoners of war to refuse repatriation. If there were a shred of truth in these allegations, would it not be common sense for the Unified Command to make every effort to prevent a free expression of views by prisoners of war before bodies com-

pletely free of military control? Yet the Unified Command is offering this very kind of free, impartial investigation.

Double Standards Used

I should like to digress for a moment to point out to members of the Committee a remarkable instance of the double standards employed by Mr. Vyshinsky in giving us the other day a lurid picture of brutality in the prisoner of war camps under the control of the Unified Command. He quoted from a report of the International Committee of the Red Cross in an effort to substantiate his tale. We, on our side, have great confidence in the International Committee of the Red Cross. We understood, prior to Mr. Vyshinsky's remarks the other day, that — to use his own words — he regarded it as "a tool of the American imperialists, the war-mongers". But he quotes the International Committee of the Red Cross in support of a particular argument which he is presenting. Nevertheless, neither Mr. Vyshinsky nor the Communist negotiators at Panmunjom will accept that organization as a fit body to interview prisoners of war with a view to learning their wishes concerning repatriation. Would that I could interpret his reference to the judgment of the International Committee of the Red Cross as an indication that the organization may be accepted in the future — the near future, I trust — as one commanding the confidence of the Communists for investigating the desires of prisoners of war with respect to repatriation.

It may be worth while to examine the more specific charge of the Communist truce delegation that the terms offered by the Unified Command contradict the Geneva Convention relative to the treatment of prisoners of war. Incidentally, the other day, Mr. Vyshinsky complained of what he called, in substance, the traditional policy of the United States in signing agreements or conventions and not ratifying them. He went on to say that the United States had not ratified the Geneva Convention of 1949. That is true. But what are the other facts? They are that only seventeen countries have ratified the Convention and that the Soviet Union is not among them. If the serious charge were to be made against the United States Government that it had not ratified the Convention, I think it would have been fair if Mr. Vyshinsky had added why — and, doubtless, there are good reasons — the Soviet Union itself had not ratified the Convention.

I should like to underline the fact that it is a generally accepted rule that the terms of an international agreement or convention are to be interpreted in the light of the intentions of the drafters and the preparatory work which preceded its conclusion.

Our main concern when the Geneva Convention was under consideration was, surely, the welfare of the individual prisoner. That

was stated here very ably the other day by the representative of Sweden. The Convention's purpose is essentially humanitarian; it is inspired by respect for human personality and dignity. In the preliminary remarks to the Second Revised Edition of the Four Conventions of 1949, the International Committee says that it has "laboured unremittingly for the greater protection in international law of the individual against the hardships of war". That clearly indicates the purpose which brought together the persons at that conference; it clearly underlines the character of the debates, without going into them in full; it clearly indicates the main purpose of the Conventions. Since the Conventions themselves were designed for the protection of the individual, no single article can be interpreted in such a way as to cause hardship for him. We still, therefore, await Mr. Vyshinsky's answer to the five questions put to him so aptly the other day by the representative of the United Kingdom, as to whether the Soviet Union would really condone the practice of forcible repatriation. I think Mr. Vyshinsky has perhaps answered the first of Mr. Lloyd's questions, but we must have an answer to the other four before we can end this debate. The questions which Mr. Lloyd put — and I have examined them again very carefully — are neither rhetorical nor hypothetical: they are fundamental to the settlement of this whole issue.

Communist Record

Now what is the record of the Communist Command as regards the Geneva Convention, which, it seems, has suddenly become the guide and standard by which they wish the prisoner of war issue to be solved? This is their record. They have refused to follow the provisions of article 23, concerning the disposition of prisoner of war camps. That, too, is contrary to international law and morality. They have refused to grant prisoners of war facilities for communication with their families, as provided for in articles 70 and 71. That, too, is a very important fact in considering the international law and morality of the situation. They have refused to allow the receipt of relief parcels, as provided for in article 72.

Hence, here again we find Mr. Vyshinsky's double standard technique. He endorses with fervour and rhetoric some articles of the Geneva Convention — as, in fact, have the Communist negotiators at Panmunjom. But neither he nor they offer any explanation for their disregard of other provisions of the same convention, such as those I have just noted. Surely, if the letter of the law of two articles is so sacrosanct to Mr. Vyshinsky, I must presume that the letter of the law of these other articles is equally sacrosanct. Perhaps Mr. Vyshinsky could explain this. I offer it to him, at least, as one further question for him to answer; and I shall have some other questions for him in another context.

Canadian Geneva Statement

At this point I should like to pick up a remark which the representative of Poland made last Saturday. I suspect that he may not be responsible for the misunderstanding which I think he left with members of the Committee, as what he said closely followed a misleading report which appeared earlier this year in a New York newspaper, and I suspect — and I say this with great respect — that he was probably referring to that newspaper and not to the text or to the minutes of the debates in Geneva in 1949. The Polish Foreign Minister said that the Canadian representative at the diplomatic conference in Geneva in 1949 had argued against giving prisoners of war any right to resist repatriation. The fact is that nothing in the records of the conference can be found to substantiate this assertion at all. The Canadian representative, Major Armstrong, did say that “no detaining power should be compelled to keep in its territory prisoners of war who did not wish to return home”. However, this point was quite different from that made by the Polish Foreign Minister, because Major Armstrong went on to explain — and I use the words of the official records:

“It might even be dangerous, particularly for small States, to retain too large a number of prisoners in their territory. He was certain that if a prisoner produced valid reasons for refusing repatriation (for instance, danger of death in the event of returning to his own country) no camp commandant would repatriate him against his will, at least in Canada”.

I am sure that the Foreign Minister of Poland will not want to correct what he said, in the light of the newspaper report, in accordance with the actual text which I have now quoted. The record shows beyond doubt where Canada stood on this question at the Geneva Conference.

In dealing with the references made by Mr. Acheson to the provisions concerning prisoners of war contained in certain early Soviet treaties, Mr. Vyshinsky claimed that these texts could not be divorced from their real historical setting. He said that Mr. Acheson had seen “only the dry-as-dust texts, the legal juridical formulae” and forgot the social and political conditions in which those texts arose and on which the events that were raging then placed their stamp.

Mr. Vyshinsky continued.

“This fact must not be lost sight of inasmuch as it is correct to evaluate and appraise documents only in their political and historical setting”.

These criteria to which Mr. Vyshinsky referred should be borne in mind in applying legal texts and formulae to the reality of a war-torn and divided Korea in a divided world. If a compromise was reached in the early treaties to which Mr. Vyshinsky re-

ferred, why is it not possible to reach a practical agreement on the prisoner of war issue satisfactory to both sides in the present dispute, especially when the stakes are as high as peace in Korea?

In considering this prisoner of war issue there are only three possible interpretations that we can give to the stand taken by the Communist Command; either they are in good faith, or a misunderstanding has arisen, or they are in bad faith.

If they are in good faith, it should not be difficult to reach agreement. If a misunderstanding has arisen, then we must continue to give serious study to the matter. If they are in bad faith, then the problem becomes insoluble. I do not mean the specific issue of prisoners of war but the whole Korean question for, once this issue has been resolved, the Communist Command could choose to find excuse after excuse to prevent an armistice from being signed. In that event no amount of good will on our part would help to solve this problem, and the responsibility for the continuation of the Korean war would have to be placed squarely on the shoulders of those, whether Koreans, Chinese or Soviet Russians, who were intent on continuing the war.

I noted that in his letter of 16 October General Nam Il wrote, “the people throughout the world, including the people of the United States of America, are eagerly awaiting the realization of peace in Korea”. What the Communist General said about the United States is true also of my country and, I am sure, of a great majority of countries too. The people of Canada certainly are eagerly awaiting the day when war will end in Korea.

No matter who expresses the idea, no matter what terms are used to express it, no matter the language in which it is expressed, the world hungers for peace in its true and honourable and historic sense which, I am confident, will prevail over all propaganda efforts to degrade this word into a slogan for aggression.

Soviet Resolution

Let us consider for a moment the draft resolution submitted by Mr. Vyshinsky on behalf of the Soviet Union and analyse its contents in the light of the problems with which we are faced, for every solution must be examined.

The first point is that this draft resolution is extremely vague and does not seem to address itself to the problem which has blocked the armistice negotiations.

By calling for the establishment of a commission at this time the representative of the Soviet Union, in my estimation at any rate, has put the cart before the horse or, as he once said in another debate a couple of years ago, the cart before the moose, and, deliber-

ately or not, has, I think, added to our confusion.

I would now put the following questions to Mr. Gromyko, asking him to hand them to Mr. Vyshinsky concerning his draft resolution. First, when, where and by whom would the prisoner of war issue be discussed if his draft resolution were agreed upon? Second, would all the progress made at Panmunjom have to be abandoned and an entirely new set of negotiations undertaken by the commission? Third, would this commission be created before an armistice had been concluded, or is it suggested that the cease-fire talks should continue while the commission discusses other problems related to the "peaceful settlement of the Korean question . . ." and so on, as both sides have already agreed to do within three months of an armistice being concluded? And finally, does Mr. Vyshinsky want to begin these political discussions before an armistice, or should we infer that the commission will come into being only after the armistice negotiations have proved successful?

Nothing New

The second point that I should like to make is that, in the absence of further explanation, there seems to be nothing new in the Soviet Union draft resolution. Mr. Vyshinsky will remember that last year, during the sixth session of the General Assembly, it was decided by an overwhelming majority of fifty-one in favour and only the five Soviet bloc members against that consideration of the Korean situation should be deferred until the conclusion of an armistice.

The priority established by the General Assembly last year still holds good this year. Last year it was the overwhelming view that without an armistice it would not be realistic to attempt to reach agreement on the terms of a political settlement. I am sure that the same overwhelming majority of this Committee still feels that way this year and that it still agrees that first things must come first.

The third point I have in mind is this. The draft resolution of the Soviet Union proposes the establishment of a commission for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. On 7 October 1950 the General Assembly did, in fact, create a Commission and directed it to assist in the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government in Korea. It is the report of this Commission which we are now considering. The resolution leading to the establishment of this Commission was approved by forty-seven Member States. I presume, however, that this is not the type of commission Mr. Vyshinsky has in mind since he refers to the participation in it of "the parties directly concerned and of other States."

I would like to remind Mr. Vyshinsky here that among the five points put forward on 11 January 1951 by the Cease-Fire Group of the

General Assembly, there was a proposal for the establishment of some appropriate body which would concern itself with the problems of a political settlement. My delegation still stands by these proposals. I should like to emphasize, however, that the political conference proposed — and I do not exclude a wider representation of States — should not take place until agreement has been reached on a cease-fire.

Outstanding Issue

Basically there certainly is only one issue which divides us on this question of a commission, and that is one of timing. The Unified Command cannot agree, it seems to us, to the holding of a political conference before an armistice has been concluded. The draft resolution of the Soviet Union conveys the impression that the commission which they suggest should be established immediately or forthwith. If this is their intention, the difference in timing is so important that it makes the draft resolution as it presently stands unacceptable.

However, in our desire to be as objective as possible with regard to this and other proposals, I wish to examine it further. Taking the Soviet Union draft resolution in the context of the statement made by Mr. Vyshinsky, there is perhaps another construction that could be placed at least on the central idea of the commission which it proposes. Mr. Vyshinsky, it will be remembered, spent a good deal of time discussing the prisoner of war problem and the question which he puts upside down as "forced retention" of prisoners. Then he submitted his draft resolution. Does Mr. Vyshinsky intend this as a back-handed way of suggesting that, among other things, the commission might directly or indirectly satisfy itself as to the real wishes of the prisoners?

It may be inferred from Mr. Vyshinsky's statement that, given a type of screening under which prisoners of war could freely express their will, the number of those who would refuse to return to their homeland would be infinitesimal. So much the better. Throughout the discussions at Panmunjom on this issue, it often looked as if there would have been little difficulty with this question had the numbers of prisoners intending to resist repatriation by force been smaller. The Communist Command came close to saying as much when they acquiesced in the Unified Command's proposal to determine more exactly the wishes of the prisoners. At that time, as it will be recalled, they even issued an amnesty declaration in an attempt to influence the prisoners in their decision.

No Quibbling Over Number

We are not quibbling over their number. We know there are prisoners of war who are unwilling to return to Communist control. No

one could have been but impressed with the first-hand evidence given this Committee the other day by the Minister of State representing Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. The representative of China reminded us the other day of the evidence given to the world by Cardinal Spellman. We can repeat evidence of that character that has been given by many individuals whose honour and word we all recognize as being of the type that must be accepted. The United Nations Command will not use force to repatriate these individuals. Surely that is clear.

Both sides have recognized that every prisoner of war shall be entitled to release and repatriation. There can be no real argument on that score. That right is guaranteed by the Geneva Convention. Both sides agree that article 118 is binding. My delegation noted the Polish Foreign Minister's statement on Saturday that "repatriation should be carried out in accordance with international law" after an armistice, and we were encouraged — I wonder whether there is not some hope in his words — to hear him say that according to his understanding of the Geneva Convention, "the released war prisoner is returned to his home as a free agent". I should especially like to emphasize his words "as a free agent". I do not know whether that was a key or whether it was a suggestion to us. I do not know whether that was his answer vicariously to Mr. Lloyd's questions. But I hope he will not disillusion me when I express the hopeful view that in the words "as a free agent" he was suggesting to us that the situation on this score is not as hopeless as originally it seemed to be.

In our search for some new method of approach consistent with the basic principles of the Twenty-one Power draft resolution, might we not use the language of this article as a bridge on which we could build something that both sides could accept?

Arrangements for Exchange

There is no longer any disagreement that, in the event of an armistice, prisoners of war on both sides will be brought to agreed points in a demilitarized zone or zones. The two Commands have already agreed further that they will release the prisoners of war from the control of their respective military forces. All prisoners who would not resist the completion of their repatriation would be expeditiously exchanged.

The Unified Command has proposed that any of a number of impartial groups might be organized to interview prisoners of war who have indicated that they will forcibly resist the final stage of their repatriation. In the circumstances no use of force would be possible, for the prisoners would be in a demilitarized area under the control of an impartial protecting agency. So far the Com-

munist Command has failed to indicate why such a proposal is unacceptable. Perhaps the stumbling block is the composition of these suggested impartial protecting groups. Yet the Communist Command has been able to agree to other joint commissions. For example, they were able to agree to the composition of the commission provided for in article 37 of the draft armistice agreement. Agreement on similar lines might be possible for the task of interviewing the prisoners. If a protecting power were needed within the meaning of the terms of the Geneva Convention, consideration could be given to vesting the same group, or even another group of Powers, with this role. Those who refused to leave the neutral area would still retain the right to have their repatriation completed if and when they wished, and meanwhile they would be held by the protecting Powers in a manner to be determined.

The Unified Command is, I am convinced, prepared to discuss any new suggestions along these lines which might be made. If the idea of an observer group of any kind is unacceptable to the Communist Command, the Unified Command has offered to discuss the release of prisoners of war without question, interviewing or screening of any kind.

Such an operation, whatever form it takes, cannot be carried out over night, and time is a great healer. The protecting Power or Powers would continue their humanitarian tasks for as long as is required.

Small Area of Disagreement

It seems to me that if we look at the situation as we know it — but there might be some elements of which we are not aware — there is a small area of disagreement, and I sincerely believe that the Communist Command, if it truly desires an armistice, will consider every alternative as carefully as we do ourselves and as I am seeking to do in what I have to say here today.

We are all agreed that an armistice should be concluded as soon as possible and that there is but one issue which prevents the parties involved from agreeing on its terms, namely that of the treatment of the prisoners of war. Further, we are agreed that prisoners of war should be treated for all purposes, including that of release and repatriation, according to the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1949. We are not agreed as to whether prisoners unwilling to return should or should not be repatriated by force. We reject the use of force, and the Communists still have to pronounce themselves and we await their answer. We agree with Mr. Vyshinsky that there must be no forcible retention of prisoners of war for any purpose; does he agree that there must be no force used for any purpose in the completion of repatriation?

Lastly, we are all agreed, I think, that a political conference should be held to dis-

cuss the question of Korea. This conference, in our opinion, can properly be held only after an armistice has been achieved, while here again the Communists are non-committal. Now if we fail in our endeavour to reach a solution at this session of the Assembly, it will be either because the Communists have refused to clarify their stand on the two points to which I have just referred, or that their answers indicate that they approve of physical violence for the purpose of repatriation and deliberately decide to blur the issue of a conference by insisting that it be held before an armistice has been achieved. They might not like the problems to be put that way, but simply stated that is exactly how they are.

Draft Resolution

I should like to direct your attention to the draft resolution which we have before us, a resolution which my Government is co-sponsoring along with one-third of the Member Governments of the United Nations. It is a resolution with a specific objective — to impress upon the enemy the determination of Member States of the United Nations to protect the interests of the individual in a situation of peril as they resolved in 1950 to protect an infant State against the peril of aggression. We must now know whether the enemy is prepared or not to conclude an armistice which recognizes, explicitly or implicitly, certain basic rights of the individual, or whether he simply uses devices in order to prevent the cessation of hostilities.

The draft resolution provides an opportunity for anyone to offer any new suggestion which might lead to an armistice, recognizing the rights of all prisoners of war to express their desires with respect to repatriation before an impartial body. I note that the Government of Mexico has submitted a draft resolution which, in our estimation, was inspired by the highest motives of statesmanship and humanity. It might profitably be studied further so as to supply a practical scheme to provide for the disposition of prisoners of war who are unwilling to have their repatriation completed at the time of release from captivity and after being handed over to the impartial protection agency. My delegation would be glad to consider this proposal at an appropriate time and in the light of the progress made on the Twenty-one Power draft resolution now before the Committee.

This Twenty-one Power draft resolution closes no door that might lead to an honourable armistice. In fact, Mr. Acheson himself clearly indicated that his attitude was not one of exclusiveness. We must look upon this draft resolution as opening other ways without in any way denying the validity of the principles involved in it. I therefore urge that it be supported substantially by an overwhelming majority of the members of this Committee so that the enemy may know of

our unanimity of purpose in seeking an armistice in Korea worthy of the sacrifices made by countless individuals in the struggle to throw back aggression and, at the same time, our determination to reach an honourable settlement.

Symbol of Our Time

I have said that Korea has become a symbol for our time. It is clearly a symbol of the success of collective security in action. Now that aggression has been stopped and thrown back, it is in danger, I believe, of becoming a symbol not of success but of failure — of failure to achieve peaceful collaboration. For if we cannot break through this final barrier of disagreement on one narrow issue based upon a principle which, as Mr. Vyshinsky has said, has been recognized international practice for over 1,000 years, what are we to think of the whole concept of the possibility of peaceful co-existence on which, according to the highest communist authority, the policy of the Eastern world is based? If peaceful co-existence is possible between States, is it impossible between men? Is the principle of co-existence applied when a prisoner of war is delivered dead to the other side because of his refusal to be delivered alive, or is delivered alive so as to face death? Surely peaceful co-existence cannot be based on corpses. Many Western communists make a pilgrimage to Moscow, to Peking and to Prague. A few even stay there; and they are allowed to stay and, I presume, to live. Would this be a one-way street and should the West be deprived of exercising its right of asylum as the East does?

This is more than an academic question. Lives are involved. Some of the prisoners of war would rather die than return to communist dominated countries. Even if there were only one, should he be dragged across the frontier? We are at times apt to forget that the division between East and West has echoes in the minds of private individuals, and that individuals have to pay dearly the price of what they call freedom. At the time, for example, there are hundreds if not thousands of prisoners in South Korea, who are anxiously awaiting the results of our deliberations, whose fate is in our hands. Are we to ignore their plight? In its simplest expression, co-existence means that two States or two groups of States apply the dictum of "live and let live". This should apply to individuals as well as to nations.

On 24 October last at the plenary meeting, we observed the seventh anniversary of the coming into force of the United Nations Charter. The President of the General Assembly, speaking on that occasion, said:

"Today in the minds and hearts of men and women everywhere there will be one single compelling thought, the thought of world peace, and there will be one single compelling question: What can the United Nations do to achieve it?"

We in this Committee know that in dealing with the crucial issue of Korea at this session, this question is directed at us, and ours is the responsibility for answering it. To find an answer, we must discard slogans and shibboleths and deal with the realities of the fighting, the suffering and the misery which give substance to the symbol of Korea. We must recall the sacrifices made by the youth of our lands, many of whom have laid down their lives for the sake of peace. They have been called upon to resist aggression, and they have succeeded in their assigned task.

Now the duty rests firmly upon each and every one of us around this table to play our full part in bringing about that peace in Korea to which millions of human beings on both sides in this conflict devote their hopes and their prayers. What they seek, and what we can achieve by first stopping the fighting in Korea, is not a mere static peace, not an uneasy pause between violent bouts of limited and localized aggression, but a lasting peace in which the nations and the peoples of the world can march together toward the horizons of the future.



ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

Historic Documents

The Department of External Affairs announced on November 4 that the United States Government had been informed that the Canadian Government now considers the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Development Agreement of 1941 as having been superseded by the plan envisaged in the joint application of the two governments to the International Joint Commission and the order of approval* thereof made by the Commission on October 29, 1952, and that Canada, therefore, does not intend to take any action to have the Agreement of 1941 ratified.

The text of a Note delivered by the Canadian Ambassador in Washington to the Secretary of State of the United States was as follows:

NOTE OF NOVEMBER 4, 1952, FROM THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES

I have the honour to refer to the project for the development of power in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, which has now been approved by the International Joint Commission in its order dated October 29, 1952, in accordance with the applications submitted to the Commission by the Governments of Canada and the United States on June 30, 1952.

You will recall that, when the St. Lawrence development plan envisaged in these applications was first proposed to the President of the United States by the Prime Minister of Canada on September 28, 1951, the President agreed to support this plan if an early commencement of the plan envisaged in The Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Development Agreement of 1941 was not possible. On April 14 last, when the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the Minister of Transport discussed the St. Lawrence development with the President of the United States, it was agreed that the Governments of Canada and the United States would submit applications to the International Joint Commission for a St. Lawrence power project as a necessary preliminary step toward the implementation of the plan proposed to the President in September 1951. The applications were submitted on the understanding that both Governments would be ready, however, to revert to the 1941 Agreement and withdraw the applications if the Congress approved the 1941 Agreement during

*Copies of the Order of Approval may be obtained from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

the time that the applications were under consideration by the International Joint Commission. Since these discussions, the Congress of the United States has not approved the 1941 Agreement which, after eleven years, still remains unratified.

The approval by the International Joint Commission of the applications of the two Governments for a power project now brings the St. Lawrence development to the point where construction can begin, both on the seaway and the power project, as soon as a duly designated entity has been authorized to construct the United States part of the power project. Legislation to implement the plan envisaged in the applications to the International Joint Commission has already been enacted by the Parliament of Canada and by the Legislature of Ontario, and Canada has already taken certain preliminary steps with respect to the construction of the seaway. The Canadian Government, accordingly, has concluded that it would no longer be practicable to revert to the terms of the 1941 Agreement or to place that Agreement before Parliament for approval. The Canadian Government, therefore, considers that Agreement as having been superseded and does not intend to take any action to have it ratified.

I should like to express the gratitude of my Government for the co-operation which has been received from the United States Government in preparing for the construction of the St. Lawrence project, which is so urgently needed in the interests of the economic development and defence of both our countries. On behalf of my Government, I should also like to request the continued co-operation and support of the United States Government in completing the arrangements for proceeding with this project.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

H. H. WRONG

Ambassador.



APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS IN THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. E. Reid, was posted from Ottawa to New Delhi, as High Commissioner for Canada in India, effective October 3, 1952.
- Mr. W. D. Matthews was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Washington, to the Canadian Legation, Stockholm, as Minister to Sweden, effective October 8, 1952.
- Mr. S. F. Rae was posted from home leave, (London) to Ottawa effective September 22, 1952.
- Mr. R. L. Rogers was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Tokyo, effective September 27, 1952.
- Mr. G. S. Murray was posted from home leave (Karachi) to Ottawa, effective October 1, 1952.
- Mr. J. C. Langley was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Brussels, effective October 10, 1952.
- Mr. René Garneau was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective October 31, 1952.
- Mr. G. C. Langille was transferred from the Canadian Embassy, Buenos Aires, to the Canadian Consulate General, Caracas, effective October 25, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments:

His Excellency Dr. Max Loewenthal-Chlumecky, Minister of Austria, October 9.

Dr. H. Polak, Scientific Attaché, Embassy of the Netherlands, October 1.

Miss Margarete Platzmann, Third Secretary (Commercial Affairs) Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany. October 9.

Brigadier M. G. Jilani, Military Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan. October 17.

Mr. P. V. Putman Cramer, First Secretary, Embassy of the Netherlands. October 17.

Lieutenant-Colonel Roberto Faria Lima, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil. October 21.

Mr. I. L. G. Stewart, Assistant Secretary, Office of the High Commissioner for New Zealand. October 23.

Departures:

Dr. J. J. Verschuur, Scientific Attaché, Embassy of the Netherlands. October 1.

Mr. Slavko Zecevic, First Secretary, Embassy of Yugoslavia. October 2.

Brigadier N. A. K. Raza, Military Adviser, Office of the High Commissioner for Pakistan. October 17.

Mr. L. E. Lang, Civil Air Adviser, Office

of the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa. October 17.

Lieutenant-Colonel Mario de Perdigao Coelho, Assistant Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil. October 21.

His Excellency Hubert Guérin, Ambassador of France, left on September 29 for a visit to his country. Mr. François de Laboulaye, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Rajko Djermanovic, resumed his duties as Ambassador of Yugoslavia. October 6.

His Excellency Dr. Max Loewenthal-Chlumecky, Minister of Austria, left Ottawa to reassume his duties as Ambassador of Austria in Washington. October 11. Dr. Walther Peinsipp is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency A. Adrian Roberts, Q.C., High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, left on October 12 to attend the Seventh General Assembly of the United Nations in New York, Mr. T. J. Endemann is Acting High Commissioner.

Mr. Eugeniusz Markowski, resumed his duties as Chargé d'Affaires of Poland on October 15, on his return from a vacation in Poland.

His Excellency Daniel Steen, resumed his duties as Minister of Norway on October 16, on his return from a visit to his country.

His Excellency the Honourable Stanley Woodward, Ambassador of the United States of America, was absent from Ottawa, October 16 to October 22. Mr. Don C. Bliss, Minister, was Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Werner Dankwort, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, left for a journey to Europe. October 27. During his absence Dr. J. F. Ritter, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Klas Böök, resumed his

duties as Minister of Sweden on October 27, on his return from an extended tour of Western Canada.

Mr. C. W. Hultgren, Attaché, Legation of Sweden, was promoted to Second Secretary. October 1.

Dr. A. S. Tuinman, Agricultural Attaché, Embassy of the Netherlands, was promoted to Agricultural and Emigration Attaché. October 24.

CONSULAR

Recognition was granted to:

Mr. Angelo Rorai as Acting Honorary Consular Agent of Italy at Halifax. October 16.

Mr. Ryuichi Iwashita as Vice-Consul of Japan at Vancouver, October 22.

Mr. Vaclav Piech as Consul of Czechoslovakia at Montreal. October 23.. He will be in charge of the Consulate General.

Mr. Danilo Brugal Alfau as Consul General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa. October 23.

Mr. Eduardo E. de Diego as Consul General of Panama at Montreal. October 31.

Departures:

Dr. José R. Hernandez-Lebron, Consul General of the Dominican Republic at Ottawa.

Dr. H. C. Halter, Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Montreal. October 9.

Mr. Horatio T. Mooers, Consul General of the United States of America at St. John's, Newfoundland, will be absent from his post October 7 to January 5, 1953. During his absence, Consul Ellis A. Bonnet will be in charge of the Consulate General.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of October 1952, and of those at which it may be represented in the future; earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in October

1. Preparatory Meeting for Commonwealth Economic Conference. London, September 22-October 15.
2. 2nd Session of the Committee on Improvement of National Statistics of the Inter-American Statistical Institute. Ottawa, September 29-October 11.
3. 50th Jubilee Meeting of the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea. Copenhagen, September 29-October 7. (Observer).
4. 2nd Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). Buenos Aires, October 1-December 15.
5. Ad Hoc Committee on Agenda and Intersessional Business of GATT. Geneva, October 1.
6. 7th Session of the Contracting Parties to GATT. Geneva, October 2.
7. 7th International Conference and General Assembly of Travel Organizations. Naples, October 7-11. (Observer).
8. Biennial Session of the International Committee on Weights and Measures. Sevres, France, October 7-11.

9. *2nd Session of the Sub-Committee on Finance (PICMME)*. Geneva, October 9.
10. *6th Consultative Meeting on Cartography of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History*. Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, October 12-24.
11. *International Seminar on Statistical Organization*. Ottawa, October 13-31.
12. *Conference of Heads of Diphtheria and Pertussis Vaccine Laboratories (WHO)*. Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, October 13-18. (Observer).
13. *4th Session of the Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME)*. Geneva, October 13.
14. *10 Session of the Timber Committee of Economic Commission for Europe*. Geneva, October 14-20. (Observer).
15. *7th Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations*. New York, October 14.
16. *4th Session of the Petroleum Committee of ILO*. Scheveningen, Netherlands, October 14-25.
17. *Meeting of Interim Committee Set up for the Creation of the World Tobacco Organization*. Istanbul, Turkey, October 15-26.
18. *FAO Committee on Financial Control*. Rome, October 27-November 15.
19. *FAO Co-ordinating Committee*. Rome, October 27-November 15.
20. *Regular Annual Session of Executive Committee of the International Institute of Refrigeration*. Paris, October 16.
21. *Meeting of Pacific Marine Fisheries Commission*. Seattle, October 22-24. (Observers).

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

- No. 52/33—*Canada's Relations with Asia*, an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, delivered to the Women's Canadian Club, Victoria, B.C., September 5, 1952.
- No. 52/34—*Our Universities and Canadian Foreign Policy*, a translation of an address by the Prime Minister, Mr. L. S. St. Laurent, at Laval University on the occasion of the centenary celebrations, Quebec, September 22, 1952.
- No. 52/37—*The Nature of the North Atlantic Community*, an address delivered by the Permanent Representative of Canada to the North Atlantic Council, Mr. A. D. P. Heeney, at the Atlantic Community Conference, Oxford, September 10, 1952.
- No. 52/38—*The St. Lawrence Seaway*, an address by the Minister of Transport, Mr. Lionel Chevrier, delivered to the Canadian Association of Real Estate Boards, at Toronto, October 6, 1952.
- No. 52/39—Statement by the Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the

Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the opening debate on October 17, 1952.

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 52/35—*Canadian Labour and a Free World*, notes for an address by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Milton F. Gregg, at the Convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour, Toronto, September 23, 1952.
- No. 52/36—*Industrial Research and Industrial Development*, an address by Mr. O. J. Firestone, Economic Adviser, Department of Trade and Commerce, delivered to the Annual Conference of the Provincial Governments Trade and Industry Council, Lindsay, Ontario, September 23, 1952.
- No. 52/40—*Recent Civil Aviation Growth and Policy in Canada and the United States*, an address by Mr. J. R. Baldwin, Chairman of the Air Transport Board, to the International Northwest Aviation Council, at Great Falls, Montana, October 10, 1952.

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Treaty Series 1952, No. 1: Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Union of South Africa constituting an Agreement concerning the avoidance of double taxation on income derived from the operation of ships and aircraft. Signed at Pretoria, November 26, 1951. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 2: Exchange of Notes between Canada and Spain constituting an Agreement on the settlement of commercial debts. Signed at Madrid, January 29, 1952. English, French and Spanish texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 4: Treaty of Peace with Japan. Signed by Canada at San Francisco on September 8, 1951. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 5: Exchange of Notes between Canada and the Principality of Monaco concluding a non-immigrant visa modification agreement between the two countries. Signed at Monaco, January 22, 1952. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 7: Convention between Canada and the United States of America relating to the operation by citizens of either country of certain radio equipment or stations in the other country. Signed at Ottawa, February 8, 1951. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1952, No. 10: Protocol extending the period of the Agreement on North Atlantic Ocean weather stations signed in London on May 12, 1949. Signed by Canada at Montreal, June 19, 1952. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 10: Union Convention of Paris, March 20th, 1883, for the protection of industrial property, revised at Brussels, December 14th, 1900, at Washington, June 2nd, 1911, at The Hague, November 6th, 1925 and at London, June 2nd, 1934. Instrument of Accession of Canada deposited on June 26, 1951. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 16: British Commonwealth-Netherlands War Graves Agreement. Signed at The Hague, July 10, 1951. English French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 22: Convention between Canada and the United States of America modifying and supplementing the Convention and accompanying Protocol of March 4, 1942 for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of income taxes. Signed at Ottawa, June 12, 1950. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 23: Convention between Canada and the United States of America modifying and supplementing the Convention of June 8, 1944 for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion in the case of estate taxes and succession duties. Signed at Ottawa, June 12, 1950. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1951, No. 28: Exchange of Notes between Canada and Ceylon constituting an Agreement regarding the entry to Canada for permanent residence of citizens of Ceylon. Signed at London, January 26 and April 24, 1951. English and French texts. (Price 25 cents).

Treaty Series 1950, No. 16: Exchange of Notes between Canada and Venezuela constituting a commercial Modus Vivendi between the two countries. Signed at Caracas, October 11, 1950 English, French and Spanish texts. (Price 15 cents).

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
63	9/10	Presentation of Letter of Credence by Dr. Max Lowenthal-Chlumecky, Minister of Austria.
64	9/10	Presentation of new Letters of Credence by Dr. Werner Dankwort, Ambassador of Germany, and Mr. Hughes Le Gallais, Minister of Luxembourg.
65	10/10	Announcement of the names of the Parliamentary Observers to attend the Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly.
66	13/10	Announcement of the twenty-one recipients of the Canadian Government Overseas Awards for 1952-53.
67	15/10	Canadian Delegation to the Seventh Session of the General Conference of UNESCO.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

**Report of the Trusteeship Council covering its fourth special session and its tenth and eleventh session, 18 December 1951 to 24 July 1952*; New York, 1952; document A/2150; 298 pp.; \$3.00; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 4.

Report of the Committee on Contributions; New York, 1952; document A/2161; 7 pp.; 10 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 10.

Report of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 July 1951 to 15 July 1952; New York, 1952; document A/2167; 65 pp.; 70 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 2.

Ways and means for making the evidence of customary international law more readily available (Report of the Secretary-General); 18 September 1952; document A/2170; 15 pp.

Annual Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East covering the period 1 July 1951 to 30 June 1952; New York, 1952; document A/2171; 48 pp.; 50 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 13.

Report of the Economic and Social Council covering the period from 22 September 1951 to August 1952; New York, 1952; document A/2172; 122 pp.; \$1.25; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 3.

United Nations Postal Administration (Report of the Secretary-General); 19 September 1952; document A/2191; 5 pp.

Report of the Collective Measures Committee; New York, 1952; document A/2215; 28 pp.; 25 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 17.

Resolutions of the Fourteenth Session of the Economic and Social Council (20 May - 1 August 1952) New York 1952; document E/2332; 82 pp.; (bilingual); 80 cents; Eco-soc Official Records: Fourteenth Session, Supplement No. 1.

Resolutions of the Eleventh Session of the Trusteeship Council (3 June-24 July 1952; 20 August 1952; document T/1030; 168 pp.; \$1.75; Trusteeship Council Official Records: No.1 (Vol.1) (Bilingual).

WHO — Handbook of basic documents (Fifth Edition) including amendments approved by the Fifth World Health Assembly, May 1952; Geneva, August 1952; 209 pp.; \$1.00.

World Energy Supplies in Selected Years, 1929-1950; September 1952; document ST/STAT/SER.J/1; 119 pp. (bilingual); \$1.25; Sales No.: 1952.XVII.3.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

**Second Report of the Disarmament Commission*; 13 October 1952; document DC/20; 206 pp.

**Fourth Report of Dr. Frank P. Graham, United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan*; 19 September 1952; document S/2783; 48 pp.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".



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PROGRESS IN TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION*

Both the United Nations expanded Technical Assistance Programme and the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation are gaining momentum. While more than 300 persons already have received technical and scientific training in Canada under these two plans, the emphasis is shifting toward training projects in the under-developed countries themselves. The following is a progress report.

A short time ago Mr. David Owen, the Executive Chairman of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board, announced that a "dramatic change" had taken place in the operation of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance. During the first 18 months' financial period of the operation of this new venture in which the countries of the free world are pooling their resources to give technical assistance to the under-developed countries, the funds allocated by the contributing governments had not been used at the rate that had been expected. During the 12 months of 1952, however, for which almost the same amount of \$20 million was available, the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies will have used all of this year's allocation plus a considerable amount of the unspent balance from the first financial period. Within the past few months the cumulative results of the experience acquired in the operation of this ambitious programme have become apparent.

Period Extended

The same is true of the operation of the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation, which is designed to supplement the technical assistance activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies in South and Southeast Asia and to assist in accomplishing the objectives of the Colombo Plan for the economic and social development of that area. It was originally intended that the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation should operate for a three-year period from July 1, 1950. By the end of 1951, however, it was clear that the speed with which a scheme of this kind could be brought into operation had been over-estimated. Canada has agreed with other participating governments, therefore, that the Programme for Technical Co-operation should continue to run for the same period as the economic development part of the Colombo Plan, that is, until June 30, 1957. During the past few months, as administrative difficulties have been overcome and the participating countries have become more familiar with the possibilities of the Programme, the rate at which assistance is being offered and made use of has been growing steadily.

Change in Emphasis

With the change in tempo of the operation of these programmes has come a change in emphasis. At the same time as the participating governments agreed to extend the life of the Colombo Programme, they agreed that, while the programme for the training of Asians abroad had in the main been successful, a preferable aim was to increase training facilities in the area for foremen and skilled workers. Canada agreed with other co-operating countries that the provision of equipment for training projects in the area should be a distinctive feature of the Programme. Here is a positive opportunity for integrating activities under the Technical Co-operation Programme with the technical assistance activities of the United Nations Expanded Programme. Proposals for projects by the United Nations or the Specialized Agencies in the Colombo Plan area in which a "missing component" might be supplied through the Colombo Programme are being given sympathetic consideration by the Canadian Government.

* See p. 425 for a speech on the Colombo Plan, delivered on December 4 to the Empire Club, Toronto, by Mr. Nik Cavell, Administrator of the Canadian Participation in the Colombo Plan.

Although, during the first period of our participation in these two programmes, the Canadian contribution was confined mainly to making available training facilities in Canada for United Nations Fellows and trainees nominated by the Asian governments participating in the Colombo Programme, it is now possible to report that very specific progress has been made in the recruiting of Canadian technical experts to help in the under-developed countries. The services which these experts are providing are not restricted to advisory functions. The type of expert most in demand combines the giving of his expert advice to the recipient government with the training of people in the country who can carry on with the development projects or with the local training programmes long after the expert has returned to Canada.

Canadian Contribution

During the past few months Canadian experts have been supplied to the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration to establish a training centre for blind persons in Egypt, to make recommendations on public administrative services in Burma, and to advise on the organization of a civil service staff college and training in Israel. A Canadian has gone to Burma to help with an ILO training programme. Two more Canadians have recently been recruited to work in the field with FAO in agricultural development programmes. Canadians have been recruited for work in the Middle East and in Asia under WHO's programme to give assistance in public health, and several new nominations of Canadians to assist in UNESCO's programme for assistance in fundamental education have been made. Canadian experts have been made available to Colombia to help in the organization of public utilities, to Costa Rica to advise in the modernization of educational facilities, to Mexico to help set up a government printing bureau, and to Bolivia as housing and mining production experts with the comprehensive United Nations Mission to that country. Altogether more than 100 Canadians are now serving abroad with the United Nations Expanded Programme.

With the particular objectives of the Colombo Programme in mind, the Canadian Government has lent to the Government of Ceylon under the Colombo Programme a senior professor of agriculture to organize the newly-established Department of Agriculture at the University of Ceylon. A soil-conservation expert from Western Canada has also gone to that country as director of a newly-organized Soil Conservation Department in the Ceylon Government. Also, in answer to a request from the Government of Ceylon, Canada has offered the services of a well-known consultant engineering firm to undertake a comprehensive survey of the drainage and sanitation system of the city of Colombo.

Offers have been made to India of a senior navigation and seamanship expert to serve as principal of the Technical and Engineering College in Bombay and of a vocational-training expert to act as an adviser on vocational training to the Indian Ministry of Labour. If the services of this expert are accepted by the Government of India, he will also make recommendations to the Indian authorities about vocational-training equipment which Canada might be able to supply.

Efforts are being made to recruit agricultural engineers to work with FAO in the establishment of agricultural machinery maintenance depots in connection with the Thal Development Project and Experimental Farm in Pakistan. These experts will be required to train young Pakistanis who can in time take over the maintenance of this machinery. Further offers of experts in a variety of fields will be made both to India and Pakistan within the next few weeks.

Capital Projects

In the course of advising the governments to which they have been loaned, Canadian technical experts sent out under the Colombo Programme may produce recommendations leading to a Canadian-assisted capital project in that country. The recommendations of a Canadian fisheries expert sent to Ceylon a year ago have resulted in

a project for the development of fisheries there which Canada is financing under the capital-development part of the Colombo Plan. Similarly capital-development projects in which Canada is assisting Colombo Plan countries in turn generate further requirements for technical assistance. For example, as a direct result of capital assistance Canada is giving to Pakistan, to build a cement plant, the Government of Pakistan has asked that selected Pakistani workers and engineers be trained in the building and the operation of the plant as the project goes forward.

Not Confined to Commonwealth

The operation of the Programme for Technical Co-operation is not confined to Commonwealth countries in Asia. Several non-Commonwealth countries, notably Nepal, Burma and Indonesia, have indicated their wish to receive assistance under the Programme and at the request of the Government of Malaya, Canada has nominated several agricultural experts and vocational training teachers to serve as instructors in machine-shop practice and in motor mechanics.

The results of Canada's efforts in the field of technical assistance to help the Asian countries in their plans for economic and social development are becoming more evident. There has been an increase in the number of requests of Canada for assistance under both the United Nations and the Colombo Programmes. There has been a corresponding increase in Canada's ability to meet them, although the recruiting of a sufficient number of Canadian experts, instructors and technicians for service abroad remains the most difficult problem, and the demand for the services of qualified Canadians from Federal and Provincial government departments, from universities and from private organizations, continues to increase.

Training Programmes in Canada

At the same time as more emphasis is being placed upon recruiting of Canadian experts and instructors to give technical assistance in the under-developed countries and positive steps are being taken to co-ordinate Canadian activities in South and Southeast Asia with those of the United Nations Expanded Programme, the training in Canada of persons sent here by the United Nations and its agencies or nominated by the Asian governments participating in the Colombo Programme continues as an important feature of Canadian participation in these programmes. A large part of the success of this aspect of Canada's technical assistance activities has been due to the way in which universities, provincial government and private agencies and individuals across the country have received these trainees. As of November 1 one hundred and five persons had been accepted for training in Canada under the Colombo Programme and well over two hundred have been directed to Canada by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies.

An indication of the variety of fields in which training has been offered to Colombo Plan countries is given by a partial listing of the trainees from those countries at present in Canada. Ceylonese nominees are studying agricultural engineering, plant pathology, teacher training and business administration. Trainees from India are studying hydro-electric power development, mining, electrical and agricultural engineering, highway construction, biochemistry and rural electrification. Trainees from Pakistan are studying tele-communications, education, agricultural chemistry and mechanical engineering. At the request of the United Nations, courses have been arranged in co-operatives, in railroad construction, statistics, public administration, cost accounting and auditing, social welfare, mining, coal petrology, fertilizer and cement manufacture, meat packing and town planning.

Amongst the most interesting and successful of these training programmes has been the comprehensive five-months' course offered to twelve junior administrative officers from Pakistan in which the Federal Government, four of the provinces, universities and private industry co-operated. During their stay in this country these

(Continued on p. 407)

DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN SCHOOL SUPPLIES IN GREECE

Schoolchildren in Northwestern Greece were surprised last November by the arrival of a Canadian couple, Mr. H. W. Richardson, Commercial Secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Athens, and Mrs. Richardson, bringing them pencils and scribblers from Canada. The unconcealed gratitude of the Greek children left no doubt that this gift of a number of Canadians was greatly appreciated and met a real need.

This project had its origin in a report from the Canadian Ambassador in Athens, Mr. George L. Magann, describing the desperate conditions in schools in those districts of Greece that had suffered most in the Second World War and in the subsequent guerilla fighting. This information was passed on to the Canadian Teachers' Federation, with the Ambassador's recommendation that the children most urgently needed pencils and scribblers. The response was quick and sympathetic. Teachers across Canada, with the approval of local school authorities, organized an appeal for contributions. On the assumption of its success the Federation ordered 10,000 pencils and an equal number of specially designed, extra-thick scribblers, on the covers of which was to be stated in Greek that they were a gift from Canadian schoolchildren.

In order to make the project as meaningful as possible to the children being asked to contribute, the Federation decided to limit the appeal to a representative selection of schools in all provinces. Teachers and children were asked to give a total of \$1,500, cost of the pencils and scribblers ordered. But their generosity had been underestimated — the Federation received over \$7,000 — enough, under bulk-purchasing arrangements, for ten times the original quantity ordered. The Canadian Teachers' Federation asked the Unitarian Service Committee of Canada to buy 100,000 additional scribblers and several hundred thousand pencils with the extra money obtained. These will form a second shipment which will be distributed in 1953 among Greek children in other schools.

Distribution Arrangements

The Unitarian Service Committee of Canada arranged the free shipment of these materials to Greece, where their distribution was taken in hand by the Canadian Embassy with the assistance of the Near East Foundation, a non-denominational United States relief agency that represents the Unitarian Service Committee in Greece. It was decided that the supplies should be handed out personally by Mr. and Mrs. Richardson — the latter a member of the Advisory Committee for the Unitarian Service Committee in Greece — accompanied by Mr. B. Lezos, field representative of the Advisory Committee. Mrs. Richardson's account of this experience is printed in full below:

The distribution of school supplies contributed by the Canadian Teachers' Federation took us to Northwest Greece by the winding road over the Bralos pass and through the towns of Kozani, Grevena, Castoria and Florina, to the small villages in their environs, some of which are on the very borders of Albania and Yugoslavia.

Most of the villages we visited consist of mud-brick houses with red tile roofs, dreary and poor-looking. Others, sadder still, consist of plastered mud-huts with thatched roofs. They have no electricity — indeed no one could afford it were it made available — and, more often than not, the school is the only reasonably well constructed building. Thanks to the Queen's Fund, over 450 new schoolhouses have been built since the beginning of the war — a remarkable achievement in any country. Constructed of a standard type regardless of size, the buildings are made of stone, with ample window space and a small annex in which to house the teacher. They are a tremendous improvement on the old buildings, which are small, cramped, dark and draughty, and frequently lack any arrangements for heating.



Macedonia has been raked over by war so many times in recent years that its people seem to take a state of war for granted. Being on the border, they are naturally the first to be occupied and the last to be liberated. Evacuation by the enemy was always a time of special horror, because atrocities no longer had to be accounted for; thus the full measure of vengeance was exacted by the Turks 30 years ago and more recently by Italians, Bulgarians and Germans during the Second World War and Communist guerrillas during 1948-49. The newspapers recently carried items about 500 kidnapped Greek children who had been released by the Yugoslavs; the children were from this section of the country and had been carried off by retreating Communist guerillas at the end of the fighting. There is still no such good news for the Greek peasants whose children were spirited across the Albanian and Bulgarian frontiers in great numbers. It is not surprising then, that distributions of Canadian food and clothing have often been made in this area since the end of the war, or that we went in this direction to deliver the school supplies.

School furnishings, with some exceptions, are usually pathetically few. In a number of schools the blackboards were just what the name implies — wooden boards painted over with black paint that was already well-worn, making it very difficult to read chalk markings on it. In others, for lack of maps, geography is taught from a sand-box, with little mounds labelled "Athens", "Salonika", or "Italy", leaving distances and outlines largely to the imagination of the pupil or the descriptive powers of the teachers. In others, pupils learn to write and do their homework on slates, for lack of copy-books and pencils.

Perhaps our strongest impression from the whole trip was the sad need for clothing. Although winter had not yet come, the rawness was penetrating, and three or four woollen blankets were heaped upon our own beds at night. The children, in the meantime, were dressed in rags; little boys, particularly, were wearing clothes so patched up as to make it difficult to guess which was the original fabric. Little girls are dressed mainly in wretched, patched little garments of cotton; some have worn-out sweaters, but we saw no coats. Very few children have stockings; some have no shoes. Others wear a kind of rubber shoe, and still others, without shoes, wear rubber overshoes of the snap-type common in North America; while these are some protection against stones and dampness, they must be terribly cold, particularly when worn without stockings or socks.

In spite of such conditions, so difficult for Canadians to imagine, we were much impressed by the eagerness and intelligence of the children everywhere. They were obviously happy at school and eager to learn. The teachers, no doubt, have much to do with that attitude. Many of them are single, while some married couples share classes. All are fine young people, solid and "clean-cut" types, enthusiastic about their work and optimistic in spite of their difficulties. That young people with active minds and pleasant personalities should willingly live and work in such villages, where "night-life" does not exist and indeed lights-out comes very nearly with sundown, speaks highly for their dedication.

Attendance is also surprising. Very small towns have around a hundred pupils enrolled. Absenteeism is *very* low, usually under 4 per cent. Kindergartens are established everywhere in conjunction with the public schools. High enrollment is particularly noteworthy as school inspectors told us that practically no effort is made to enforce the compulsory education legislation in these areas, as they well appreciate the importance of extra man-power (or "boy-power") on all the farms, as well as the difficulties involved in sending a child to school when most of the people are living so near the bare subsistence level.

Excitement aroused by our arrival was shared by teachers and students alike in all schools. None of them had been advised of our visit, so we came upon them out of the blue. Word travelled fast, and whether we came during school hours or not, the turnout of pupils was complete in no time at all. The children were quickly lined up in orderly fashion, and came forward one by one to receive pencils and copy-books. The anticipation that preceded the actual distribution had the whole group quivering with excitement. They were invariably thrilled with their acquisitions and, after a shy "thank you" and a half smile, dashed off to examine and measure and compare theirs with the next child's.

After the distribution was complete, one or two small girls who had been seen high-tailing it over the hill after our arrival, reappeared breathless clutching a little bouquet of freshly-picked flowers, which they presented to us. After a short and usually moving address of thanks by the principal, the children gathered around to sing or to perform local folk dances to the accompaniment of their own voices. And we always left in a flurry of hand-waving and cries of "Hurrah for Canada."

Words fail us to describe graphically the conditions under which these people are living, and their need for contributions such as this. (Labelling the copy-books in Greek as was done is a particularly good idea, which will keep the name of Canada very prominent in the minds of many children, parents and teachers for the next few years). While it

is undoubtedly true that the standard of living in these areas was never comparable to that in Canada, nevertheless the very fact that means were so limited made it impossible for them to recover their previous comforts after the destruction wrought about by war in recent years. Food and clothing from Canada, as mentioned earlier, have continually been distributed in one needy area or another, particularly under the auspices of the Unitarian Service Committee, and, in all the villages and towns, we were repeatedly reminded of that fact.

We were met with warmth and friendliness everywhere. Canada is close to their hearts, and when these people refer to "Canadian Friends", they mean it very sincerely.



CANADIAN GIFTS FOR GREEK CHILDREN

Greek children displaying scribblers which they have received as a gift from the children of Canada.

THE INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF SCIENTIFIC INFORMATION

by Peter M. Millman, Dominion Observatory, Ottawa

In the field of fundamental scientific research events have been moving so rapidly in the last two decades that it is more than ever essential to have a rapid and efficient interchange of information on an international basis. In astronomy in particular, since most of the activity is concerned with the study of the outside universe, the same problems are presented to the astronomers of all countries and real progress is achieved only by close international co-operation. To promote this co-operation, the International Astronomical Union (IAU) was formed in 1919 and met first in Rome in 1922. The eighth meeting of the Union was held in September of 1952, in the same locale as the first.

For several reasons international friendship among astronomers has flourished. Astronomy has often been called the first of the sciences and as such has had a long history, yet the professional body of astronomers is still small enough to make possible personal acquaintance with the majority of one's co-workers. Another important feature is that most astronomical research is unrelated to immediate practical application, and so is not hampered by considerations of political or military security.

Two Obstacles

There are two chief obstacles to the free exchange of scientific knowledge among nations. The first is the language barrier. The second is the classification of research material as secret or confidential. The first has always been present; the second has only assumed importance within the last ten years. A third obstacle, of temporary nature but closely related to the second, is the disruption of international communication that occurs during a major war.

Most professional scientists are required to have a reading knowledge of scientific English, French and German. This takes care of the large bulk of scientific publications. The chief problems in connection with the language barrier have arisen in two language groups—the Oriental languages, chiefly Japanese and Chinese, and the Slavonic languages, headed by Russian and including Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-Croat, and others.

In the case of the Oriental languages the difficulty has not been serious. The total number of papers published is relatively small, and in almost all cases the important research results have been published in English, either completely or in abstract form.

The Slavonic languages are something of an exception. The Pulkova Observatory, under the Czarist regime, published chiefly in French or German. Under the Soviet Government the tendency to publish all astronomical research in Russian has grown steadily. However, up to 1948 an abstract in English, French or German was almost always included. Since 1948, scientific publication in the U.S.S.R. has been confined to Russian, with no abstracts in other languages. The American Astronomical Society in December 1948 made a strong plea to the President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences to publish abstracts in one of the better-known international languages, but nothing has come of this request. This situation is unfortunate, since very few astronomers outside the Soviet group read Russian well. Astronomical research in the U.S.S.R. has been very active but the only non-Russian notes from that country I have seen during the last four years are the English and French translations of the Russian protest on the cancellation of the Leningrad meeting of the IAU, originally scheduled for 1951.

Astronomical News Letter

The American Astronomical Society has taken steps to assist the non-Russian astronomers in becoming familiar with Soviet research. During the last war, in an effort to compensate partially for the lack of communication facilities, a Committee for the Distribution of Astronomical Literature (C.D.A.L.) was formed in the U.S.A. This body produced the Monthly Astronomical News Letter, which contained brief notes on current astronomical research, particularly in the United States. It was distributed through the State Department to Canada, the United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., Sweden, Switzerland, and other countries. From October 1942 to February 1946, thirty-six copies of the News Letter appeared. More recently, as a result of the new publication policy of the U.S.S.R. instituted in 1948, the Astronomical News Letter has been revived on a new basis and now contains English abstracts of important Russian astronomical papers. It is produced by a group of American astronomers who read Russian and is circulated by the Harvard College Observatory. Twenty-nine numbers have appeared since November 1948.

As noted above, the second important obstacle to a full exchange of scientific knowledge is the growing tendency to classify research in certain fields. I believe that the majority of scientists are strongly opposed to the classification of fundamental scientific results. It can do more harm than good. For example there is now good reason to believe that a large amount of the basic information concerning the development of atomic energy was channelled to the U.S.S.R. while the rank and file of young American physicists and chemists were kept in ignorance of this whole field by the strict security regulations. In the long run the potential scientific strength of a nation depends, not on a few closely guarded secrets, but on the number of able scientists who are available to think about and to work on the vital problems that arise. Unless these problems are presented to the younger generation of scientific workers, science in any country will stagnate. This point is better recognized now than it was a few years ago, but we must continually guard against the danger of creative science being throttled by military security.

Before the Second World War, I used to correspond regularly with half a dozen Russian astronomers, and we exchanged our published papers on subjects of mutual interest. Since the war it has been unwise to carry out personal correspondence with any Russian scientist because this might jeopardize him in the eyes of the Soviet Government.

Publications Explained

In the years following the last war, relatively few Russian scientific publications were received on this continent although considerable quantities of our publications were sent to Russia. It was only after a number of institutions in North America had indicated that their publications would only be available on an exchange basis that more Russian publications began to be received. At the present time, at the Dominion Observatory, we receive most Russian astronomical material. We get very little in geophysics, although it is understood that extensive work in this field is being carried out in the U.S.S.R.

The Communist ideology has affected astronomical literature less than that of some of the other sciences. Yet today most Russian astronomers, to ensure publication of a book, find it necessary to insert a little political comment near the beginning and the end of the work. This can become ludicrous. For example, a perfectly sound book on the gases of inter-stellar space was recently published in the U.S.S.R. But near the first of the book was a violent attack on two American astronomers. It was claimed that their recent theory of new stars was capitalistic propaganda designed to create pessimism among the masses in the United States. However, if one discounts such remarks, and the occasional eulogies of prominent Soviet political figures, Russian astronomy is of a high standard.

The nationalistic attitude of scientists from the U.S.S.R. is, no doubt, often officially dictated to them. The languages of the IAU have always been English and French. At the recent meeting in Rome the Russian delegates presented all their papers in Russian and insisted that time be taken for a Russian translation of all other papers. But in private discussion they were quite ready to talk English or German. The Russian astronomers individually and collectively have always shown themselves anxious to co-operate in every way with the scientists from other countries.

The exchange of scientific information and opinion, either through published papers or by personal discussion, is one of the best ways to promote co-operation among the citizens of various nations. It is my personal view that no opportunity should be lost to promote international scientific conferences, particularly between the Soviet and non-Soviet groups, so that those with mutual interests may become personally acquainted. The first step in understanding the other fellow's point of view—and there are many others—is to get to know him.



PROGRESS IN TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION

(Continued from p. 400)

young Pakistanis lived in private homes and studied and observed the way things are done in Canada from the work of the R.C.M.P. in isolated parts of Western Canada to the co-operative activities of the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University in the fishing communities of Nova Scotia. During the past year six senior health officers from India and Pakistan came to Canada to study the organization of Federal and Provincial health services and Canadian medical facilities. They were especially interested in what was being done to lower T.B. rates in Canada and in the health services available to Canadians living in rural communities. The experience of this mission has resulted in further requests being made of Canada for assistance from the Asian countries in coping with their public-health problems. At the request of UNESCO, arrangements have been made with the co-operation of Laval University for studies and seminars in fundamental education for French-speaking trainees from Haiti and from the Middle East. The Extension Department at St. Francis Xavier University in Nova Scotia and the Government of Saskatchewan have offered courses in agricultural co-operatives for United Nations Fellows from India, Korea and Nigeria.

The rate and scale of Canadian participation in the activities of both the United Nations Expanded Programme and the Colombo Programme for Technical Co-operation is determined not only by Canada's ability to make the assistance available but also by the ability of receiving countries to absorb it and put it to best use. A short time ago the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, remarked "The international technical assistance programmes continue to expand. Canada, together with other free countries, will . . . continue actively to support these activities".

OUTER BALDONIA—A SOVIET VIEW

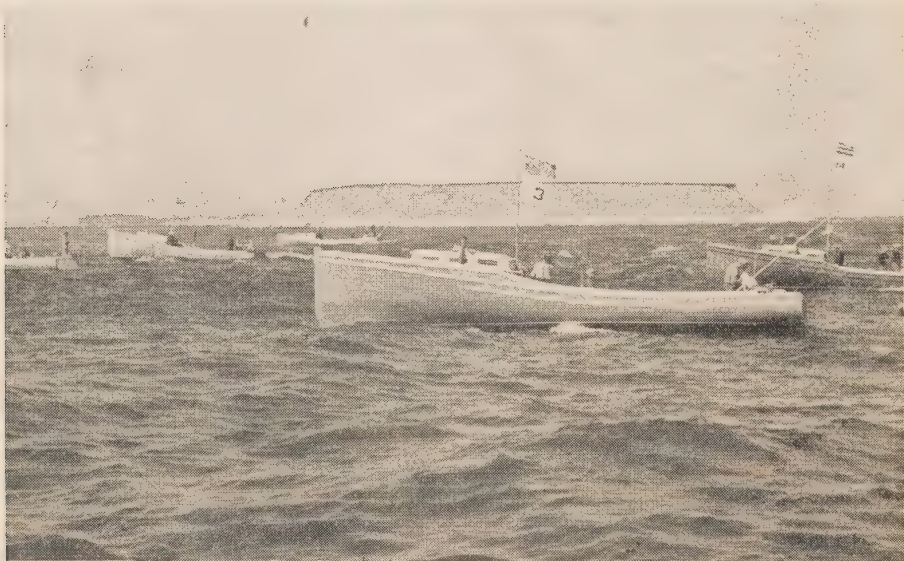
Three years ago an island known as Outer Bald*, off Wedgeport, Nova Scotia, was purchased for \$750 by Russell Arundel, a Washington businessman and sportsman. Outer Bald, a small, flat, treeless island whose sole population at that time was a few half-wild sheep, was used by its new owner as an asylum for seasick tuna fishers from the nearby Soldier's Rip, scene of an annual tuna-fishing tournament. A small club house was built to provide shelter, and thereupon Mr. Arundel solemnly proclaimed the Kingdom or Principality of Outer Baldonia. In answer to press enquiries, the following statement was issued:

The Washington Legation of Outer Baldonia appreciates your query. The fathers of our constitution will present the final draft to citizens during the International Tuna Tournament in September. Basically, it will outlaw taxes, inhibitions and double talk. Persons harboring inhibitions will be permanently exiled. The same fate will befall persons who lack a sense of humor.

Declaration of Independence

From then on things went well. The Nova Scotia authorities gravely informed reporters "that the province was still undecided about recognition of the new kingdom". Mr. Arundel's "Declaration of Independence", gave citizens such rights as:

*To lie (about fish) and be believed . . .
To praise and self inflation, to swear, drink and gamble . . .
To be expansive and hilarious . . .
To sleep all day and stay up all night . . .
Freedom from questionings, nagging, politics and war . . .*



—Nova Scotia Bureau of Information

OUTER BALDONIA

"Soldiers' Rip", famous Nova Scotia tuna angling spot, with Bald Tusket Island (Outer Baldonia) in the background.

*Most seaward of the Tusket Islands, also known locally as the Baldy Islands. There are about 300 small islands in the group, some of them wooded, but all difficult of access and generally uninhabited except in summer when a few fishing shacks are occupied for a few weeks by local fishermen from the mainland.

Later one of the principal freedoms, "freedom from women" was partly repealed by the appointment of a princess.

A unit of currency, the "tunar", was established, although its relation to the dollar bloc has never been clearly defined. Titles of Admiral (all Baldonian admirals are "eight star"), Prince and Knight were conferred by the Chief Prince, or Prince of Princes, only on those who had landed a tuna "in a sportsmanlike manner".

Much more was said and done in outer Baldonia in a similar carefree vein. After Outer Baldonia had risen to the status of having its Legation listed in the Washington telephone directory (District 7-2463), little activity took place until the Outer Baldonia tuna tournament was held in September at the principality which was attended by only a few of the princes. Indeed, so far as most of the inhabitants of North America are concerned, little is known about Outer Baldonia.

"Literary Gazette" Version

Not so behind the Iron Curtain. In Moscow the *Literary Gazette* of October 25, 1952, appeared with a most interesting version of the Outer Baldonian whimsey, a translation of which follows:

LITERARY GAZETTE — "*The State of Baldonia*"

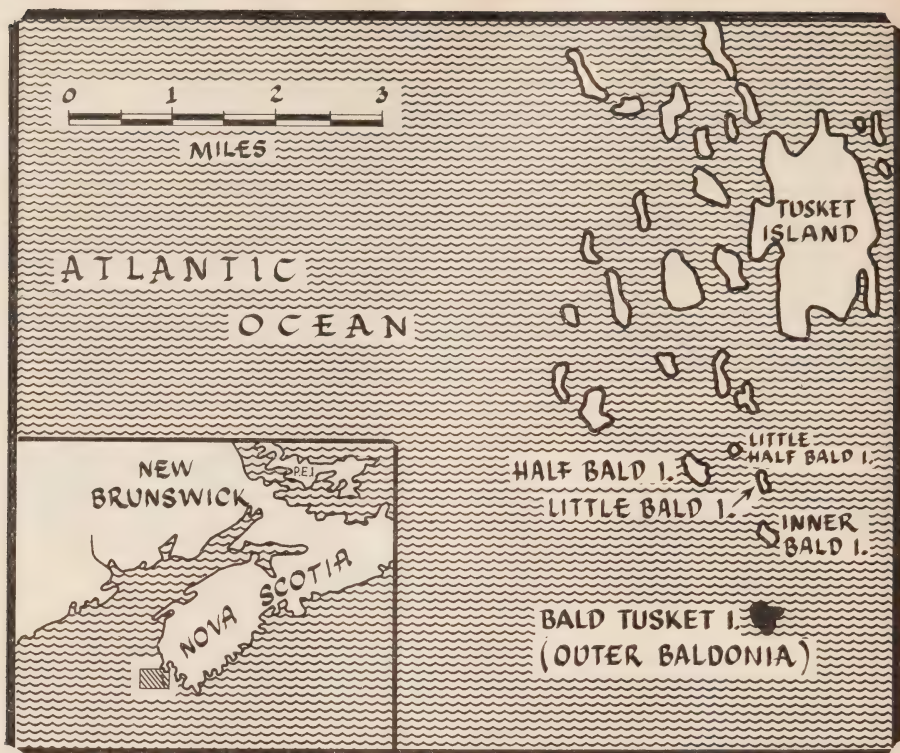
(by L. Chernaya)

Do you know of the existence of a sovereign capitalist state with the promising title of "Baldonia"? Have you met people who call themselves "Baldonians"? Have you ever heard of a "Baldonian dynasty", "Baldonian princes"? No?

In that case let us refer to a thoroughly respectable bourgeois newspaper *Industriekurier*, an organ of the West German industrialists. According to an *Industriekurier* report, in the Atlantic Ocean not far from Canada there has existed throughout the ages a rocky, deserted islet, approximately one hectare in area. *De jure* the island belongs to Canada *de facto* it was "undeveloped territory." There have been living on the island from immemorial times fishermen trading in the capture of tuna fish belonging to the mackerel family, which are called by ichthyologists *thynnus thynnus*. As is apparent from the *Industriekurier* report, the fishermen lived quietly and peacefully and, evidently thanked God that their *thynnus thynnus* was not an important strategic material, and that the island itself was too small to be turned into a US military base.

But alas! The modest mackerel fishers rejoiced too soon. On one unlucky day a certain M. Arundel, the future *Fuehrer* of Baldonia, appeared on the island. However, we have jumped ahead of events. When Mr. Arundel set foot on the island, he was not yet, so to say, an *ober-Baldonian*, but simply a Washington businessman. However, this only continued for an hour or two. During this period Mr. Arundel had time to declare the island to be the sovereign state of Baldonia, the fishermen — Baldonians, and himself — their supreme ruler.

In order that we may not be suspected of fiction, let us quote the newspaper *Industriekurier*. This is what this West German newspaper writes about the first steps of Mr. Arundel, whom it respectfully calls the "Washington businessman": "For 2,000 dollars he acquired a small, deserted, rocky islet, situated in the latitude of New Scotland, not more than one hectare in extent. Arundel established this 'dominion' over the island and called it Baldonia. He proclaimed himself to be Prince of Princes. Relying on this lofty title, the master of Baldonia rewarded some of his Washington friends with the designation of honorary citizens of Baldonia".



Mr. Arundel has set himself the aim of turning his "subjects" into savages. In the "constitution" which he has devised, the master of Baldonia, as *Industri-kurier* reports, "granted his subjects the 'unrestricted right' to tell lies, to be rude, the right not to answer questions, the freedom to go unshaved", etc. In a word, the "right" not to adhere to the ethical and moral laws which have been established by mankind!

It would not be worthwhile to consider the device of Mr. Arundel with his Baldonia, if this would-be businessman were not attempting to introduce into the territory of one hectare the same "set-up", which many of his comrades of a higher standing are trying to establish over the territory of the whole world.

Of course, Mr. Arundel will not succeed in turning the peaceful fishermen into cannibals. For much bigger adventures of a similar kind have ended in utter failure. There is no doubt that the mackerel fishers will not become savages. But the American businessman himself, a typical imperialist businessman, of whom the newspaper of the West German militarists writes with unconcealed respect even when he stands out in the role of chief "Baldonian", has he not reached the completest degree of savagery?

Literary Gazette 25.10.52.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS IN PARLIAMENT

Statements of Government Policy

The purpose of this section is to provide a selection of statements on external affairs by Ministers of the Crown or by their parliamentary assistants. It is not designed to provide a complete coverage of debates on external affairs taking place during the month.

The Speech from the Throne opening the Seventh Session of the Twenty-First Parliament was read to the House of Commons on November 20, 1952, by the Speaker. It contained the following passages on external policy:

You resume your labours on behalf of the Canadian people at a time of continuing international tension. Nevertheless, because of the steadfast resistance of our Canadian forces and their comrades in arms to aggression in Korea and because of the increasing strength of the forces of freedom in Europe, there are signs of a lessening of the danger of an outbreak of war on a global scale.

My Ministers are convinced that a lasting peace can be assured only so long as the combined strength of the free world continues to be built up and maintained.

The sacrifices of those directly involved in the United Nations police action in Korea and the anxieties of their families are an inevitable and most regrettable part of the price we are paying to prevent another world war.

To meet our nation's international responsibilities certain of my Ministers are attending the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Because of the continued international tension you will be asked to approve legislation providing for the continuation of the Emergency Powers Act and you will also be asked to provide for the appointment of an Associate Minister of National Defence.

My Prime Minister and my Minister of Finance will attend a meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth to open in London later this month to consider important economic and monetary problems.

Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to set June the second next as the date of her coronation.

Arrangements will be made for Canadian representation at the ceremonies and plans are being formulated for the celebration in Canada of this historic event . . .

The International Joint Commission has issued an order of approval for the development of hydro-electric power in the International Section of the St. Lawrence River.

Because of this latest step the Canadian Government has informed the Government of the United States it considers that the agreement made in 1941 in respect of the St. Lawrence Seaway has been superseded.

Pending the establishment of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, an engineering planning staff has been set up in Montreal to begin work on detailed plans for the Seaway, and the Gut Dam in the river near Iroquois is now being removed.

Upon the completion of this reading, the Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, moved that the debate on the Throne Speech begin on the following day (Friday, November 21).

REPORT TO PARLIAMENT*

Statement by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. B. Pearson, made in the House of Commons during the debate on the speech from the throne, December 8, 1952.

I have been attending the Seventh Assembly of the United Nations and though while doing so I have been engaged in international discussions, I have been conscious of the fact during those discussions that there is a very direct connection between what we have been talking about in New York at the United Nations and matters of more immediate domestic concern and, possibly, which have been under discussion in this House. We have been discussing international questions which bear on peace, welfare and good relations between states; mutual aid between states; and all those questions have a very direct effect on domestic policies and domestic interests in this country — even on such matters as trade and taxation. Indeed, it has been said that foreign policy is merely domestic policy with its hat on.

This afternoon, therefore, I propose to keep that hat on and discuss for a short time, I hope, the work of the United Nations Assembly, and, possibly, the forthcoming NATO Council meeting in Paris . . .

Korea

The main question before the United Nations Assembly, the main challenge to the United Nations at this Session, has been Korea. Almost at the beginning of our Session it was agreed, and I think it was agreed unanimously if I recollect correctly, that that question should be given priority in our discussions. It was quite right that we should do that because fighting is going on in Korea and surely it is the first responsibility of the United Nations to bring that fighting to an end if that can be done on honourable terms. In the discussion of this question of Korea much of the debate and much of our thoughts centered around the one remaining obstacle to the achievement of such an honourable armistice in Korea — the question of prisoners of war.

In the discussion of that particular question the communist delegations have exploited to the full the situation which they claim, without adequate evidence to back it up, has existed in the prisoner of war camps and more particularly the Koje Island camp.

This question of prisoners of war, we are told even by the Communists, is the only obstacle to the completion of armistice negotiations. It is the only question that remains unsettled. In respect of it and of Korea generally there were four resolutions submitted to our Assembly which dealt with this question.

One was a resolution of those members of the United Nations who had forces in Korea, participating in operations there. That resolution became known as the 21-Power Resolution. Canada was one of the sponsoring members of that resolution which endorsed the steps that had been taken and the effort that had been made by the Unified Command in Korea and the other side for an armistice, and called on the other side to accept those proposals and to bring about an armistice.

There were two other resolutions from delegations from Mexico and Peru, which dealt with more specialized aspects of the question; and there was at the same time introduced by the Soviet delegation a resolution which would have set up an 11-power commission representing both sides of the conflict, and which would have had authority to deal not only with the prisoners of war question but with Korea generally and indeed with other Asiatic questions. On the face of it, that seemed to be not without some aspects of reason and possibility. The 11-power commission had four Communist members but, in order to make quite certain that this 11-power commission would not be able to act, the Soviet, within a day of the introduction of this resolution, introduced an amendment to make it quite clear that that commission could act only by a two-thirds majority. A two thirds majority of eleven is seven and a quarter; that would have meant that eight members of the commission would have been required to agree in order to reach a decision. The meaning of that provision, of course, is obvious. It would have given the Soviet and their satellites a veto on all the actions and all the activities of the commission.

Indian Resolution

After the introduction of these four resolutions the Indian delegation, after consultation with a good many Asian and Arab delegations — and indeed other delegations — introduced a resolution which narrowed the issue before the Assembly and before the Political Committee to the prisoners-of-war question alone and left out of the resolution all that had gone on before and other aspects of the questions than that of prisoners of war. They produced a proposal which attempted to reconcile the two ideas, the one to which our side clung as right and just and the other which the Communists said was a *sine qua non* of any agreement on their part to a prisoners-of-war solution. Those two ideas were, on the one hand,

* In addition to the following statement, Mr. Pearson tabled in the House of Commons various texts of Korean Resolutions and Resolutions on Race Conflict in South Africa, copies of which may be obtained from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

the right to repatriation guaranteed under the Geneva Convention of 1949, and on the other the refusal to use force to drive prisoners of war back to Communist territories if they did not wish to go.

As to the first, although we had a great deal of discussion on the subject, I think it is quite clear, from the legal point of view, that the right of repatriation is guaranteed under the Geneva Convention in question. The right is clear, I think, and the right is unambiguous. It seems that the delegations which made that prisoners-of-war Convention — that is the Red Cross Convention in Geneva in 1949 — were at that time, quite naturally, thinking more of a future war when the problem would be forced retention rather than forced repatriation. The question of forced repatriation did not enter into their calculations at that time to any noticeable extent. So this right of repatriation, without that particular qualification in its terms, does exist.

Prisoners-of-War Issue

On the other hand the other issue — no force to be used in connection with prisoners of war — involves a principle which we on our side could not and would not give up; because if we had done so, we would have violated the understanding we had and the undertaking which we gave to some of these prisoners who came over from the other side.

The Indian resolution was an effort to reconcile these two points of view in a way which should have been acceptable to all men of good will on either side. It did that in terms of the resolution; and to carry out those terms and make this reconciliation effective in practice as well as in principle, it set up a Repatriation Commission to which prisoners would be immediately released as the first stage of their repatriation. That Repatriation Commission, which would have taken over the prisoners from the detaining powers, would have consisted of Czechoslovakia and Poland, two Communist states; Sweden and Switzerland, two non-Communist states; and provision was made for the appointment of an umpire who will be an important member of that Commission if it is ever set up. If that kind of Commission could not be established, an alternative procedure for setting one up is embodied in the resolution.

We considered this resolution to be, on the part of the Indian delegation, an important and constructive move to solve this question. It was not a perfect resolution; it was not clear in all of its terms, and there were reasons for some of those ambiguities. But we felt that it was a resolution which could work and which, if it did work, would bring the fighting in Korea to an end; so we in the Canadian delegation gave it our support from the beginning.

We were then confronted by two problems. One was whether we should give this resolution priority over our own 21-Power Resolution, and we agreed to do that as did all the other sponsoring powers of the 21-Power Resolution. The other problem was to achieve the maximum support possible for this Indian resolution. To do that certain clarifications — certain changes, if you like — were required. These in their turn required long and difficult discussions and negotiations between the authors of the resolution and certain other governments who wished to see it clarified in certain respects.

At this stage . . . if I may, I should like to pay a tribute of the honesty of purpose, the industry and the refusal to give way to discouragement of the Indian authors of this resolution who, at this time, and at the United Nations, took a responsibility which I think we must all applaud. In the press, of course, there were reports of differences. In the process of negotiating clarification between the United States delegation and between other delegations there were such differences, but they were not as fundamental or as important as might appear from reading some of the reports. There were, however, sincere differences of approach and differences of opinion about what should be clarified in this resolution in order to make it acceptable to everybody.

Differences Overcome

Eventually, those differences were overcome. Some changes were made by the Indian delegation which made the text perfectly acceptable to practically all delegations at the assembly. That process of acceptance and that process of coming together was made less difficult, I think, by the Soviet attitude toward the resolution, which was one of complete, unalterable and violent opposition to a constructive initiative by the nation putting it forward; indeed it was referred to by the leader of the Soviet delegation himself as a "rotten compromise". Their opposition was based on the fact that we should first have an automatic cease-fire declared and then armistice negotiations later. The objection to that, of course, was that, if the cease-fire took place and it was without an armistice, the prisoners would still be prisoners, the issues which centred around the prisoners of war would not be solved, and there was no assurance that they would be solved.

Meanwhile, from the point of view of military security, the cease-fire would have meant that one side was under a military disadvantage in comparison with the other side which had its base close at hand.

Vote on Indian Resolution

However, as I said, the Indian text was clarified, it was put to the vote a few days ago, with a result which is not usual these days in the United Nations Assembly. Fifty-

four nations of the Assembly voted for it, including every Asian, Arab, Latin-American and African state, and only five members of the Assembly voted against it: the Soviet delegation and its four Communist satellites. One delegation, China, abstained. Therefore that Indian resolution has now become a resolution of the United Nations; and in my capacity as President of the Assembly, under the terms of the resolution, I have submitted it to the Foreign Minister of the Communist Government at Peking, and the Foreign Minister of the North Korean regime, together with a covering letter in which I attempted to meet some of the objections which they had previously put forward over the radio, and in other ways, and to clarify some of the points which they claimed were still doubtful. At the same time I thought it was probably not inappropriate, as President of the Assembly, to make an appeal to them to accept these proposals as the basis of an armistice and eventual peace, if they really wish to bring the war there to an end.

Basis of Negotiation

I do not know, of course, what the result of this transmission and appeal will be. It may mean an armistice, or it may not. I would not like to give odds on one side of the question; but whether the Communists accept this United Nations resolution or not, it surely has very great value to the United Nations and to us all even if it is turned down, because that resolution now becomes the United Nations' basis from which negotiations must now begin, if they are to be resumed. And in the future that may turn out to be a very important and very useful development because of course, this resolution, having been accepted by the United States Government, now becomes operative in respect of the Unified Command in Korea. And I suggest, that whatever may happen to this resolution in Peking and Pyongyang, it has been a very worth-while initiative to have taken, and a very valuable result has been achieved, since this initiative was taken by a great Asian country and supported enthusiastically by every other Asian, Arab and African state.

Three Courses

If this resolution is rejected, what do we do then? Well, of course there are at least three courses: The United Nations can preserve and hold on in Korea along the present line, bringing about as much military success as is possible within the limits of the present strategy. It may be possible within those limits — consideration by the military authorities in the Unified Command is being given to this — to add to the number of Koreans who are defending their own country. But in respect of that it should not be forgotten . . . that at the present time a 155-mile line in Korea is being defended by 15 divisions, of which I think 9 are from the Republic of Korea, 5 from the United

States and 1 division is from the Commonwealth. Of this line, 60 per cent is being held now by Korean troops; 25 per cent by United States troops, and 15 per cent by other United Nations' forces. This course, following our present strategy, will require of course a steadiness and patience not only in Korea, among the soldiers, but at home; it will require military steadiness, and it will certainly require political steadiness.

The second course would be to increase military pressure, to formulate new strategy in the hope that by doing so we will bring this struggle to an end by military means. There are obvious risks in following that course. There is the risk that we might extend the war to the continent of Asia without ending the war in Korea, and that is a risk which is in all our minds, and which indeed we have discussed in this house before.

But there is a third course, to withdraw and turn Korea over to the aggressor, and that is one that will not be supported I am sure by any government, any parliament or any people, which have accepted United Nations' intervention in Korea against the attacker.

No Easy Solution

It is interesting . . . to recall that the President-Elect of the United States has returned from Korea and has already stated that there is no easy, no trick solution, no panacea for this Korean campaign, and he is quoted in the press as having said in Seoul during his visit to Korea:

"How difficult it seems to be in a war of this kind to work out a plan that would bring a positive and definite victory without possibly running grave risks of enlarging the war."

But while we may be discouraged about our lack of immediate progress in ending this campaign, with its great drain on resources and men of the United Nations, and particularly on those of the United States, and those from the Korean forces, which are bearing the brunt of the struggle and bearing it steadily and courageously, apart from that difficulty, we must not forget that we have gained also by intervention in Korea, because we have stopped aggression there, and the lesson of that action is not lost on those who would begin aggression elsewhere. I suggest . . . that it is not only the course of honour, it is the course of ultimate safety not to weaken in this United Nations' operation which we have taken in Korea, while always emphasizing, taking advantage of every opportunity to emphasize, that we are ready for an honourable political solution with the Chinese Communist government.

The Indian resolution — indeed my letter to the Foreign Minister of Communist China — emphasized that fact, that once an armistice can be achieved in Korea — and there is supposed to be only one obstacle to that

achievement — then we should be ready to sit down with the Chinese at a political conference to deal with Korean political problems generally. It is not only implicit it is actually written in the terms of this United Nations' resolution.

Nothing to Fear

If the Chinese Communist Government will abandon the aggression that has been going on in Korea and refrain from participating in aggression elsewhere they have nothing to fear from us on the other side, and much indeed to gain by that course.

That . . . is all that I think I need to say on Korea at this time. But in concentrating on Korea I would not wish the House to be left with the impression — as I am sure it would not be, because of its knowledge of international developments — that Korea is the only danger spot in Asia. One has only to mention Indo-China, where the situation is not propitious; Malaya, where the banditry and the fighting still goes on, though the situation is improving; Iran, where there are elements of discontent which might deteriorate into chaos; and indeed in the whole of the Middle East, where there is division, disruption, social unrest and political awakening.

Other Questions Before Assembly

There were of course other important questions before the United Nations Assembly, and some of them are still before the Assembly. I heard the other day, at a plenary session of the Assembly, the leader of one of the important Asian delegations speaking in connection with a resolution which has been supported by all the Arab and all the African, but opposed by a good many of the Western powers — I heard this delegate, who is not unfriendly to the West, in deploring this division on resolutions of that kind, say that Asia and Africa are on the march, and will not be denied.

We should realize, and the realization is not always a pleasant one, that they are not invariably marching with the West as they move. That philosopher and historian, Arnold Toynbee, in a very interesting article which appeared the other day under the significant title *The World and The West* gives three explanations for this discouraging development, why Asia and the Asians do not always seem to be with us on issues that we think are fundamental to the development of freedom and democracy in their own part of the world.

These three reasons lie, he said, in the appeal that Communist doctrine inevitably makes to the people in those countries of the world. It is a three-fold Russian Communist appeal, and it is not always easy to resist. Certainly it is not easy to resist at the United Nations, and the Russians there know how to exploit this appeal to a maximum value.

The first appeal they make to the Asian is:

If you follow the Russian example, Communism will give you strength to stand up against the West, as Communist Russia does today. To some Asians the West does not mean — freedom and democracy — and that is an appeal which makes its impression on certain Asian minds.

The second appeal is to the Asian peasant, and that is that Communism can and private enterprise neither can nor, if it could, would, get rid of the extreme inequality between the rich luxury-loving minority and the poverty-stricken majority.

Then the third appeal from the Communists, about which we hear so much in the United Nations and elsewhere — and it is offered most confidently and dogmatically — is an appeal for a unity in policy and in doctrine which, in some form or another, is the only alternative to self-destruction in the atomic age. We know it is a spurious and fatal unity; but our knowledge is not shared by all the peoples of Asia to whom it is addressed.

Danger of This Appeal

Now, the danger of this kind of appeal is being shown today, and the effect that it is having today is being shown in the other great and difficult complex of problems which is before the United Nations Assembly. That complex of connected problems involves the relationship of colonial peoples to administering states, and expresses itself in charges of racial discrimination, in tensions between the haves and the have-nots, and in the responsibility of the former for technical and other kinds of help for the latter; it also expresses itself in worries on the part of the haves that the have-not blocs are pushing extreme and premature resolutions through the United Nations by force of a mathematical majority.

These problems appear in various items of our United Nations agenda today, some of which have not yet come up for discussion. In considering them it is depressing to realize that Asian and Arab states are nearly always together and not always on our side. On our side sometimes we are restricted to some of the countries of the Western World.

The United Nations Assembly, with all its faults and with all its possibilities, has become the forum for the expression of these discontents, confusions and divisions, for the expression of these aspirations and, indeed, these fears. The problems which they involve and the solutions we find to these problems may in the long run have just as important a relationship to peace and, indeed, to the future of the United Nations as the question of Korea itself. We have to try to reconcile the domestic jurisdiction of sovereign states, and the administrative responsibility of some of those sovereign states over dependent peoples in their progress toward independence — with the legitimate interests of the United Nations in human rights and racial discrimination, and freedom for all peoples.

Difficult to Reconcile

The United Nations is not having an easy time in this Assembly in making this reconciliation. The United Nations is not there, I suggest — and its charter did not intend it — to make this progress, which we all agree is so essential either explosive or violent; but it is there to make this progress steady and sure.

In a delegation like the Canadian delegation, as it confronts these fundamental long-range issues, decisions on individual resolutions are never easy, especially in respect of the disputes between colonial powers and members who have only recently evolved from colonial status, and others who have gone beyond the colonial status.

In those disputes many resolutions are put forward which do not provide an easy problem for a delegation such as the Canadian delegation.

Canadian Principles

I should like, if I may, for a moment or two, to try to explain some of these difficulties and the principles upon which in our delegation we have tried to act, principles which have been approved by our Government.

In the United Nations Charter the administering powers accepted as a binding international obligation a concept of progress toward self-government for all dependent peoples, which they had long recognized as a moral imperative. Their acceptance was completely voluntary. At the time of San Francisco there was no external power which could have forced the victor states to surrender the smallest portion of this aspect of their sovereignty. Their response was not due to outside pressure, but to their own consciences; and if world opinion played a part in their decision — and this it did — it was able to do so only because it reinforced those irresistible currents that were already at work within the democratic states.

That is the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of colonial responsibilities by a democratic state. Yet, can anyone believe that these same consequences would ever have been accepted by a totalitarian state? Would they have been accepted by totalitarian states which at the United Nations Assembly attack, and very often viciously attack, what they call colonial powers?

Would India and Burma have won their freedom from a totalitarian system, with its slave labour camps and its secret police? Would world opinion have been of the slightest help to Indonesia if it had been in the grip of such masters?

For that matter, has dialectical materialism any way of explaining how such advances to freedom could possibly take place, not merely with the assent but with the positive co-operation of the administering powers?

We have watched the exponents of this totalitarian philosophy in the United Nations and elsewhere in their assiduous efforts to capture such noble words as freedom and democracy and put them to slave labour. We have seen them reduced at this Session of the United Nations Assembly to denying all evidence of colonial advancement in the face of the plain accomplished facts.

On their side, the administering powers have pledged themselves to work towards the progressive replacing of their own authority by that of the peoples hitherto subject to them. The charter accepts and established them as the instruments for achieving this end. In doing so it recognizes what is called colonialism as an integral aspect of the effort to establish peace and stability. But it gives no comfort to the illusion that the immediate and unconditional abandonment of the dependent territories would be a good thing for the international community.

Balanced Process of Evolution

The whole tenor of the United Nations Charter assumes a balanced process of evolution. It lays commitments on the administering powers and it recognizes every paragraph that the fulfilment of those commitments must be a gradual process whose rapidity will vary with each case. Colonialism, in short, is made the instrument of its own disappearance.

That is a responsibility whose formidable nature must surely be recognized and respected by those of us who do not share it. It is the task of fitting various societies, some of them primitive societies, to take place in this modern and highly integrated world. It is not enough to waken in these societies a desire to run their own affairs; they must also be trained to the necessary level of ability, and if this essential process is interfered with or frustrated, or if on the other hand it is rushed too recklessly and precipately, it will be to the detriment of the prosperity and security and future advancement of these colonial territories themselves.

While accepting these principles, Canadian decisions on specific colonial questions at the United Nations are based on our judgment of their merits, conditioned only by our sincere desire to help reach the maximum common agreement that is consistent with the welfare of the dependent peoples themselves and the interests of the international community.

South African Item

I think this problem has come most concretely to our attention in connection with the South African items which are now on the agenda of the United Nations and which were dealt with last week. They are not in themselves colonial problems, but they represent a problem of the relationship of dependent people to a sovereign state and a

sovereign government. They are problems of discrimination.

These South African items illustrate the difficulties of that problem and they also illustrate the danger of friendly nations dividing in their approach to it. Probably the best single example of this difficulty is the item on the agenda itself called "race conflict in South Africa" and the introduction under that item of a resolution by certain Asian states challenging the South African legislation, challenging South African policy and setting up an agency of the United Nations to intervene in this matter.

At the same time there have been introduced other resolutions on the same subject. South Africa's defence against these charges — this defence has been carried on lengthily, vigorously and skilfully by the South African representative at the United Nations — has been the legal defence that the Assembly is simply not competent even to consider these matters under Article 2, Paragraph 7, of the Charter which reserves domestic jurisdiction to the states themselves.

On the other hand, members on the other side of the argument pointed to articles of the Charter which pledged its members to co-operate for the achievement of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction as to race. Members on the other side of this argument, that is the other side from the South African side, have attempted to show that this kind of legislation, this kind of policy in South Africa is itself a threat to international peace by what it is stirring up in the minds of the coloured people on that continent.

As far as the decisions of the Canadian delegation were concerned — I gather that these decisions have caused some comment in this country — we joined the majority of the Assembly in voting against South Africa's contention that under the Charter the United Nations was not competent even to consider these matters. In voting in that way we drew a distinction between consideration in the form of discussion and consideration in the form of intervention.

We felt, and I think it is becoming the established jurisprudence and established doctrine of the United Nations, that the Assembly is now competent to discuss anything as the town meeting of the world, but that does not mean that the Assembly is competent to interfere in the domestic affairs of member states by certain types of resolutions or by setting up committees and commissions to visit those countries and report and possibly take action at succeeding Assemblies. It was in the light of those considerations that we made our decision in respect to this particular resolution.

We voted for a resolution inspired by the Scandinavian states and supported by, I think, 18 delegations which, while not

singling out South Africa in terms, while not setting up any machinery to go to South Africa, and while not calling on South Africa to rescind any item of domestic legislation, called upon South Africa and all other member states to bring their policies into conformity with their obligation under the Charter to co-operate for the achievement of and universal respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Canadian Stand

It has been said that in voting for this and abstaining from voting on other resolutions we were avoiding our responsibilities. As the head of our delegation the Minister of National Health and Welfare, Mr. Martin, said:

"The Scandinavian resolution is not just a means of dodging the issue, but rather of dodging a reaction which will be harmful to the people who would like to help."

As far as the Asian resolution was concerned, we abstained on that because we thought it was of doubtful legality. For the same reason we also abstained on the South African resolution which said that this particular Asian resolution was *ultra vires*. In the committee considering this matter 21 other delegations joined us in abstention on this issue. In the plenary session, which was held last Friday, most of these delegations switched their vote from abstention to voting against the Asian contention and in favour of the South African contention that a particular clause of this resolution was *ultra vires*. We did not switch; we remained and abstained on that issue.

However, abstention on this particular issue, which was caused by doubt in our minds as to the legality of this action and as to the practical effect the action would have, did not mean on our part any judgment one way or the other on the issue of the question. As the Minister of National Health and Welfare pointed out when he spoke on this measure:

"Our friendship for the South African people is deep and abiding. We in Canada recognize the immensity of the racial problem — which is not only a South African problem, but we are also very acutely conscious of the concern of the Canadian people and of people throughout the world on questions involving racial discrimination. Discriminatory policies of any kind anywhere are contrary to the spirit both of the Charter and of our times. We do not believe that in the long run history offers much hope that such policies can accomplish their purpose or can endure."

The UN a Mirror

There are other questions of this kind which are before the Assembly but which have not yet come up for decision and I think it would be inappropriate for me to

speaking of them at this time. In concluding my observations on the United Nations and on the Assembly I should like to make one or two general remarks. The United Nations organization — and this Assembly certainly shows it — is in a very difficult stage of its development. It is having troubles and new obstacles to overcome. It is having its discouragements and its defeats, but those of us who are inclined to criticize it too prematurely, too rashly or too strongly should realize, I think, that the United Nations is not either a court or a superstate. If I may put it this way, it is only a mirror which reflects the picture of what is going on in the world today, and if the picture is unpleasant, and indeed at times terrifying, that is not the fault of the mirror if the reflection is an honest one. It is the fault of those who belong to the United Nations and who, by their policies, do not make it possible for that organization to work as it was intended it should work by those who drew up the charter at San Francisco.

Above all, it is the fault of this division of the world into two camps, and which is reflected in the cold war. Practically every item that comes before any United Nations body now, including the General Assembly, is interpreted in terms of the cold war, even the most minute and technical item. That indeed is a tragic development and one which we could hardly have foreseen when the Charter was drawn up. When you are confronted at New York now with a resolution, a proposal or a statement, the first reaction of most people is not "what does it say" but "who said it" or "who wrote it"? That in itself gives a fairly discouraging picture of our chances of making constructive progress in these major political issues as long as this tragic division continues.

These difficulties are increased, I think, by the uneasiness and low morale in the Secretariat of the United Nations which is the agent for conducting the day to day business of the organization. It is a fact that in some minds and because of certain developments the international character of the Secretariat, which we so rightly stressed at San Francisco, may be lost and that members of the Secretariat will merely become the nominees of their respective governments owing loyalty not primarily to the international organization, which should be the case, but to these governments.

Yet with all these difficulties, difficulties outside the United Nations and difficulties inside the United Nations, I suggest that this is no time to weaken in our support for, let alone abandon support for, this indispensable piece of international machinery merely because it has falsified some of the illusions that we may have had when the Charter was drafted. After all, we do not throw away a car because the wrong kind of gas stalls it.

Having painted a rather gloomy picture of some aspects of the work of the Assembly, I

think it is only fair I should add that real achievements are being made in the Seventh Assembly, and that in one sense it is a tribute to the United Nations itself and to the importance of the Assembly that these controversial political issues are being discussed there and that the big powers take this agency so seriously as to discuss them in terms that they do. It would indeed be the end of all hope for the United Nations if it became a body merely for the exchange of meaningless courtesies. Furthermore, headline controversies should not lead to ignoring the solid achievements made by the United Nations in the social, humanitarian and economic fields. Progress is being made along those lines in this Seventh Session but the progress is not such as to command very much attention.

NATO

I should like to say a few words now on another but not unrelated subject, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Ministerial Council of which meets in Paris a week from today. In NATO we have continued to make progress since the last report I made to the house on this matter. The accession to membership of Greece and Turkey, with their considerable national forces, has added to the strength of the Organization, particularly on the Southeastern flank. A NATO command on the Atlantic has been established with headquarters at Norfolk, Virginia. General Ridgway's forces in Europe have been increasing in numbers and improving in effectiveness from the point of view of defence installations, particularly airfields, and through training exercises. I had the privilege of attending one of the latter last September, and it showed how much experience in co-operation between national forces has been gained in the relatively short time that these operations have been conducted.

There have been comments in the press from time to time that the NATO program for 1952, agreed upon at Lisbon last February and so strongly criticized in certain quarters, will not be 100 per cent completed by the end of this year. This will, I suppose, turn out to be the case, though we do not yet know exactly what the total NATO forces available by the end of this year will be. Yet on the information that has been made available to me I am quite confident now that the so-called "Lisbon goals" for 1952 — this will surprise many who thought these goals were unattainable and that the very effort to reach them would result in economic chaos — will be in very large measure achieved. I do not think I should say anything more on this subject until after the Council meeting.

In any event, I do not think we should lay too great emphasis on mathematical targets for any given date for forces under arms, provided we are making steady progress towards our goals and are not at any time

dangerously short of what has been planned for a particular period.

NATO Countries Stronger

In one important respect, which is sometimes overlooked, the NATO countries certainly are much stronger. Production lines for military equipment are now rolling in North America and in the United Kingdom, and very considerable progress has been made in this field in Western Europe. The equipment position of NATO forces is steadily and encouragingly improving.

If there are some signs of lessening international tension — and there are — this is because of the growing strength and continuing unity of the North Atlantic alliance. But there is certainly nothing to warrant resting on our oars because of that fact, though, as we settle down to the long pull — I believe this is good rowing technique — we may decide to strike a somewhat slower rate. There is certainly no evidence that the Russian military strength has been reduced. There is evidence that an increasing proportion of their military budget is being spent in developing and producing new equipment to strengthen their already huge forces. They are certainly preparing for the long pull, confident that they can outlast the West and, if necessary, wait for the “inherent and inevitable contradictions and conflicts of capitalist society” to divide, weaken and ultimately destroy us.

In this long pull we must not ignore of course — and we do not — the effects of rearmament on the economies of member nations. The national economy of nearly every European member of NATO has been a tender plant since the war, and in the case of European members particularly rearmament has meant continued sacrifices for their peoples. However urgent rearmament is, it has to proceed in accordance with the economic and political capabilities of the member states. Otherwise we would invite those economic and social conditions within member nations which would create a favourable climate for the growth of Communism in our society.

It was to avoid this sort of danger that the Council of NATO . . . established at its Ottawa meeting over a year ago a temporary committee to review military requirements and national programs in the light of the economic, social and political capabilities of member nations. A similar review for the current year is now under way and will be shortly completed; but that review has been conducted in a different fashion. I think this is of some interest in the light of the fears that were expressed here at the time of the last meeting — that NATO might fall completely under the military. The Council of NATO, which has established its position, is the directing and controlling body of NATO and is now in permanent session. That Council, through its Secretariat, is conducting

these annual studies and will control the decisions which will be made and passed on to various governments and parliaments arising out of the studies. When this review is concluded, and it should be concluded shortly, NATO members will no doubt have further guidance on NATO requirements and on their national programs. These, while agreed plans, must be flexible and constantly reviewed in the light of changing circumstances and requirements.

Military and National Security

. . . with respect to military security and national security, it is certain that we have not achieved it. Although we have made real progress there is still a long way to go in making NATO a defensive bulwark against aggression and as one element in the security. The risk of aggression remains. Our recent gains in defensive strength must be consolidated and extended, and our cooperation strengthened and enlarged if we can feel safe. So, I suggest, we must press ahead in our own country, and in other countries of NATO, not merely with strengthening the military side of the alliance but also with building its political, economic and moral strength as well, where progress is sometimes difficult and discouragingly slow.

We have no reason to assume on our part that there has been any change of policy or of heart on the part of the Kremlin and its satellites in recent months since Stalin has laid down the new party line — characteristically enough in an article in a magazine. It is possible, however, that there has been a switch in tactics in Moscow, as has frequently happened before in the history of Communist imperialism. During the immediate postwar period its aim in the West was to extend political control over whatever areas its armies occupied, and to exploit the postwar instability in other countries in Western Europe so as to bring into power governments which would be friendly and could ultimately be controlled by the Kremlin. But the governments and peoples of the democracies have awakened to the danger and, particularly through NATO, have begun to organize their defences against it. An immediate present aim of the Kremlin is clearly to stop this progress toward security and unification by dividing and wrecking the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, by exploiting distrust of the United States within and without that organization.

Propaganda Offensive

With this object in view, Communist imperialists have mounted an offensive of propaganda and subversion designed to weaken, confuse and discourage the democracies. The main vehicle of this offensive, that is up to the present although there have been some signs that it has been reduced, is the so-called peace campaign in which not only the formal peace organization but all Communist-front organizations are actively working.

Meanwhile, much emphasis is being placed on, the possibility of peaceful co-existence between the Communist world and the democratic world which only the warmongering policies of the United States prevent— so goes the line, and some misunderstanding is being caused by it.

The ideal of “peaceful co-existence, in which indeed every man of good will must believe, presupposes an absence of aggressive intention. The Communist imperialists have not produced any evidence that their policies have in fact become compatible with their peaceful professions. They certainly have not produced any such evidence in the present Assembly of the United Nations. A genuine policy of peaceful co-existence implies a readiness to co-operate for the purposes of peace and for the promotion of human welfare. Instead of a readiness to co-operate for these purposes, the Communist imperialists resort to propaganda campaigns of hatred and falsehood. “Peaceful co-existence”, in Soviet terminology, seems indeed to mean simply all mischief short of war, just as So-

viet policy seems to mean military aggression if necessary but not necessarily military aggression.

I hope to have another opportunity before this session has gone too far of making another statement on the final results of the United Nations assembly and, indeed, on the results of the NATO Council meeting which takes place this month. What I have said, however, about our policies at the United Nations, and about the policies which we continue to pursue in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, does, I hope, confirm what indeed probably does not need confirmation — that Canadian policy is directed solely toward bringing about in the United Nations and in NATO, and in any other organization devoted to peace, a peace which will be more than the kind of peace we have today. It is directed toward a peace which will mean more than merely the absence of fighting; and to the bringing about of a security that can ultimately be based upon something stronger and more permanent than force.



INDIAN RESOLUTION ON KOREA

Statement by the Vice-Chairman of the Canadian Delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Paul Martin, made in the First (Political) Committee, on November 27, 1952.

During the discussions in this Committee, my delegation has been greatly impressed by the unanimity of purpose reflected in the statements of practically all members and by the conciliatory approach which members have taken as regards the important issue now before us. Our purpose is to press forward with proposals concerning prisoners of war which, given good faith and a willingness on both sides to reach agreement, will give us a reasonable prospect of an honourable armistice in Korea.

Soviet Attitude

In blunt and depressing contrast to this unanimity of purpose and approach is the intransigent attitude of the Soviet Union and its satellites, who, though they make propaganda about their "partnership for peace", have sought to slam the door on the prospect of achieving peace in Korea.

The representative of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic who has just spoken will, I am sure, agree with me that the point he has expressed is consistent with the point of view expressed yesterday by Mr. Vyshinsky.

The overwhelming majority of members of this Committee will, I am confident, persist in their positive efforts to resolve our difficulties. There have been attempts, as we all know, by the representatives of the Communist States in this Assembly to divide us. These attempts have taken the form of legalisms, distortions of truth and promises of an easy solution of the Korean problem on Communist terms. The net result, however, is that we are more united today on the issue of Korea than we were before the discussion started. This unity is easily definable. There is agreement by all — except the Soviet Union and its satellites — that a real armistice agreement should be concluded, to be immediately followed by a cessation of hostilities. There is agreement by all — except the Soviet Union and its satellites — that no force should be used to effect the repatriation, or, conversely, the detention, of prisoners of war. There is agreement by all — except the Soviet Union and its satellites — that if the prisoners of war choose not to exercise their right to repatriation their free choice should be respected. Finally, there is agreement by all — except the Soviet Union and its satellites — that the United Nations should in good faith offer proposals which could achieve a cease-fire and therefore make possible a political settlement.

Unity of Purpose

This unity of purpose cannot be ignored or challenged, no matter how able the advocate in opposition. It has been strengthened

by a frank interchange of ideas within and outside the First Committee, during the course of the past two weeks or so. If the Chinese and North Korean Command at Panmunjom — and those who profess to speak on their behalf in this Committee — are realists to any degree, they must recognize the strength of this unity.

It seems to us that there is no better indication of our good faith and desire to reach an armistice than the eagerness with which we have been willing to explore all possible avenues which might lead to the settlement of the prisoner-of-war issue. That open-minded approach was taken by the first speaker in the debate on the Korean question, Mr. Acheson himself. Twenty-one powers — one third of the states members of the United Nations — agreed to sponsor a draft resolution affirming their belief in a moral principle. Mexico submitted a draft resolution inspired by the highest humanitarian motives. Peru also offered its contribution to the common cause. Other delegations — one thinks, for example, of the Israel delegation — offered suggestions the purpose of which was to assist the Committee in its attempts to find a solution to the central problem of the prisoners of war.

Soviet Amendments

We also have before us certain Soviet Union amendments. I do not propose at this time to make any observations — except of a very brief and general character — on these amendments. Since, however, they have been referred to by the representatives of Australia and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, I would simply say this: When the Chairman makes his ruling as to the amendments, I take it there will be ample opportunity to discuss whether or not they are in order and whether they would vitiate the main decision of this Committee to give priority to the Indian draft resolution. For a careful examination of the Soviet Union amendments will reveal that at least some of the paragraphs proposed as amendments are not new amendments at all: rather, they are word-for-word reproductions of the phraseology used in the draft resolution presented some days ago by the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union. It would certainly be unfortunate if we were to allow yesterday's decision to be nullified by a clever device, the full particulars and strategy of which are not immediately clear. When we come to discuss the various paragraphs of the Soviet Union proposals, I may . . . have something to say.

Finally, the Indian delegation has come forward with a draft resolution which, taken as a whole, in my delegation's judgment pro-

vides a practical solution of the issue, a solution consistent with principle.

Set against these positive efforts to achieve a workable solution, we have had most remarkable illustrations of Communist intransigence in the attacks made by the Soviet Union and its satellites on the Indian draft resolution — and, indeed, on all other draft resolutions before the Committee except those put forward by Mr. Vyshinsky.

Distorted Solution

The Soviet Union representative's statement was not, it seemed to me, that of a man seeking a solution but that of a man who had come here to dictate a solution. The habit of dealing with satellites has given the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union an authoritarian approach with which the free world is totally unfamiliar. In contrast, the Secretary of State of the United States, while admitting that from his government's point of view the Indian draft resolution was not perfect, that he was concerned about some parts of it which, he said, required clarification, nevertheless suggested that, if we worked in harmony and goodwill, a solution could be found. I think it has been found in the Indian draft resolution.

When I spoke to this Committee a few days ago my delegation, through me, was searching for some method of approach, consistent with the basic principles which have motivated the United Nations negotiators at Panmunjom, which might bridge the gap which had developed with respect to the prisoner-of-war issue. It was, therefore, with real enthusiasm and renewed hope that the Canadian delegation, from the first, viewed the Indian initiative. We believed when the Indian draft resolution was first introduced, as we still believe today, that it was a practical and positive effort to implement the more important ideas which have been brought before this Committee with respect to the solution of the problem of prisoners of war, and my delegation regards the Indian proposals as the possible bridge which may provide for communication between the opposing views and which may lead to an understanding upon which real agreement can be based, an armistice concluded and the fighting brought to an end.

I believe that Mr. Menon and the delegation of which he is a member, including that distinguished lady, Mrs. Pandit, should be congratulated for the contribution which India has made to the work of this Committee and to the larger task of providing a possible basis for an armistice in Korea. As a representative of Canada, I was encouraged that such an initiative should be taken by the delegation of India, representing as it does a great Asian country which has such close geographical, cultural and historical ties with China. We believe that India's role in these weeks of discussion and deliberation can only

facilitate the understanding so necessary if we are to achieve an armistice.

Let us first consider whether the Indian draft resolution is consistent with the principle of non-forcible repatriation. In the 21-power draft resolution, which my country co-sponsored, this principle is stated in the following terms:

“ . . . the rights of all prisoners of war to an unrestricted opportunity to be repatriated and . . . the avoidance of . . . the use of force in their repatriation”.

Affirms Convention

Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Indian draft resolution embody in plain and unambiguous terms the principle on which the draft resolution itself and the proposals attached thereto are based. The first paragraph affirms the right of all prisoners of war — under the Geneva Convention of 1949, the well-established principles and practice of international law and the relevant provisions of the draft armistice agreement—to release and repatriation. The right of repatriation is admitted without equivocation.

The right of repatriation is one thing; the use of force in its implementation is something else. It is inconceivable to admit that such force was contemplated by those who drew up the Geneva Convention; and such an interpretation will certainly not be endorsed by the vast majority of this Assembly. Paragraph 8 affirms clearly that no force shall be used for any purpose with the exception, of course, — and this exception is embodied in paragraph 10 of the Indian draft resolution — of that which would be required for the legitimate functions and responsibilities of any Repatriation Commission for control of prisoners of war under its temporary jurisdiction.

Repatriation Machinery

The principle of non-forcible repatriation having, therefore, been clearly established, together with the acceptance of the Geneva Convention as the basis for release and repatriation, the Indian proposals go on to deal in some detail with suitable machinery by which this principle could be implemented in the settlement of the prisoner-of-war issue. It was no doubt the intention of the Indian delegation to supply a blueprint for the machinery of repatriation. The negotiators at Panmunjom would be expected to do what might be described as the work of the contractors within the blueprint provided for by the proposal. The Unified Command, naturally, will be bound by any General Assembly resolutions. Similarly, if the Chinese and North Korean Command agrees to resume negotiations at Panmunjom on the basis of these proposals, it must also be bound by them.

I do not intend to refer specifically to the proposals of the Indian draft resolution for

the simple reason that, when they are read together with the explanations given by Mr. Menon, my delegation finds them generally acceptable. Perhaps one or two comments may be made, however, on paragraph 17 of the Indian proposals.

Paragraph 17

This paragraph is important since it takes cognizance of the problem of the eventual disposition of those prisoners of war whose return to their homelands may not have been effected by the machinery provided for in the Indian proposals. The difficulty here is that, on the one hand, the Communists say that all prisoners have the right to return and that if they were made aware of this right, and if no pressure were brought to bear on them, they would surely exercise it. If this were true, the question of what to do about those whose repatriation cannot be completed within 90 days would become, it seems to me, rather hypothetical. On the other hand, we are sure that there will be prisoners of war who will remain at the end of 90 days. Force cannot be used to return them; and we may well ask what, then, is to be done with them. Confronted with this dilemma, paragraph 17 of the Indian draft resolution offers a solution to this problem. It states that if, after 90 days from the conclusion of an armistice, there remain any prisoners still to be repatriated their disposition is to be referred to the Political Conference which is to be called under article 60 of the present draft armistice agreement. By the time the Political Conference is held, after an armistice has been in effect for 90 days and after the repatriation of most of the prisoners has been completed, the problem will have been limited and defined and may have been reduced to a point where the solution will not be difficult. I do not believe that this course of action will result in a hopeless, endless detention for prisoners. That, however, would certainly be the case if no armistice whatsoever were signed.

In the statement which I made on behalf of the Canadian delegation on 3 November I expressed the opinion that some provision would have to be made for the disposition of those prisoners of war who would forcibly resist repatriation. I said in part:

"... those prisoners of war who refused to leave the neutral area would still retain the right to have their repatriation completed if and when they wished, and meanwhile they would be held by the Protecting Powers, in a manner to be determined".

I am completely satisfied that paragraph 17 of the Indian proposals offers an acceptable method of approach to this problem. It proposes that if, at the end of a stated period, the Political Conference has not been able to provide for the future of some prisoners of war

"the responsibility for their care and maintenance and for their subsequent disposition shall be transferred to the United Nations which, in all matters relating to them, shall act strictly in accordance with international law".

This is a task for which the United Nations should and can take responsibility. Such a provision should satisfy all of us that no force, physical or mental, will be brought to bear upon an individual prisoner of war to cause him to be repatriated against his will.

A few days ago, the Prime Minister of India, commenting on the draft resolution, referred to it as

"a step in the right direction which, if accepted in the spirit in which we have put it forward, might well lead to the lightening of the tremendous burden that is oppressing humanity".

He continued:

"We have offered this resolution in all humility of spirit and I am happy that distinguished representatives of nations assembled in New York are viewing it with favour".

Commenting on the same draft resolution in this Committee, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union flatly rejected it and, if I may use the adverb, sarcastically referred to the discussions of the draft resolution as an academic exercise since, according to his information, the Chinese Government had already shown a negative attitude to the Indian proposals as a basis for an armistice.

Contrast in Comments

On the one hand, therefore, we have the comments of a disciple of peace who, horrified at the mounting casualties of the Korean war, supports in all good faith and deep anxiety proposals which, if implemented, could lead to an honourable armistice; on the other, we have the Foreign Minister of a great power who, confronted with the same problem and the same solution, refuses to co-operate in the search for a peaceful settlement in Korea. Last year in Paris that same Foreign Minister laughed all night, he told us, over the suggestions made for the solution of another problem. This year — and one can only say this in the light of his remarks during the last few days in this Committee — he scornfully rejects a sincere effort to find a solution which would lead to an armistice in Korea. Surely, he cannot long escape judgment before the bar of world opinion.

It is the hope of most of us here, and of the millions of people whom we represent, that our deep-rooted desire for peace in Korea is shared by our adversaries in the present conflict. It is in that hope, and with the conviction that the Indian draft resolution gives us the key to a solution, that I strongly appeal to all delegations, as the

representative of Australia did a few moments ago, to lend their support to the principles and purposes of the draft resolution now before us and to stand against efforts by the Soviet Union delegation and others to bring that hope and those convictions to naught. The central principles and purposes of the draft resolution are clear; they have been carefully and painstakingly worked out by the delegation representing the Government of India. There is much to be lost by haggling over non-essentials. There is much to be gained, after these weeks of discussion, by acting on the Indian proposals with promptness, courage and decision.

I well remember hearing a Foreign Minister of France, Mr. Aristide Briand, speaking from the tribune of the Batiment Electoral in Geneva, make an appeal against those who had steadfastly opposed an argument of

his, and I wonder whether, in spite of the strong words in opposition to this proposal, that have been made by Mr. Vyshinsky today, as well as by the representative of Czechoslovakia — and, I suppose, tomorrow by the representative of Byelorussia, and perhaps later by the Minister of Foreign Affairs for Poland — whether in spite of all this, I might not make an appeal to them.

The other day the *New York Times* quoted Mr. Vyshinsky as having refused at that point to comment on the draft resolution which had been introduced the day before by Mr. Menon of India. The only comment he would make was that Mr. Menon was an honest man. Is it too late to ask the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Ukrainian S.S.R. and the Byelorussian S.S.R. to follow with the rest of us along the direction and under the leadership of an honest man?



THE COLOMBO PLAN

An address by the Administrator of the Canadian Participation in the Colombo Plan, Mr. Nik Cavell, of the International Economic and Technical Co-operation Division, Department of Trade and Commerce, delivered at the Empire Club, Toronto, December 4, 1952.

... World War II left the whole of Asia in chaos. An area which, in modern times, had not been prosperous and in which the worst poverty in the world is to be found naturally suffered very heavily from the impact of war. It is an agricultural area easily susceptible to disruption. Large areas came out of the war without any established government at all, and with various factions fighting to fill the *vacua* which existed. The flow of capital from Western Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States into the area had ceased, and whilst that flow had never been large enough to create much social and economic progress, nevertheless it had provided the basis for much of the industrial and agricultural development which had taken place in the last hundred years.

The disturbances consequent on the war had produced a natural reluctance on the part of private investors to risk their savings in the area, and yet if that area was to recover even a part of its former stability and be restored to its key position in world trade, then capital had to be made to flow in again, and these countries had to be brought back into the orbit of world trade before a stable world system could be established.

It had also become more and more obvious that if the free world were to be kept in existence, it would have to be expanded and strengthened, and that could not possibly be done if more of the Asian countries disappeared behind the Iron Curtain, as China had done.

Because of the fact that three-quarters of the people of South and Southeast Asia are members of the Commonwealth, the area is obviously one in which the Commonwealth is vitally interested. With such thoughts in mind the foreign ministers of all the Commonwealth countries met at Colombo in January 1950, to consider what could be done about the 570 million people in that area, who make up one-quarter of the population of the world and whose average diet, at that time, amounted to roughly twelve ounces of food grains a day.

Important Meeting

This was a very significant and important meeting. It was the first time, for instance, that all the foreign ministers of the Commonwealth had ever met together in Southeast Asia. It was the first time that India, Pakistan and Ceylon were attending a meeting of Commonwealth ministers on a basis of absolute equality and from the background of new and absolute sovereignty and self-determination.

It was from this first meeting that the Colombo Plan took its name, and that name has

no other significance than the fact that the meeting took place in Colombo, the capital of Ceylon.

Arising out of that meeting, what is known as the Commonwealth Consultative Committee came into being. This Committee might be called the custodian of the Colombo Plan. It meets once every year to consider the progress of the Plan, to consult with the countries of Southeast Asia as to the progress of their various projects for economic development, and to produce a written report of its activities and those of the member nations working out the Plan.

The governments of the Commonwealth, through the medium of this Commonwealth Consultative Committee, have drawn up a practical plan of development for a six year period from the middle of 1951. The Consultative Committee has met, so far, in Sydney, London, Colombo, Karachi last year, and meets again next year in Delhi.

The Capital Background of the Plan

Although the Commonwealth Governments initiated this Colombo Plan, they did so in no exclusive spirit. It was contemplated from the very beginning that all the countries in the area, whether members of the Commonwealth or not, would eventually be invited to participate on equal terms in whatever plan could be devised. It was also recognized that the capital required for the development of South and Southeast Asia was vastly greater than could possibly come from the Commonwealth alone.

It was always recognized that the Plan should develop in harmony with the work being done in Southeast Asia by the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies, and it was hoped that the United States would become more interested and would, through the medium of its own organizations, such for instance as the Point Four Programme, put more capital into the area — and this has actually proved to be the case.

The programmes of development in the area called for a total investment of roughly 5 billion dollars. It was anticipated that over the period of the Plan, the utmost that the countries of the area could provide by themselves would be £784 million (roughly \$2,252 million); £250 million (roughly \$750 million) could be obtained by drawing down their reserves of blocked sterling balances, and £834 million (roughly \$2,502 million), or some 45 per cent of the total, would have to be provided from other sources as outside aid.

As you all know, Ceylon, India and Pakistan hold large sterling balances accumulated dur-

ing the war years. By specific agreements with the United Kingdom, these countries anticipate that they will utilize roughly the equivalent of \$700 million of these reserves in their development efforts over the Colombo Plan period. This was the British contribution to the Plan, and, considering the financial state of Great Britain over the last few years, it was a particularly generous one.

Turning now to the countries which have made grants, and converting those grants to their dollar equivalents for easier understanding, Australia has promised the equivalent of \$75 million over the six-year period of the Plan, about \$20 million of which she has already made available. New Zealand will give the equivalent of \$9 million for a period of three years, and has already made about \$3 million available. Canada contributed \$25 million during the fiscal year 1951-52, and has now contributed \$25 million for the present fiscal year, making a total of \$50 million so far.

In addition, the International Bank has made development loans to India and Pakistan amounting to roughly \$45 million. United States assistance has aggregated about \$250 million, which includes the emergency wheat loan to India amounting to \$190 million. The United States has also granted assistance to Burma, Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, amounting to \$40 million for 1951-52. The Ford Foundation began operations in the area during 1951-52, and anticipates, I understand, an annual expenditure of about \$5 million for a period of some years.

Foreign financial assistance, therefore, to Ceylon, India, Pakistan, other Southeast Asian countries and the United Kingdom colonial territories has thus amounted to very roughly \$400 million during the period covered by the first year of the Colombo Plan.

Why the Colombo Plan At All?

I think the next question we have to ask ourselves is why we engaged in this operation at all, and it is a question which is very frequently thrown at me.

It has been said that a nation cannot exist half-slave and half-free. World events today show that a free democratic world cannot exist half-fed and half-starved, and once again we are much concerned with the maintenance of a free democratic world. To maintain such a world, we fought two world wars, which contributed their own quota to the dislocation and chaos of our established social and economic systems.

Twice we have determined upon noble ventures in international co-operation. In the case of the League of Nations, our efforts failed and the result was World War II. The terrible results of that war are still so evident that I need not go into them today.

But it is well that we pause here to reflect on the fact that although we defeated in

those two wars the particular brand of totalitarianism we were fighting at that time, we have since found no effective way of coping with the much more sinister, diabolical, world-wide totalitarian force which bedevils the affairs of the world at the present time. It is well also that we remember that the free world has lost Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania and East Germany in Europe; and that Communism has made a great inroad in Asia by taking over the 500 million people of China, and is busy day and night softening up, and preparing, other populations ready for the day when they too can be made satellites of an ever-growing world of terrible totalitarian slavery of the human mind and body.

New Menace to Democracy

At San Francisco in 1945, we started out with great hopes on the new endeavour, not realizing that although we had destroyed the power of two successive waves of totalitarianism, a third was rising which would be an even greater menace to democracy and human freedom. We have now been reluctantly compelled to admit that the present totalitarians have no intention of co-operating with us in the foundation of the kind of world that we want, but which, quite obviously, they do not want at all, and we face the fact that the world once more has to be made safe for free men; that, insidiously, this terrible force is creeping up on us, and that, for the most part, we sit helpless when we need not be helpless, failing to come to realistic grips on a world scale with this clever, diabolical network of lying propaganda, of insidious intrigue which will destroy our free civilization unless we combine together all the remaining forces for good in the world, and go to work realistically to combat the ever-growing influence of totalitarian force.

When China moved behind the Iron Curtain and allied herself to the forces of totalitarianism, the free world lost a population of roughly 500 million lovers of freedom who could, and should, have been part of our free world, who should have developed the resources of their notoriously hard-working people in the development of a free people co-operating with a free world. That world absolutely cannot afford losses on this scale and if it is to survive, we must recognize that Asia, and particularly Southeast Asia, stands today at the crossroads as never before in history, that they are for the most part sovereign nations who can still control their own destinies, and that the manner in which they control them is of no less consequence to us than it is to them. Once more the cause of human freedom is at stake. Within the last few years millions of men and women have been deprived of their liberty, torn from their homes and families, tortured and worked to death in labour camps. Once more totalitarians lust after world domination and have shown clearly

that they will use any methods to attain it: lying propaganda, the confusion of men's minds, the exploitation of every trouble spot in the world. They exploit poverty and human misery for their own ends, and always behind their activities is the threat of force which has erupted into war in Korea and Malaya; internal chaos in Iran, Egypt, and numerous other places. This constant background of the threat of force has plunged the world into the greatest armament race of all time. The free world must be prepared with a defence against this threat of armed aggression.

But at the same time it must put its own house in order. No longer can the plight of the great mass of the populations of Asia be ignored. No longer are they prepared to accept the deplorably low standard of living, which has been their lot for far too long; they are going forward, using such capital as they have, training their young men to positions of great responsibility and working towards a new future.

At the beginning of this year, I visited Burma, India, Ceylon and Pakistan, and what struck me most about all these countries, and particularly about India and Pakistan, was the new spirit I found there. They are now on their own. They have attained complete freedom and they realize that their destiny is in their own hands. They are determined that their future shall be considerably better than their past has been. They are working — and working with great industry and intelligence — towards a better economic future within the framework of their own philosophy. They are determined to remain free and not to fall again under the domination of any world power, and in this we must sympathize with them and help them, if we want to keep them in the free world we are trying to build.

It is an opportunity which can easily be lost unless we go about our approach to them in a way which they find acceptable. The first thing they ask of us, is that we shall treat them on a basis of equality. Their cry is: "We are people, even as you are people". Their second plea is that we shall recognize and respect their philosophies, religions and ways of life, and not try to make them copies of ourselves — which, firstly, they do not want to be and, secondly, could never be even if they did.

The Colombo Plan So Far — Capital Co-operation

Now let us see what the Colombo Plan has actually accomplished since it started in the middle of 1951.

Australia gave 8.7 million Australian pounds, divided between India, Pakistan and Ceylon. As far as possible, this aid was in the form of Australian commodities. Sixty thousand tons of wheat and 27,000 tons of flour went to India. Five thousand three hundred tons of flour went to Ceylon. To Pakis-

tan, Australia sent agricultural equipment, mining equipment and items required for a general public works project.

New Zealand made grants of £250,000 each to India, Pakistan and Ceylon. They stipulated that these were to be spent on projects which would be of lasting value to the recipient countries. An all-Indian medical institute is arising as only one part of these New Zealand grants.

Under the agreement for the release of sterling balances, the United Kingdom supplied such things as railway locomotives, agricultural tractors, commercial vehicles, machinery and other iron and steel products.

And now I come to what we in Canada did with our \$25 million for the fiscal year 1951-52. We allocated this money: \$15 million to India and \$10 million to Pakistan. Let us look at the Indian programme first:

Indian Programme

The basic problem of the Indian economy is food — it would be more accurate to say, is the lack of food. In a good year, India grows roughly 45 million tons of food, and this is always at least 5 million tons short of her normal requirements. Also, we must remember that she has very few good years. Last year, for instance, she was faced with a very severe famine in Madras and also in Bengal. It is obvious that in a famine year, the 5 million tons of normal shortage can easily amount to as much as 6, 7 or 10 million tons of food grains, depending on the severity of the famine. To make up this shortage, India must dig into her slender resources of foreign currency and buy food abroad. A large proportion of the aid programme for India is devoted to the solving of this food shortage.

The Indian Government asked us for 10 million dollars worth of wheat to help her famine condition. It was never contemplated that the Colombo Plan should be a food relief measure, but, nevertheless, how could we refuse our Commonwealth partners, suffering from a severe famine? And so we resorted to the device of the counterpart fund. We sent the wheat and India created a counterpart fund of approximately its equivalent value in rupees, some at least of which she will obtain by the sale of the wheat to her Indian distributors.

From the counterpart rupee fund thus created, with our consent and co-operation, she devoted those rupees to the further development of the Mayurakshi dam project in West Bengal. This project will irrigate 600,000 acres of land. It will hold the Mayurakshi river in control, and this river will not again rush down in flood, drowning the peasants and washing away their homes, as it has done periodically for hundreds of years. When the whole area is settled and the irrigation is completed, at least 400,000 tons of food will be produced, which, as you

can see, will make quite a contribution towards cutting down the 5 million ton annual shortage.

Now if enough of such projects can be developed — and there are many others actually started or on the drawing boards — you can see how India is going about solving her food shortage.

India also asked us if we would lend our aid to another problem. The State of Bombay is a highly populated and very poor State. Its transport system has fallen into a dangerous state of decay. It is just as important in India to be able to distribute food when famine hits, as it is to have the food to distribute. It is also important that when you put people on the land, they should be able to get to local markets and exchange at least some part of what they grow, for the purchase of their normal needs.

All this was seriously disrupted in the State of Bombay. The Bombay Transport Commission had been brought into being under the control of some able Indians and a British general who had spent the whole of his life in Indian transport. But they were short of capital and could not buy the equipment that they needed to set up a proper transport system; and so, at the urgent request of the Government of India, we aided the State of Bombay and gave them \$5 million worth of up-to-date buses and trucks. A large proportion of these are now actually on their way to Bombay, and, when they are in operation, not only will the State of Bombay be better able to handle famine should it hit, but the normal life of the peasants and other poor people of the State will be greatly benefited by these new transport facilities. Bombay is a great port, and ample transport facility is the life blood of any port.

Pakistan's Problem

Turning now to Pakistan, we run into a different kind of problem altogether. When nations split, disastrous things happen to their economies. When Germany was split in two, her industrial half and her agricultural half became separated. Exactly the same thing happened when Pakistan split from India. India got most of the industry and lost the Punjab, which was the great 'bread-basket' of the old India. Pakistan got the bread-basket but had no industry at all.

To balance her economy, therefore, she urgently needs industrial undertakings, and these she is trying desperately to establish. It must be remembered that she is the newest country in the world, having been in existence for little more than five years and having to start from scratch with absolutely nothing at all. When I was in Pakistan last year, they were showing me the tents in which the Government first started in Karachi, without even pencils, rubbers, paper and the other elementals of a new government. Can you imagine a government without paper?

When Pakistan and India split, one of the greatest migrations in the whole human history took place. Roughly 14 million people moved; very roughly, 7 million Hindus moved south into India, and an equal number moved north into Pakistan. I have no time today to dwell on the gruesome happenings of that terrible migration. It suffices to say that it left both countries with a huge army of starving refugees. Pakistan has roughly 7 million of them. Now 7 million refugees are a political menace to a well-established country. They are a major national disaster to Pakistan, and something has to be done about them. What Pakistan is doing, is to set up new areas of irrigation and to try to settle them on the land as quickly as possible.

That Irrigation Project

One such area, and by far the largest, is the Thal area in the North-West Punjab. This is an area which will be irrigated from the Indus River. It is now a great sandy, thirsty waste. Thousands of miles of irrigation canals will have to be built, and every inch of those canals must be lined with cement. Houses have to be erected, villages built, roads put in — all requiring vast quantities of cement. It became obvious that the only practical solution was to build a cement mill right in the area. Fortunately, the limestone and other raw materials necessary are available. We decided, therefore, to assist Pakistan by building and erecting this cement mill for her, and this will take up about \$5 million of her \$10 million grant from Canada. The work is now underway, and we hope to have the mill out there and erected within two years.

If a nation is to be industrialized, she must first know what raw materials she has — and this Pakistan did not know. We arranged with her for an aerial resources survey of her country, and a Toronto firm, which took this contract, has now its men and planes in Pakistan actually operating on such a survey. Within two years, we hope to have produced a resources survey map, which will give indications of what natural resources are available and where they are most likely to be found. I do not think we could have made a better or more fundamental contribution to the future of Pakistan, than to undertake this job for her.

To any country trying to develop, communications are vital, and Pakistan was fortunate in obtaining a loan from the World Bank for the rehabilitation of her railways, largely for converting them from coal to diesel operation, because she can obtain fuel-oil but has no coal. Her tracks, however, were in a very bad condition, and thousands of miles had to be relaid to accommodate the diesels. Since we have a wood industry in this country, we agreed to give her nearly \$3 million worth of wooden railway ties, to help her with this task. These ties will shortly be on their way to Pakistan.

In the Thal area, where we are building the cement plant, we are also assisting with the development of an experimental farm, from which it is hoped to supply the settlers with draft bullocks, buffalo, good seed and expert advice. We are supplying agricultural machinery, tractors, ploughs, etc., to a value of roughly \$150,000.

The Colombo Plan So Far — Technical Co-operation

One of the very great needs of the whole of the Southeast Asian area is men and women trained in various technical skills. Practically the whole work of the United Nations and much of the U.S. Point Four endeavour is devoted to that huge problem. The Colombo Plan also is working in this field. Canada gives \$400,000 yearly to technical assistance work under Colombo Plan auspices and \$850,000 yearly to aid the United Nations in its work in that field, and our Colombo Plan work falls into two parts: capital and technical, that is, technical experts going to Asia and, by far the larger section, people from Southeast Asia coming here in search of training in all kinds of skills. In all, including training work we have done in Canada for the United Nations, nearly 300 people have been here for training in the last year or so. Their courses have covered a wide field: agriculture, health, railways, fisheries, hydro-electric, general engineering, administration, geology, education, forestry and statistics.

I want to mention particularly one field in which, I think, we have attained some success. It is vitally important that senior officials in Southeast Asia be made aware of what we have to offer in technical assistance, only if such men are prepared to co-operate can a satisfactory programme be evolved; and so we have invited various missions here, composed for the most part of senior officials who cannot be spared for more than three months or so. These missions have so far been composed of groups from India, Pakistan and Ceylon, who have toured this country looking into our facilities in such divergent fields as roads and bridges, hydro-electric development, medicine and public health, and agriculture.

There is one mission I would like particularly to mention, which was not composed of senior men. It was a mission of twelve young Pakistani boys who had just entered the civil service of their country. They were all fine, clean-cut, young fellows. They started here with an interview with the Prime Minister, who not only welcomed them to Canada but told them something about his job in this democratic country. They saw members of the Cabinet and learned something of their jobs, and so they went down deeply, by interview and lecture, into all the ramifications of our federal government system. Then they toured the provinces; they were particularly interested in Quebec and in seeing how we had solved our two-language problem, because they have, not a two, but

a many-language problem. They dug into our municipal problems, and so, from one end of Canada to another, they studied the workings of a well established democratic country. We kept them out of hotels as much as possible, and put them up in homes. The result was that they made many friends with whom they are corresponding. I am reasonably sure that those twelve young men will enter on their careers with broader minds and an affection for Canada, which will last them all their lives.

This particular piece of our technical assistance effort did what I would like to be sure that the whole world-wide technical effort is doing: it made us twelve real friends in Asia.

The Future of the Colombo Plan

Well, so much for what we have done. Now what about the future? We shall again give India some wheat, probably about \$5,000,000 worth. I hope we shall be able to provide more assistance towards the completion of the Mayurakshi dam project.

We are working on the details of several projects for India and Pakistan, about which it is too early yet to talk, and we have entered into a fishing and refrigeration project for Ceylon, upon which we shall probably spend one million dollars before we are through, and we are looking at another project for Ceylon.

This business of working out suitable projects with our Commonwealth partners in Southeast Asia is not an easy one. We have to take into sympathetic consideration all the time their shortage of top, well-trained personnel with whom we can co-operate. We have to remember always that they are proud, independent powers with definite ideas of their own about the needs of their people. They work from an entirely different religious and ideological background, but we have with them the link of their faith and belief in human freedom.

One criticism frequently heard about the Colombo Plan and other programmes of aid to Asia, is that, compared to the problem, any aid we could give would be hopelessly inadequate, so why do anything?

There is one answer to that kind of criticism; it is, that all our aid is trying to do is to help these people to help themselves. Always we must remember that they are using their own capital resources with ours on the same projects. We are only helping where we can and trying to give training and experts who can point the way. We have to be prepared fully to recognize, and to work with, the present trends of the whole Asian area. What are those trends?

Trends in Asia

Frequently we hear about the nationalistic tendencies of Asian people, but we need most carefully to examine these nationalisms, and

if we do, we find them tending to seek out their ancient cultural backgrounds. They do not seem to be seeking nationalism as we Westerners understand the term. The followers of Islam, for instance, in every Muslim country — excepting only those under Russia's domination — are looking to, and trying to bring about, a resurgence of Islamic civilization and a co-operation between Muslim countries to blend and strengthen the Muslim world. The leaders of Burma today are a band of devout Buddhists. Mahatma Gandhi, still the idol of India, was a devout Hindu and his teachings have had, and are still having, a profound effect on India's thought and development today.

All over Asia, and particularly in Southeast Asia, there is an overwhelming tendency for these peoples, now free from Western domination, to return to their own indigenous cultures, and to endeavour to work out their destinies in their own ways. The Communists, of course, pretend to go along with them, but we know, and they are beginning to find out, that the final aim of Communism is the destruction of all indigenous cultures and the stamping out of all religions and every philosophy and ideal, except that of militant Communism.

Here is a wonderful opportunity for the free world, if only we can find the unity of purpose necessary to embrace it. We could make it clear, and stand by it as a cardinal principle, that the free world we are trying to bring into being and expand, is broad in its concept as well as free; that all cultures are welcome within it and can, once a part of it, develop in their own way their own religions and other philosophies to the full, consistent only with maintaining the personal freedoms of their peoples.

This, I feel, together with the material aid we are already supplying, would tend to attract our Asian brothers towards us, and would give us a free world policy and a cohesion, which is now so palpably lacking.

Gradually, under such a policy, we might begin to combat the effects of the flood of Communist literature which pours into the area, and particularly into India, at the present time. Literature which is obviously heavily subsidized and offered for sale on every bookstall, well printed, mostly in Russia, Czechoslovakia or China, and sold for the equivalent of five or six annas; whereas our Western books cost from five to ten rupees. There is not much doubt about which gets the most circulation!

Time Running Short

If we of the free world could evolve a policy with which free Asia could really co-operate, there is still time to bring a vital free world into existence. Such a powerful world would have to be based on sound international law which encouraged and upheld the self-determination of all peoples and defended their right to maintain their own indigenous religions, cultures and backgrounds. But time for the creation of such a world is running short and before we can have such a world, we Westerners must search our own souls. We must shake off our apathy, forget our arrogance and broaden our minds. We must find a way to give our Commonwealth partners, in Southeast Asia particularly, a sense of really belonging to our free world. We must try to capture the minds of the youth of Asia with ideas that are more dynamic than those of the totalitarian Communism they are imbibing today in their millions.

If we are prepared to admit for one moment that our free world has no dynamic ideal which can compete with Communism, then we may as well also admit that human freedom and our Christian civilization have no future. The truth is, of course, that in freedom and democracy we have a dynamic challenge to Communism which can defeat it utterly, but only if we realize in time that Communism can win simply by our default, by our lack of the will, determination and, above all, the understanding of the situation which faces us.

Unfortunately, we must be prepared for war lest the modern set of totalitarians attack us, but let us also fully realize the terrible nature of modern war and the fact that it could deal a blow to our civilization from which it might not recover for a decade. But if we seek, whilst there is yet time, to lay plans for a free world which will attract and not repel our free brothers in Asia, we can become so strong that the Communist world will not dare to attack us. The Commonwealth has a great part to play in expanding and holding together the free world.

The fact that the Commonwealth has six times as many Asians in it as it has Westerners, shows clearly the great part it can play if only we can win their support and real co-operation; and, without their support, a continuing Commonwealth is meaningless and a free world with real strength impossible of attainment.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS TO THE CANADIAN DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

- Mr. H. O. Moran was posted from Ottawa to Ankara, as Canadian Ambassador to Turkey, effective November 14, 1952.
- Mr. J. A. Donald was posted from Ottawa to the Office of the High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom, effective November 4, 1952.
- Mr. J. A. McCordick was posted from Ottawa to the Imperial Defence College, London, effective November 16, 1952.
- Mr. G. K. Grande was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Athens, effective November 17, 1952.
- Mr. J. R. B. Chaput was posted from home leave (Brussels) to Ottawa, effective November 17, 1952.
- Mr. C. C. E. Chatillon was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Paris, effective November 21, 1952.
- Mr. L. H. B. Peebles was posted from Ottawa to the Canadian Embassy, Washington, effective November 30, 1952.
- Mr. d'Iberville Fortier was appointed to the Department of External Affairs, effective November 1, 1952.

APPOINTMENTS AND TRANSFERS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN CANADA

DIPLOMATIC

New Appointments:

Mr. I. D. Yegorov, Third Secretary, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, November 18.

Mr. Albert E. Pappano, Second Secretary, Embassy of the United States of America, November 5.

Mr. Eustache Bacarinos, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Greece, November 6.

Mr. Fernand Rouillon, Secretary, Embassy of France, November 10.

Air Brigadier General Francisco de Assis Correia Mello, Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, November 16.

Mr. Knud Gylling, Commercial Counsellor, Legation of Denmark, November 3.

Mr. Hasan Isabegovic, Attaché, Embassy of Yugoslavia, November 3.

Departures:

Mr. Katsushiro Narita, Minister, Embassy of Japan.

Mr. E. Anagnostopoulos, Commercial Attaché, Embassy of Greece, November 6.

Dr. H. C. Halter, Second Secretary, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, November 14.

Air Brigadier General Luis Netto dos Reys, Air Attaché, Embassy of Brazil, November 16.

His Excellency Hubert Guérin, resumed his duties as Ambassador of France, October 29.

Mr. H. R. Martola, Chargé d'Affaires, Legation of Finland, left on November 3 for a short vacation. During his absence, Mr. Olavi Lahonen, Second Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

Mr. L. F. Teplov resumed his duties as Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on November 3, on his return from leave in his country.

His Excellency Liu Chieh, Ambassador of China, left on November 6 for New York, to attend the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. Kechin Wang, First Secretary, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Delfin H. Pupo y Proenza, Ambassador of Cuba, left on November 14 for a visit to his country. Dr. Américo Cruz Fernandez, Counsellor, is Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

His Excellency Dr. Werner Dankwort resumed his duties as Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, November 25.

His Excellency Marquis du Parc Locmaria, Ambassador of Belgium, left on November 29 for New York, to attend, for a short while, the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. Alain de Thysebaert, Counsellor, is in charge of the embassy.

CONSULAR

Recognition was granted to:

Mr. Walter Otis Barnstead as Honorary Consul of Sweden at Halifax, November 3.

Mr. Enrique Noguera as Consul of Mexico at Montreal, November 10.

Dr. Adolph Reifferscheidt as Consul General of the Federal Republic of Germany at Montreal, November 12.

Mr. Albert E. Pappano as Consul of the United States of America in Ottawa, November 13.

Dr. H. C. Halter as Consul of the Federal Republic of Germany at Toronto, November 14.

Mr. Francesco de Rege Thesauro di Donato as Consul of Italy at Montreal, November 19.

Mr. W. J. Leyds as Consul General of The Netherlands at Montreal, November 29.

Departures

Mr. Tito Juvenal Arias, Consul of Panama

at Montreal.

Mr. Ettore Staderini, Consul of Italy at Montreal, November 14.

Mr. Mulford A. Colebrook, Consul of the United States of America at Winnipeg, November 17.

Mr. Anselmo Mena, Consul General of Mexico at Montreal, left November 14. During his temporary absence, M. Enrique Noguera, Consul, will be in charge of the Consulate General.

Mr. Eugene L. Padberg, Jr., Consul of the United States of America at Winnipeg, assumed charge of the Consulate General upon the departure of Consul Mulford A. Colebrook, November 17.

Mr. Jean Querton, Consul General of Belgium at Montreal left on November 20 for a visit to his country. During his absence Mr. Frans Willems, Consul, is in charge of the Consulate General.

TRADE

Mr. C. J. Carne, Trade Commissioner for Australia in Ottawa left November 5. Pending the arrival of his successor, Mr. A. R. Tay-

som, Assistant Trade Commissioner will act as Trade Commissioner.

CANADIAN REPRESENTATION AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

(This is a list of international conferences at which Canada was represented during the month of November 1952. Earlier conferences may be found in the previous issues of "External Affairs".)

(The Department of External Affairs, through its International Conferences Section, is responsible for co-ordinating all invitations to international conferences. It should be noted, however, that the decision as to the participation of the Canadian Government at such conferences is made by the Secretary of State for External Affairs or, where appropriate, by Cabinet upon the recommendation of the department of government functionally concerned.)

Standing International Bodies on which Canada is Represented

(Published annually. Only new international bodies on which Canada is represented will be listed in the intervening months. See "External Affairs" January 1952, for the last complete list.)

Conferences Attended in November

1. 2nd Plenipotentiary Conference of the International Telecommunications Union (ITU). Buenos Aires, October 1-December 15.
2. 7th Session of the Contracting Parties to GATT. Geneva, October 2-November 10.
3. 7th Regular Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. New York, October 14-
4. FAO Committee on Financial Control. Rome, October 27-November 15.
5. FAO Co-ordinating Committee. Rome, October 27-November 15.
6. 5th Meeting of the International Wool Study Group. London, November 3-
7. 20th Session of the Committee on Commodity Problems of FAO. Rome, November 5-15.

8. *8th Session of the Joint Meeting of Permanent Central Opium Board and Drug Supervisory Body.* Geneva, November 4-10.
9. *Meeting of Advisory Committee on United Nations Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA).* New York, November 10.
10. *61st Session of the Permanent Central Opium Board.* Geneva, November 11-18.
11. *7th Session of the General Conference of UNESCO.* Paris, November 12-December 10.
12. *6th Session of Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production.* Lima, November 13-18.
13. *120th Session of the Governing Body of ILO.* Geneva, November 14-December 2.
14. *16th Session of the Council of FAO.* Rome, November 17-28.
15. *Commonwealth Economic Conference.* London, November 27-

CURRENT DEPARTMENTAL PRESS RELEASES

Number	Date	Subject
68	1/11	Appointment of Mr. Léon Mayrand as Special Ambassador to Chile on the occasion of the new president's inauguration.
69	1/11	Announcement of the receipt of the Order of Approval by the International Joint Commission regarding the St. Lawrence power development.
70	4/11	Announcement that the United States Government has been informed that the Canadian Government considered the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Basin Development Agreement of 1941 as having been superseded.
71	6/11	Announcement of the exchange of diplomatic missions between Canada and Colombia, and the appointment of Mr. Edmond Turcotte as Ambassador to Colombia.
72	6/11	Appointment of Mr. Ray Lawson, OBE, as Canadian Consul General in New York.
73	13/11	Announcement of the visit to Ottawa of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dean Acheson.
74	15/11	Announcement of the Canadian Government's suggestion for a tribunal before which claims against the Canadian Government based on damage alleged to have resulted from high waters in Lake Ontario caused by the Gut Dam may be heard and disposed of.
75	19/11	Programme for the visit to Ottawa of the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Dean Acheson.
76	22/11	Announcement of the exchange of diplomatic missions between Canada and Venezuela, and the appointment of Mr. Henry G. Norman, CMG, as Ambassador to Venezuela.
77	28/11	Appointment of Mr. Charles Pierre Hébert as Special Ambassador to Mexico on the occasion of the new president's inauguration.

STATEMENTS AND SPEECHES

(Obtainable from the Information Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa, Canada)

The following serial numbers are available abroad only:

- No. 52/41—*Industry and Trade in Post War Canada*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Toronto, October 21, 1952.
- No. 52/42—*Canada's Preparedness Programme*, an address by the Deputy Min-

ister of Defence Production, Mr. R. M. Brophy, at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Industrial Preparedness Association, at Quebec, October 16, 1952.

- No. 52/43—*The Foundation of Canada's Post-War Prosperity*, a speech by the Minister of Justice, Mr. S. S. Garson, to the Toronto Young Men's Board of Trade, September 23, 1952.

No. 52/44—*Our Housing Problem*, an address by the Minister of Resources and Development, Mr. R. H. Winters, at the annual dinner of the Canadian Institute of Plumbing and Heating, at the Seignior Club, Montebello, P.Q., October 22, 1952.

The following serial numbers are available in Canada and abroad:

No. 52/45—*Canada and External Affairs*, the text of an address by the Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Mr. L. D. Wilgress, delivered to the Canadian Club of Toronto, October 27, 1952.

No. 52/46—Déclaration de la Représentante du Canada, M^{me} Louis Berger, à la Troisième Commission de la septième session de l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies, à New-York, le 30 octobre 1952,

sur La liberté de l'information.

No. 52/47—*The United Nations, its Practical Work and Achievement*, a speech delivered by the Secretary of State for External Affairs, and President, Seventh Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. L. B. Pearson, delivered at the 21st Annual New York Herald Tribune Forum, October 19, 1952.

No. 52/48—*Canada Trades with the Free World*, an address by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. C. D. Howe, made at the 39th National Foreign Trade Convention, New York, November 17, 1952.

No. 52/49—Statement by the head of the Canadian Delegation to the UNESCO Conference, Dr. Victor Dore, made on November 13, 1952.

CURRENT UNITED NATIONS DOCUMENTS†

A SELECTED LIST

(a) Printed Documents:

Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea; New York, 1952; document A/2187; 41 pp.; 40 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 14.

Final Report of the United Nations Commissioner in Eritrea; New York, 1952; document A/2188; 89 pp.; \$1.00; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 15.

United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency — Financial Report and Accounts for the year ended 30 June 1952 and Report of the Board of Auditors; New York 1952; document A/2205; 11 pp.; 15 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 6C.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East — Accounts for the period 1 January 1951 to 30 June 1952 and Report of the Board of Auditors; New York, 1952; document A/2207; 19 pp.; 20 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 6B.

Question of defining aggression — Report by the Secretary-General; 3 octobre 1952; document A/2211, 65 pp.

**Report of the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency* — Organization and work of the Agency from its activation in February 1951 to 15 September 1952; New York, 1952; document A/2222; 51 pp.; 50 cents; General Assembly Official Records: Seventh Session, Supplement No. 19.

**International Bank for Reconstruction and Development — Seventh Annual Report to the Board of Governors, 1951-1952* (July 1, 1951 - June 30, 1952); Washington, D.C.; 64 pp. and Supplement from July 1 to August 31, 1952.

**Yearbook on Human Rights for 1950*; New York, 1952; 596 pp.; Sales No.: 1952.XIV. 1.

(b) Mimeographed Documents:

Report on the administration of the British-United States zone of the Free Territory of Trieste for the period 1 January to 31 December 1951 by Major General Sir John Winterton KCMG, CB, CBE (Report No. 11); 30 September 1952; document S/2794; 35 pp.

† Printed documents may be procured from the Canadian Sales Agent for United Nations publications, the Ryerson Press, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto (English) and Les Presses Universitaires Laval, Quebec (French); mimeographed documents can only be procured by annual subscription from the United Nations Secretariat, New York. Publications and documents may be consulted at certain designated libraries listed in "External Affairs", January 1952, p. 45.

* French version not available until noted in a future issue of "External Affairs".

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